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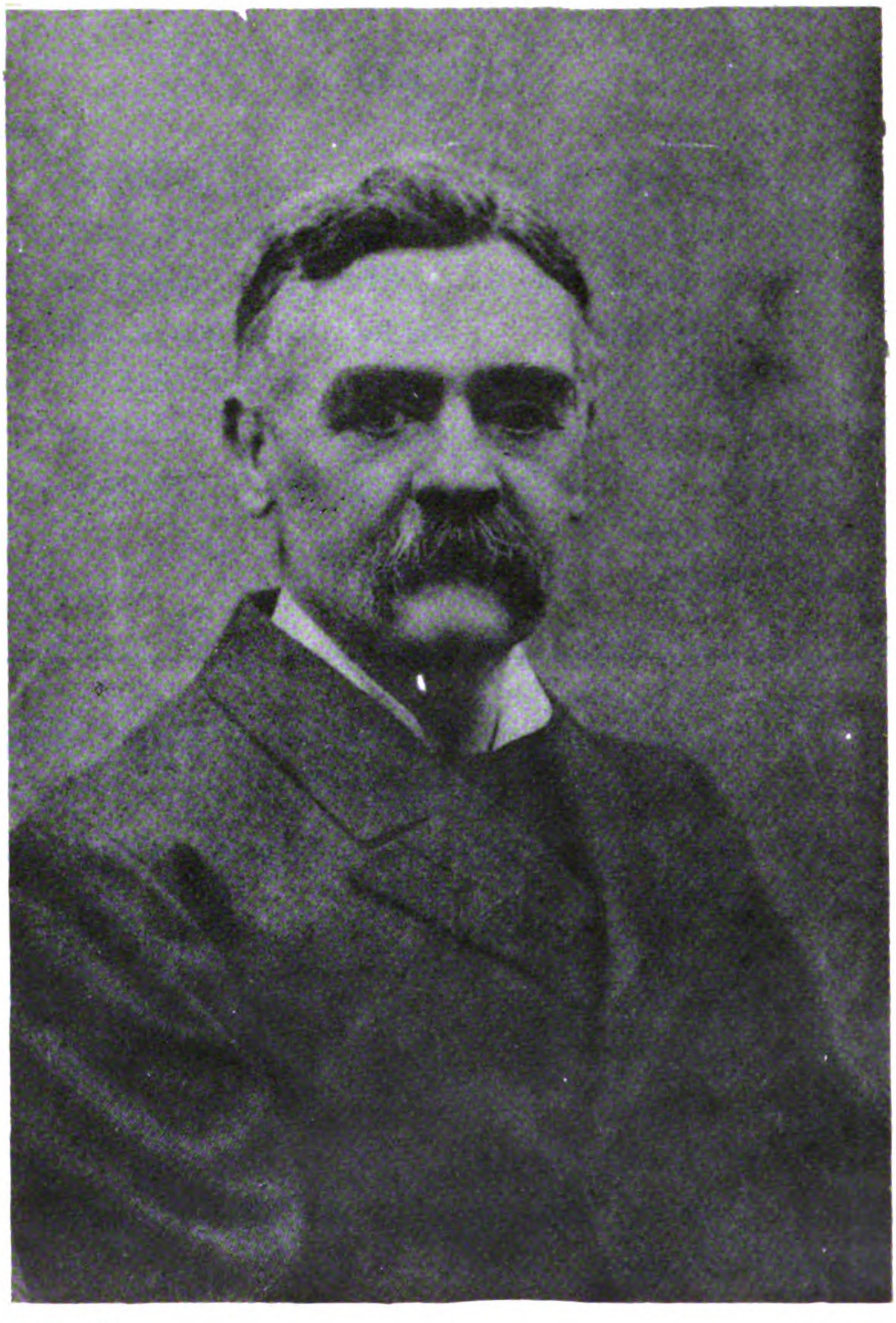

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VOL. II. February 1920. No. 1.

THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

Ever since the establishment of the Republic, the Chinese publishing world has been reaping a rich harvest from the production of a class of literature that in earlier days no bookseller would have dared to place on his shelves or openly offer for sale. It consists of collections of stories purporting to be accurate narratives of interesting episodes in the history of the late Manchu dynasty, and to contain authentic revelations of Court secrets which, while the dynasty still occupied the throne, remained buried in the archives of private families.

It would be unjust to say that these publications are all fictitious. Some, indeed, may be regarded as mere "catch-pennies"; others seem to have been produced to gratify the

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very human craving for what G. K. Chesterton calls "the divine institution of gossip"; others, again, were probably invented in order to supply the revolutionary party with anti-monarchic propaganda, and with a view to bringing discredit or ridicule on the imperial house. Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that a limited number of these widely-circulated stories contain a fair proportion of truth, and may therefore be regarded as possessing some historical interest and value. The difficulty is to know where fact begins and fiction ends. A scandalous tale or an amusing piece of gossip is not necessarily false because its immediate source was a rascally palace-eunuch who harbored a personal grudge against some high dignitary or member of the imperial family; it is not necessarily true because we know of no particular reason why it should have been invented.

What future historians are to make of this voluminous but embarrassing material is a problem which they must solve for themselves. All I propose to do in these pages is to offer some critical remarks on a certain story which concerns the career of the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty. For several reasons it is worthy of special study. In the first place, it seems to be, in one form or another, nearly as old as the dynasty itself, and therefore cannot be ascribed to the exuberant imagination of "Young China." Secondly, it is supported by what appears at first sight to be an imposing array of corroborative evidence. Thirdly, it has recently made its appearance in English dress, and is therefore now becoming widely known to that limited section of the European and American public which takes a serious interest in Chinese history. It may be added that with the exception of a detail which has no essential connexion with the main story, there is nothing in the narrative which could gratify a morbid taste for "scandal in high life." On the contrary, it is characterized by both pathos and romance, and the conscientious historian will perhaps feel no small regret if he has to relinquish it to those who know how to build palaces of art on foundations of airy fancy.

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Few of my readers will require to be reminded that the emperor Shih Tsu Chang (世祖章)—generally known by his reign-title of Shun-chih (順治)—had no personal share in the stirring events which placed him on the throne. When the Chinese rebel Li Tzû-ch'êng (李自成) occupied the capital and drove the unhappy Ming emperor Ch'ung-chêng (崇禎) to suicide, thereby giving the Manchus their opportunity to enter China and seize the supreme power, the boy who became first emperor of the new Ch'ing dynasty was barely six years old. Beginning in 1644, his reign came to an end when he was only twenty-three. According to the state-records, his death occurred at the beginning of the second month (lunar calendar) of the year that corresponds to 1661, and the funeral took place in due course at the new imperial burial-ground since known as the Tung-ling (Eastern Mausolea), where his tomb can still be seen by any visitor.

Now if we are to believe the unofficial chroniclers who are responsible for the romantic story which we propose to examine, Shun-chih did not die in 1661 nor for many years afterwards, and the state-funeral at the Eastern Mausolea was a sham.

There are several versions of the story, and some contain details which are lacking in others. But what the most complete Chinese versions have to tell us is that the young emperor was very deeply attached to one of the imperial concubines, a beautiful and accomplished lady known at Court as Tung Kuei-fei (董貴妃). This lady, says the legend, was not a Manchu but a Chinese, which fact made it impossible (under the dynastic house-law) for the emperor to carry out his wish that she should be raised to the rank of empress. The lady herself, much distressed at her imperial lover's failure to raise her to the highest attainable position, went into a decline from which she never recovered. Her premature death plunged the emperor into a profound melancholy from which nothing could rouse him; and very shortly after Tung Kuei-fei's death he decided to abdicate in favour of his infant son, known subsequently as the emperor

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Shêng Tsu Jên (聖祖仁) or K'ang-hsi (康熙), and to retire to a Buddhist monastery. As this step might, however, involve the new dynasty in political troubles and give rise to awkward questions and suspicions, it was decided in a Court conclave that the facts of the emperor's voluntary retirement should be buried in everlasting oblivion; that the demise of the crown should be publicly announced; and that the official announcement should be followed in due course by the celebration of the imperial obsequies. The story goes on to say that this extraordinary scheme was carried out to the letter, though no adequate explanation is given as to why it was thought necessary. The emperor retired to a mountain-monastery where he passed the remainder of his days under a monk's name and where he was secretly visited three times by his son and successor K'ang-hsi.

It has been recently shown by the Rev. W. Arthur Cornaby in the pages of *The New China Review*[1] that this story, or a great part of it, seems to have formed the main basis for the plot of the famous Chinese novel the *Hung Lou Mêng* (紅樓夢) known to foreigners as *The Dream of the Red Chamber*. As Mr. Cornaby points out, the latest Chinese editor of this novel has convinced himself that the author's design was to preserve for posterity a true narrative of strange events that had taken place in the imperial palace at Peking. As it would have been dangerous for him to make an open betrayal of state-secrets, he carried out his purpose in a cryptic way by an ingenious substitution of names and by veiled allusions which the casual reader would fail to understand.

The editor of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* has made out an exceedingly good case for his theory, and I have no desire to question the accuracy of any of his proposed identifications of places and persons. I am prepared to admit—or rather I am not disposed to deny—that the principal characters in this wonderful novel are really members of the imperial family and household, and that the plot is mainly

(1) Vol. i, No. 4, pp. 329 ff.

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concerned with the imagined doings of those exalted personages. But it is very necessary to lay stress on the word "imagined," for we cannot assume that a novelist's story is historically true merely because it is told in a mysterious way and hints at meanings which are not on the surface. If, as our modern editor is inclined to believe, the author was "a scion of a noble family of the Ming dynasty," that is hardly a valid reason for accepting him as a trustworthy and unbiassed guide in matters affecting the successors of that dynasty. Moreover, a member of a noble family of the fallen house is hardly likely to have had access to the Manchu Court or to have had first-hand information of what took place there. However this may be, it will be admitted that a novelist cannot expect to be treated as an historian until his alleged facts have been tested and found true by reference to other sources.

Do such sources exist in this case? The question is answered in a rather hesitating affirmative by the authors of that remarkable work *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*, in the ninth chapter of which will be found the following remarks. "There appears to be good reason for doubting the dynastic annals in the matter of his (the emperor's) death, and for sharing the belief, widely held by Chinese scholars, that the young emperor, pining for his lost mistress, and weary of the dull routine of statecraft, voluntarily handed over the government to four of his Ministers (acting as joint Regents for his youthful son, K'ang-hsi) and retired to the contemplative life of the priesthood."

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland are far too scrupulous in their treatment of their material, and far too scholarly, to commit themselves to a definite acceptance of the accuracy of this curious story, and they give us a clear warning that many of the legends relating to the Manchu emperors, which now circulate widely among Chinese readers, are quite untrustworthy. Nevertheless the chapter from which I have quoted undoubtedly leaves the reader with the impression that the authors are inclined to accept that part of what I may call the

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Shun-chih legend which relates to the emperor's supposed retirement to a monastery.

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland make no reference, however, to the story that Tung Kuei-fei—the emperor's much-loved secondary consort—was a Chinese woman who had previously been the mistress of a Chinese gentleman. It is this part of the Shun-chih legend that I propose to examine first.

What we are told is that before Tung Kuei-fei entered the palace she had lived for some years with Mao Hsiang (冒襄),[1] a native of Ju-kao (如皋) in the province of Kiangsu. During the disturbances which preceded the firm establishment of the new dynasty, Manchu troops scoured the country in all directions, and in some unexplained way Mao Hsiang's fair concubine, whose name was Tung Hsiao-yüan (董小宛), fell into the hands of one of these conquering bands. Some rumours of the extraordinary physical and other attractions of this lady reached the ears of the Court officials, and the result was that Tung Hsiao-yüan was sent to the palace and very quickly became first favourite.

Both Mao Hsiang and Tung Hsiao-yüan are well known by name to students of Chinese seventeenth-century literature. Tung Hsiao-yüan, also known as Pai (白) and as Ch'ing-lien (青蓮), was a Chinese courtesan of the Kiangsu province. She belonged to a class that may fitly be compared with the Hetairai of ancient Greece after the Peloponnesian war. Her accomplishments were most varied, for we find her praised for her needlework, her cookery, her music and her painting; and she was an adept at the tea-ceremonial. It is rather surprising to learn that she loved solitude and was never happier than when rambling in dark woods and by mountain-streams. After many vicissitudes she finally became the concubine of Mao Hsiang, and her beauty and talents made her famous in the literary and artistic circle of which he was a prominent member. She died in 1651, at the age of twenty-seven, and Mao Hsiang wrote a *Lament* (哀辭) and a biographical

(1) *Alias* 冒辟疆.

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sketch named *Ying-mei-an-i-yii* (影梅庵憶語) which are still extant. Both contain clear and unambiguous statements regarding her death, and in the *Lament* Mao Hsiang even tells us about the date and place fixed for her burial. Moreover, a number of his literary friends bewailed her death in poems and elegies which have survived to this day and which ought to leave no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that it was death that deprived Mao Hsiang of his heart's beloved. Nevertheless those who wish to identify her with Tung Kuei-fei will have it that Mao Hsiang's own statements and those of some of his sympathetic friends contain veiled hints that the young woman did not really die when she is supposed to have died; that when Mao Hsiang spoke of his mistress as "dead" he merely meant that she was dead *to him*; and that the date upon which she is said to have died was really the date upon which she was carried away by the minions of a despotic Court. The evidence, such as it is, can be readily studied by anyone who reads Chinese, as it has been brought together in an annotated edition of Mao Hsiang's *Ying-mei-an-i-yii* which was published as recently as the third year of the Republic (1914).[1] To undertake a full examination of it in these pages would be to impose a heavy tax on my readers' patience, and I can only express the hope that those who are seriously interested in the subject will examine it for themselves.

One of the principal witnesses quoted is a writer known by his literary name of Mei-ts'un(梅村先生), but whose real name was Wu Wei-yeh (吳偉業). He was one of the numerous scholars and officials who went into retirement on the accession of the Manchu dynasty, but later on he took office under K'ang-hsi. He was a voluminous writer in prose and verse, and still finds readers. Among his poems is one entitled *Ch'ing-liang Shan Tsan Fo Shih* (清涼山讚佛詩), which is said to contain subtly-expressed references to Tang Kuei-fei and to the alleged retirement of the emperor Shun-

(1) The full title of this reprint is 影梅庵憶語, 附悼亡題詠考證 and the publishers are the 廣益書局 of Shanghai.

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chih; but the so-called references to the emperor (which are mixed up with allusions to other historical personages and events) are capable of very different interpretations; and even if there are allusions to Tung Kuei-fei (which is very possible) there is nothing to indicate that she and Tung Hsiao-yüan were the same person. It would be interesting, by the way, to know when this poem was written. The edition of Mei-ts'un's poetry which is in my own library contains a preface dated the tenth month of the *kêng-tsü* (庚子) year of Shun-chih, which corresponds to 1660. As the emperor Shun-chih was still on the throne in that year, this in itself might seem to be a proof that the poem referred to had nothing to do with any event occurring after the official date of the emperor's death. We cannot, however, lay stress on this point, for the preface was very probably written a considerable time before the poems were published and before the poem just referred to was written.[1]

In one or two other poems Mei-ts'un refers to Mao Hsiang's charming mistress, but this requires no explanation. Like Mao Hsiang's other literary friends, Mei-ts'un was probably well acquainted with the lady.

For my own part I have no hesitation in accepting as true Mao Hsiang's statement that his much-loved Hsiao-yüan died of consumption, or some similar disease, in the *hsin-mao* (辛卯) year (1651), and that she was still his mistress at the time of her death. This follows not only from a straightforward interpretation of Mao Hsiang's own account of their nine years' relationship and its mournful termination, but also accords with the memorial verses and elegies written by his

(1) In Mr. Cornaby's article it is stated that certain writings by Mei-ts'un were suppressed by Government; but if this is so the suppression does not seem to have been effectual, or the prohibition did not extend to the poems mentioned in the text. My own copy of Mei-ts'un's poetry was certainly published early in the Ch'ing period. I may add, however, that in the Ch'ien-lung reign the works of Ch'ien Ch'ien-i (錢謙益), who wrote the preface to Mei-ts'un's book, were suppressed by Government and the wood-blocks destroyed, on the ground that the works in question contained slanders.

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friends. It may be worth mentioning that the recently-published *Ming Tai Yi Wên* (明代軼聞) contains, at the beginning of the fourth *chüan*, a life of Tung Hsiao-yüan in which there is no suggestion that she ever became an imperial concubine. The account of her given in the tenth *chüan* of the corresponding compilation entitled *Ch'ing Tai Yi Wên* (清代軼聞) also refrains from making any such suggestion; and the same may be said of the very short biographical notice which occurs in that admirable encyclopædic dictionary, published a few years ago, entitled *Tz'ŭ Yüan* (辭源). Finally, I may mention the fact that there are direct descendants of Mao Hsiang still living, and that one of them—Mao Kuang-shêng (冒廣生)—emphatically repudiates the suggestion that his ancestor's famous mistress was ever carried away to the imperial palace. I have also been given to understand (by one of this gentleman's friends) that her tomb still exists at Ju-kao in Kiangsu, the ancestral home of the Mao family; but I am unable to say, from personal investigation, whether this statement is correct.

A rather important consideration seems to have been entirely overlooked by those who would identify Mao Hsiang's concubine with the lady who was loved by the emperor Shun-chih. In 1651, the year in which Mao Hsiang lost her, Tung Hsiao-yüan's age was twenty-seven. Tung Kuei-fei's death did not take place till the eighth month of the seventeenth year of Shun-chih—namely 1660.[1] Now if Tung Kuei-fei was Tung Hsiao-yüan, she must have reached the mature age of about thirty-six when she died. At this time the emperor was only twenty three, therefore her junior by about thirteen years. Does it seem probable that a woman so much older than himself, and one who had lived for years as the mistress of at least one other man, should have captivated the young

(1) Messrs. Backhouse and Bland, on page 235 of their work already quoted, state that Tung Kuei-fei died in the autumn of 1661, but this is a mistake. Her death took place in the *kêng-tzŭ* year, which corresponds to 1660. The emperor himself died (or must I say "the reign came to an end"?) early the following year.

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emperor's heart to such an extent as to cause him to give up his throne when she died and retire to a monastery? It would be rash to assert that such a thing is psychologically impossible, but we may reasonably demand first-rate evidence before we accept it as true.

Another important consideration is this. If the legend is true, what was Tung Hsiao-yüan doing between 1651 (when she left Mao Hsiang) and 1656, which is the year in which Tung Kuei-fei entered the palace? By 1656, Tung Hsiao-yüan, if she was still alive, must have been thirty-two years of age. With whom did she live, or how did she employ her time, between the ages of twenty-seven and thirty-two? No supporter of the Shun-chih legend seems to have answered this rather obvious question, or even to have propounded it. In any case, is it likely that those entrusted with the duty of finding consorts for the young emperor (who in 1656 was only a boy of eighteen) would select for him a Chinese lady (this in itself a breach of Manchu house-law) who was not only in the "thirties" but was known to have lived a life which, to say the least, had been already chequered by divers quasi-matrimonial experiences?

Let us now leave Mao Hsiang's fascinating mistress and turn our attention to the lady whose separate personality the believers in the strange legend we are examining seem desirous of annihilating.

None of these persons, so far as I am aware, have thought it worth while to state the fact (if indeed they know it) that an official "Life" of Tung Kuei-fei is in existence, besides a laudatory account of the lady written by her imperial lover himself. The "life"—*Hsiao Hsien Huang Hou Chuan* (孝獻皇后傳) was written by Grand Secretary Chin Chih-chün (金之俊). It is only fair to state that the book is probably very little known even to the Chinese reading public, much less to foreigners. It forms the fifth *chüan* of the 金文通息齋集詩文, and has recently (1917) been published separately, along with the emperor's own memorial notice (行狀), under the editorship of Wu Ch'ang-shou

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(吳昌綬). There is no valid reason known to me for doubting the accuracy of the statements made in these two interesting documents. From them we learn that Tung Kuei-fei was the daughter of a Manchu, a high officer of the Imperial Household (內大臣) named Tung Ê-shuo (董鄂碩). She was brought into the palace in 1656 at the age of eighteen, and immediately became a great favourite of the empress-dowager. In the ninth month of the same year she was raised to the position of *huang-kuei-fei* (皇貴妃)—Imperial Concubine of the first rank. She gave birth to a son in the winter of 1657, but this son, Prince Jung (榮親王), died in infancy. Tung Kuei-fei's father, and also a brother, were alive when she entered the palace, but both predeceased her. She herself died on the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the *kêng-tzŭ* (庚子) year, corresponding to the autumn of 1660, in her twenty-third year. She was raised to the posthumous rank of Empress under the elaborate title of Hsiao Hsien Chuang Ho Chih Tê Hsüan Jên Wên Hui Tuan Ching Huang Hou (孝獻莊和至德宣仁溫惠端敬皇后). It may be added that her father had been ennobled during his lifetime as Earl (伯), and after his death was promoted to the dignity of Marquis (侯). He also received the posthumous title of Kang-I (剛毅).

It would be pleasant to give some account of the emperor's touching narrative; to dwell, for instance, on the naïve description of how his majesty personally converted Tung Kuei-fei from a state of irreligion to a fervent faith in Buddha. All that can be said here is that Tung Kuei-fei seems to have been as good as she was beautiful, and well worthy of an emperor's love. Her brave attempt to conceal her own grief and to console the emperor when their infant son died; her chivalrous intercession for the empress, who had incurred the imperial displeasure for a grave breach of etiquette; her untiring and unselfish activity on behalf of those who were her inferiors in rank and from whom she could expect nothing in return: all these things go far to explain why she was loved not only by the emperor but

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also by his mother and by all the ladies and handmaidens of the Court.

That the emperor was sincerely fond of Tung Kuei-fei is an accepted tradition in the imperial family to this day; and it is also admitted that he never recovered from the shock of her death. Shun-chih was religious and studious by nature, and these characteristics were probably intensified by the fragility of his constitution. It seems likely that he was consumptive; at any rate the records do not lead one to suppose that his death was very sudden. It took place at the beginning of the second month of the year *hsin-ch'ou* (辛丑), which corresponds to the spring of 1661. His age was about the same as that of his beloved Tung Kuei-fei, and he survived her by less than half a year.

So say the official records, and I know of no sound reason for suspecting falsifications. But let us now look into that part of the Shun-chih legend which concerns his alleged retirement to a monastery.

To begin with, we must surely admit the inherent improbability of the story of the pretended death and the mock funeral. That a gentle-natured and spiritually-minded monarch should weary of statecraft and long for the tranquil life of the monkhood is not very strange. Some of us, perhaps, may rather marvel that the majority of kings cling to their thrones as long as they do. What is truly remarkable in this particular case is that the emperor and his advisers should have adopted the crazy, perilous and quite unnecessary course of action which the legend ascribes to them. We can readily understand that the statesmen who stood in the emperor's council-chamber would greet with blank dismay his proposal to abdicate, and would do their best to dissuade him from such a course. But if they found that his resolution was unalterable there were no overwhelmingly strong reasons, from the point of view of state-policy, why they should not have agreed to his formal and public renunciation of the throne in his son's favour. Certainly there was no need or justification for running the serious risks involved in making a false announce-

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ment of the emperor's death and escorting an empty coffin to the imperial mausoleum. The number of people who would have to be entrusted with the secret would necessarily be very large, and it would be impossible to guarantee that the facts would never leak out. There could be no certainty that the emperor would not, in later years, regret the step he had hastily taken at a time when he was distracted with grief; and what would happen if he suddenly decided to come to life again and return to his throne? He could always point out that he had never abdicated, and might put all the responsibility for the mock funeral on his unhappy ministers, who would then have to seek in suicide release from an impossible situation. Even if he never left his monastery he might, knowingly or otherwise, become a centre of political intrigue. Perhaps a more serious consideration than any of these, from the point of view of Chinese ethics and religion, would be the fact that the little emperor K'ang-hsi would be required to inaugurate his reign by committing acts which might well involve himself and the dynasty in utter ruin; for he would have to perform mourning rites for a father who was still living, and prostrate himself with simulated lamentations before an empty tomb. Who could say what terrible punishments Heaven might have in store for blasphemies such as this?

But passing over the inherent improbabilities involved in the theory of the false announcement of the emperor's death, let us go a step further and consider what actual evidence there is for the belief that he retired to a Buddhist monastery.

The first question is, To what monastery is he supposed to have retired? At once we are confronted by a very suspicious circumstance. Those who defend the legend we are discussing cannot agree among themselves as to whether the monastery in question was the T'ien-t'ai-ssŭ, near Peking, or a hermitage on the famous mountain of Wu-t'ai in Shansi. The most circumstantial story, however, is that which relates to Wu-t'ai, and as it seems to deserve careful scrutiny we will examine it first. It will be found in a little book which purports to contain records, hitherto kept secret, of certain

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journeys made by the emperor K'ang-hsi through various parts of the empire. It is entitled *K'ang-hsi Nan Hsün Pi Chi* (康熙南巡祕紀), and was published by the *Chin-pu Shu-chü* (進步書局) in Shanghai. The first narrative which the book contains is called "The Strange Monk of Wu-t'ai" (五臺異僧). It begins with a reference to what it describes as a famous monastery on the Wu-t'ai mountain named Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ (清涼寺). At the close of the reign of Shun-chih the abbot was a venerable white-haired monk of eighty years of age named Yüan-chih (圓智)—"Accomplished Wisdom"—who spent his days in deep and silent meditation. When the emperor's death was announced (early in 1661), the Governor of the province of Shansi, in which Wu-t'ai is situated, sent official instructions to the Wu-t'ai monks to carry out the religious ceremonies appropriate to the solemn occasion of his majesty's demise. While these ceremonies were in progress at the Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ, a richly-dressed young man suddenly pushed open the door and stood before the officiating monks. Much astonished, the abbot Yüan-chih asked the young man where he had come from. "I have come from Peking, reverend sir," was the reply, "expressly to pay my respects to you." The young man seemed to be over twenty years of age; he was of very distinguished appearance and bore himself with exceptional grace and dignity, like a leader of men. When asked his name, he smiled but said nothing. Yüan-chih, recognizing that there was something unusual about his visitor, invited him into a private room. There he again questioned him, but his guest was clearly unwilling to reveal his secret. "I beg you not to press me for details," said the mysterious young man; "I have come here for one thing only—to enrol myself as your disciple. If you agree, accept me as such; if not, I will go elsewhere." In answer to the further enquiries of Yüan-chih he made this surprising remark: "I have thrown away the empire like a worn-out sandal." At this Yüan-chih was startled and at his wits' end. His guest repeated his assertion that if the abbot refused to accept him he would go elsewhere. The abbot then questioned him regarding his religious knowledge and attainments and warned

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him that it was no easy thing to tread the path of the bodhi sattvas. Was the young man really prepared to give up the world and all its attractions and devote himself to a life of abstinence and purity? The youth replied that his mind was quite made up, and invited the abbot to test his knowledge of the Buddhist scriptures. This Yüan-chih proceeded to do, with the result that his guest passed a highly successful examination in the tenets of the Faith. After this the abbot raised no further objections to the youth's wishes, and consented to ordain him as a member of the monkhood. At his ordination the religious name conferred upon him was Hui-chên (慧眞)—"Wisdom and Truth." He retired to a hermitage connected with the monastery, and there, for the rest of his life, he remained in seclusion. The austerity of his mode of life aroused some jealousy among the other monks, but the venerable Yüan-chih reproved them, and prophesied that some day "a holy man" (聖人) would come in search of the strange monk. This remark impressed the jealous monks, who then began to realise that the new-comer was no ordinary person. A year or so later, the old abbot passed away, after having strictly charged his disciples always to treat Hui-chên with kindness and courtesy. Hui-chên continued to live his solitary life, devoting himself to study and meditation. He was recognized as deeply read in both Buddhist and Confucian literature, but he showed no interest in ordinary topics of the day and refrained from all social intercourse with his brother-monks. One day, however, someone happened to mention in his presence that warfare had broken out in the provinces. Hui-chên suddenly looked as though he were awaking from a trance, and said, "Ah! (Wu) San-kuei has rebelled" (噫三桂反耶). This was the first time he had been known to address a remark to his companions since he entered the monastery. But from this time onward, until the rebellion was quelled, he asked questions about the progress of the fighting, showing that this was a subject in which he was interested.

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One day a summons came to the abbot—the successor of Yüan-chih—from the Governor of Shansi. The whole monastery was greatly excited, not knowing whether this unusual occurrence foreshadowed weal or woe to the monastic community. Five days later the abbot returned, with the news that great good fortune was about to befall their monastery (吾寺大福至矣). "The Governor has told me that his majesty the emperor venerates the Buddhist Faith, and at the behest of the empress-dowager is about to visit this mountain with her. I have seen the Imperial Edict, which requires us to prepare places of residence for their majesties." The monks were much elated at this news; and the abbot reminded them of the prophecy of Yüan-chih that some day a "holy man" would visit their monastery. [Every emperor is regarded as a "Sage" or "Holy" (聖人).] He hinted at the existence of some connexion between the imperial visit and the mysterious monk Hui-chên, who had always shown himself to be markedly different from ordinary men; indeed his hints prompted a young novice named Hui-an (慧安) "Wisdom and Peace," to exclaim suddenly, "Why, this Hui-chên must be no other than the Son of Heaven (天子) himself!" The abbot smiled.

The period before the emperor's arrival was spent in cleaning, decorating and restoring the monastery; while the roads over which the imperial procession was to pass were repaired by the local territorial officials. In due course his majesty arrived at the Ch'ing-liang monastery. The empress-dowager, however, was dissuaded from attempting the last and most arduous part of the journey from the capital, and awaited the emperor's return at one of the passes on the Shansi border. The emperor entered the monastery between rows of kneeling monks. His first action was to show his respect for religion by burning incense in front of the altar. He then turned to the abbot and said, "Are all the monks here?" The abbot intimated that such was the case. "But I have heard," said his majesty, "that there is a certain strange monk somewhere. Where is he?" "He lives," replied the abbot, "in a hermitage on a high summit. Pilgrims come

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and go but never see him." The emperor pondered the matter for a time and then said, "I intend to visit him." "The mountain path is steep," said the abbot; "it is impossible to go there on horseback." "The strange monk," said the emperor, "is a modern Buddha; it is fitting that I should pay him a visit." He then bade his followers remain where they were and took only a young novice with him as guide. This novice was no other than the perspicacious Hui-an. They walked up to the hermitage together, and Hui-an entered to announce the arrival of the Son of Heaven. Hui-chên, with closed eyes, remained seated and took no notice. The emperor regarded him attentively for a long time, and seemed deeply moved. Suddenly he touched the monk's feet, and addressed him thus: "My imperial father! Your son and servant has been profoundly unhappy in that not till now has he been able to render filial devotion to your majesty." At these words the monk opened his eyes and said: "Who are you, sir? What are you saying? I am only a hermit and I did not understand you." The emperor's only reply was to cry, "Oh, my imperial father!" "Whom are you addressing as 'imperial father'?" asked the monk in an agitated tone; "the world and I have nothing to do with each other." The emperor went down on his knees and said entreatingly: "Your son and servant knows himself to be unworthy of your majesty's solicitude; but does not the memory of the empress-dowager and the empress touch your majesty's heart?" The monk showed signs of emotion, but only murmured, "The emperor is mistaken, the emperor is mistaken" (皇帝誤矣皇帝誤矣). Observing that Hui-chên's reticence and reserve were not to be overcome, the emperor remained for a long time kneeling, and gazed intently and wistfully at the face of his silent father. At last the young novice ventured to speak. "It is getting late," he said; "is it not time for your majesty to return?" At this the emperor rose, bade Hui-chên a courteous farewell, and left the hermitage. During the walk back to the monastery he warned the novice that what he had seen and heard was never to be revealed.

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That evening the emperor slept at the Ch'ing-liang monastery, and next day the imperial procession started on its return journey to the capital and was joined by the empress-dowager at the Lung-ch'uan Pass (龍泉關). After his return the emperor gave orders that 200,000 taels were to be sent to Wu-t'ai from the imperial Treasury. Of this sum, three quarters were to be presented to the Ch'ing-liang monastery and the remaining quarter to be distributed among the other temples of the mountain. The story closes with the remark that on subsequent journeys to Wu-t'ai the emperor always lodged at the Ch'ing-liang monastery and never omitted a visit to the "high summit" (高峯) where the monk Hui-chên lived in solitude. During his reign the emperor gave more than a million taels to Wu-t'ai; moreover he continued to take an interest in the novice Hui-an, who as he grew older came to be distinguished among his fellow-monks for his wisdom and intelligence. In recognition of his exceptional merits the emperor conferred upon him the high-sounding name of *Chih-hui Chêng-chiao Fo* (智慧正覺佛), "Perfected in the Spiritual Wisdom and True Enlightenment of Buddhahood."

Now most readers will probably admit that this narrative, quite apart from the question of its historical accuracy, is not without merit as a specimen of the story-teller's art. The sudden arrival of the brilliant young layman (who turns out to be the emperor himself, fleeing from throne to monastery) at the very time when the monks of the mountain-temple are celebrating a mass for him in consequence of his supposed demise, is an incident that might make the fortune of a skilful dramatist. Very noteworthy, too, are the simplicity and delicacy shown in the account of the meeting between the ex-emperor and his imperial son. But what are we to say about the story as a contribution to history? I have no hesitation in declaring my belief that it is entirely fictitious.

We have already commented on the extreme craziness of the scheme which is supposed to have been elaborated in the palace for the purpose of concealing from the world the fact of

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the emperor's abdication and retirement, and we have found it difficult if not impossible to believe that sane men can have given such a scheme their approval. But assuming for the sake of argument that it was actually adopted, we might surely have expected that the emperor and his ministers would have made some slight effort to carry it out in such a way as to give it a reasonable chance of success. Yet if we are to believe the Wu-t'ai story they did nothing of the kind; on the contrary, they neglected the simplest and most obvious precautions. The emperor, it appears, wandered off to the wilds of the Shansi province (where he had never been before) without having made any preliminary arrangements or formed any definite plans as to how and where he was to live, threw himself on the hospitality of an old man whom he did not know and apparently had never seen before, and while refusing to answer the very reasonable questions put to him as to his name and antecedents, acted in such a way as to make himself an object of curiosity and a permanent centre of mystery.

It is scarcely credible that the emperor, after having resolved on a course of action which was intended to obliterate all traces of his continued existence, should have forthwith proceeded to "give himself away" in the manner which our story indicates. Why did he go out of his way to make that curious remark "I have thrown away the empire like a worn-out sandal"? These words of themselves were quite sufficient to betray the secret of his identity to anyone who had an intelligent understanding of Chinese classical literature. They are nothing more or less than a quotation from Mencius, who says that in certain circumstances the emperor Shun (舜) would have been willing *to abandon his kingdom as though it were an old sandal*, and seek refuge in the wilds, "where he would have lived for the rest of his life, contented and happy, forgetting that he had once ruled the empire."[1] If the abbot Yüan-chih had average education and

(1) 舜視棄天下猶棄敝蹝也…遵海濱而處, 終身訢然樂而忘天下. *Mencius*, Bk. vii, Pt. i, ch. 35.

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intelligence he cannot have failed to understand the allusion ; and indeed when our story-teller remarks that the abbot was "startled," he clearly means us to understand that the significance of the words was not lost on the old man.

Then what are we to think of the careless confidence with which the emperor K'ang-hsi entrusts a most important state-secret to the keeping of a boy—the novice Hui-an—who was a complete stranger to him? Among all the Court officials who must have accompanied K'ang-hsi on his pilgrimage to Wu-t'ai, was there not a single one who was worthy of the emperor's trust or shared his confidence? There must have been many persons connected with the palace who knew that Shun-chih was still alive ; was there not one who knew where he lived or could guide the emperor to his hermitage? If K'ang-hsi was anxious that no one should witness the interview between himself and his father, why did he allow the boy to accompany him into the hermitage when he might just as well have left him outside? Having allowed him to enter, what guarantee had the emperor that the boy would keep his mouth shut? As a matter of fact the story compels us to conclude that the novice was quite unworthy of his imperial master's confidence and of the honours subsequently conferred upon him, for as he was the only third person present when the interview between the two emperors took place, it can only have been through him that the details of the interview came to be known and finally to be embodied in a book!

I think we may justifiably suspect that Hui-an was invented simply in order to provide believers in the legend with an answer to those inconvenient questioners who might want to know how the facts of the secret meeting between K'ang-hsi and Shun-chih came to light. This suspicion is greatly strengthened when we learn that the annals of the mountain of Wu-t'ai contain no reference to anyone named Hui-an. Had he lived and died in obscurity as a simple monk, this would not surprise us ; but in view of the favours said to have been showered upon him by the emperor, the omission of his name from the list of distinguished monks is an

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astonishing fact which supporters of the legend will find it difficult to explain.

But this is by no means the only difficulty that awaits them. Not only are the printed Annals of Wu-t'ai (of which I have three separate editions before me)[1] silent on the subject of Hui-an ; they are equally silent about the old abbot Yüan-chih and the imperial monk Hui-chên. The omission of Hui-chên's name might be explained, though without plausibility, on the theory that the government had forbidden the authorities of Wu-t'ai to include it in their records ; but no such theory will explain the lack of any reference to the eighty-year-old abbot, who is represented as having been the head of the monkish fraternity.

This is bad enough, but what are we to say when we find that even the name of the monastery (Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ) will not stand investigation? Ch'ing-liang (清涼) is an alternative name of the mountain itself; indeed it would not be incorrect to say that Wu-t'ai (五臺) is the popular name and Ch'ing-liang the official name of this sacred mountain. It seems not improbable that our author gave the name of Ch'ing-liang to the monastery of his story merely because he had to call it something, and thought (not having visited Wu-t'ai) that the alternative name Ch'ing-liang, of which he had heard, was probably the name of the mountain's principal religious house. As it happens, indeed, there is, or was, a small temple on Wu-t'ai called Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ (清涼寺), but it is quite insignificant and is situated several miles from the mountain's central sanctuaries. That this is not the temple referred to by our author is clear from the fact that he describes his abbot of Ch'ing-liang as one of the most important religious functionaries on the mountain and as the channel of communication between the high provincial officials and the Wu-t'ai monks ; and also from the fact that he makes his Ch'ing-liang monastery the place at which the emperor K'ang-hsi stayed during his visit to the mountain.

(1) i 清涼山志 in 10 *chüan*. ii 清涼山新志 in 10 *chüan*. iii 清涼山志 in 22 *chüan*.

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It is in his description of K'ang-hsi's visit that he blunders most badly. He seems to have assumed that his readers would not take the trouble to find out what the emperor's movements actually were on that occasion.

As a matter of historical fact, the emperor K'ang-hsi paid several visits to Wu-t'ai (as to many other sacred hills and famous temples) but it is only the first with which we need concern ourselves here. It took place in the early spring of the *kuei-hai* (癸亥) year, namely 1683, which was the twenty-second year of his reign. Full details of his visit have been preserved for us, not only by the monkish chroniclers of Wu-t'ai but also by Kao Shih-ch'i (高士奇), a distinguished Chinese scholar and author,[1] and by the Manchu Governor of Shansi, whose name was Mu-erh-sai (穆爾賽). From their detailed narratives we learn exactly how the emperor spent each day of his sojourn at Wu-t'ai. He did not merely come one day and go the next, as the writer of the *K'ang-hsi Nan Hsün Pi Chi* would have us believe; he arrived at the principal temple or lamasery on the first day, spent the second, third and fourth days in visiting the five summits of the mountain and all their principal shrines, and on the fifth day set out on his homeward journey. We are told the names of all the temples he visited, and the name Ch'ing-liang Ssŭ does not appear among them! The details are given so clearly that when I visited the mountain some years ago I used Kao Shih-ch'i's narrative as a guide-book, and found no difficulty in following the route taken by the emperor. His place of residence was the great central lamasery, the Chên-jung Yüan (眞容院), which is situated on the summit of a small hill known as the P'u-sa Ting (菩薩頂). This hill, which is in the midst of the Wu-t'ai range, is regarded as one of the holiest spots in Buddhist China, and the Chên-jung Yüan is its holy of holies. The temple is also known as the Ta Wên-shu Ssŭ (大文殊寺), because it is the centre of the cult of Wu-t'ai's patron saint, the Bodhisattva Mañju'srī or Wên-shu. It has a very long history, and it is

(1) See Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 961.

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still the resort of pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world, especially Mongolia and Tibet. It was in this lamasery that I had the privilege of meeting the Dalai Lama in 1908; and K'ang-hsi was only one of several emperors who have been its guests. Of the honours and money bestowed by K'ang-hsi on the monks of Wu-t'ai, by far the greater part went to the Chên-jung Yüan and its high lamas. The chief recipient of the imperial favour was an important ecclesiastic named A-Wang Lao-tsang (阿王老藏), who received from K'ang-hsi the honorific title of "The Venerable Man of Ch'ing-liang" (清涼老人). He was born in 1601 and died in 1687. In 1659 (when the emperor Shun-chih was still on the throne) he received the appointment of Controller of Chinese and Foreign Affairs at Wu-t'ai, and in this capacity he took precedence of all other monks and lamas. He resigned the post in 1671, on reaching the age of seventy, but he was still resident at the Chên-jung Yüan when K'ang-hsi visited the mountain, and he wrote a long poem, which is still extant, in honour of the imperial visit. Another distinguished member of the Wu-t'ai fraternity who might well have been taken into the imperial confidence if Shun-chih had really decided to embrace a hermit's life, was Lao-tsang Tan-pei (老藏丹貝), of whom Kao Shih-ch'i, already mentioned, has left an account. He, like "The Venerable Man of Ch'ing-liang," was a favourite at Court, and during his last illness, which took place during a visit to Peking in 1684, the emperor sent one of the Court physicians to attend him daily. He is one of our numerous authorities for the statement that the emperor K'ang-hsi, when at Wu-t'ai, resided at the P'u-sa Ting; and he also informs us that among other marks of favour his majesty caused the great central hall of the lamasery to be covered with glazed tiles of imperial yellow.

There is nothing whatever, in any trustworthy account of the history and traditions of Wu-t'ai, or in any trustworthy

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narrative of the emperor K'ang-hsi's visits to that sacred mountain, which gives us the least hint that the emperor Shun-chih ever went into retirement there, or that K'ang-hsi's purpose in making pilgrimages there was to visit an imperial hermit.

[To be concluded.]

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A POET OF THE 2nd CENT. B.C.

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

Students of Chinese who think at all about the poet 枚乘, Mei Shêng, usually have in mind the well-known tag 枚乘以前無五言, "before Mei Shêng there was no 5-word (to-the-line verse)," which perhaps must not be taken too literally. His poems were for centuries lost sight of in a collection known as 古詩十九首, "Nineteen Pieces of Old Poetry," seventeen of which have been translated by Mr. Waley in his "170 Chinese Poems," where he notes that "some have been attributed to Mei Shêng," whom, by the way, he places in the "first century B.C." The latest researches have shown that nine of the above are from the hand of Mei Shêng; and that to be understood, hey must be read in a certain order, in connexion with the political events of the period. As my renderings differ considerably from Mr. Waley's, I now print them for purposes of comparison.

In the year 155, the great Han dynasty had been established for some sixty years only. The Princes—feudal, almost mediatized Princes—of the various States were constantly occupied either with quarrels among themselves or with treachery to the Throne; and a leading statesman of the day recommended the then young Emperor to get rid of

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them altogether; in fact "Sack the lot!" Within ten days, seven of the States had raised the standard of revolt; and Ch'ao Ts'o, the unlucky originator of the plan, was beheaded forthwith.

At that time, Mei Shêng was secretary to Prince 濞, P'i, of the 吳 Wu State; and when revolt was mooted, he found himself torn by his loyalty to the Han dynasty in one direction, and by his affection for his master in another Loyalty to the sovereign, which had been strenuously inculcated by Confucius and which has always been a striking feature in Chinese history, prevailed; and Mei Shêng laid himself out to prevent what perhaps he foresaw would be a disastrous undertaking. He failed and fled incontinently to the 梁 Liang State. The death of Ch'ao Ts'o relieved the situation, but the Prince of Wu still refused to disband his soldiers, and his destruction followed. On Mei Shêng's return, he was employed by the Emperor Ching Ti, until, becoming unpopular with his subordinates, he pleaded illness and retired. His beautiful poetry attracted much attention; and in B.C. 140, the Emperor Wu Ti, on his accession, sent 安車蒲輪, a comfortable carriage with muffled wheels, to bring him to Court; but the poet died on the way.

I

西北有高樓　上與浮雲齊
交疏結綺窗　阿閣三重階
上有絃歌聲　音響一何悲
誰能爲此曲　無乃杞梁妻
清商隨風發　中曲正徘徊
一彈再三歎　慷慨有餘哀
不惜歌者苦　但傷知音稀
願爲雙鴻鵠　奮翅起高飛

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Written in the Wu State, advising the Prince against rebellion.

In the north-west[1] there is a tall storeyed mansion,
The top of which is level with the floating clouds;
Its windows are curtained with spangled silk gauze;
It has four columns[2] and three flights of steps.[3]

From above come sounds of a stringed instrument and singing,
In tones which vibrate—oh, how sadly!
Who is able to produce this song?
Surely 'tis the wife of Ch'i Liang.[4]

A clear *shang*[5] is borne along on the breeze;
In the middle of the song there is a feeling of hesitation;
At each stroke, two or three sighs;
The key is mournful in its overflow of woe.

I do not begrudge bitterness to the singer,
But I grieve that those who understand are so few.[6]
Would that I were like a pair of herons,
To flap my wings and rise for a lofty flight.[7]

MR. WALEY (*op. cit.* pp. 41, 42) TRANSLATES:

Line 3. Embroidered curtains thinly screen its windows,
„ 4. Its storied (*sic*) tower is built on three steps.
„ 9. The tranquil "D" follows the wind's rising.
„ 12. Her high will conquered by overwhelming grief.

1. The 乾位, or sovereign position.
2. 阿=column. 有四阿重之阿閣.
3. Obviously the palace of the Prince.
4. The story of this hero, who refused (B.C. 550) a bribe to betray his master, and of his heroic wife, will be found in vol. v, pp. 503, 504 of Legge's Chinese Classics. Ch'i Liang was taken prisoner and put to death.
5. The second note of the Chinese quintole.
6. Few foresee the impending ruin of the State.
7. That I might achieve something for my country and save the situation.

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Line 13. She does not regret that she is left so sad,
„ 14. But minds that so few can understand her song.
„ 15. She wants to become those two wild geese
„ 16. That with beating wings rise high aloft.

["Storied" in line 4 must be kept for a different meaning: "Can storied urn or animated bust . . . ?"]

II

東城高且長　逶迤自相屬
迴風動地起　秋草萋已綠
四時更變化　歲暮一何速
晨風懷古心　蟋蟀傷局促
蕩滌放情志　何爲自結束
燕趙多佳人　美者顏如玉
被服羅裳衣　當戶理清曲
音響一何悲　絃急知柱促
馳情整巾帶　沈吟聊躑躅
思爲雙飛燕　銜泥巢君屋

A lament over the political outlook in the Wu State.

The Eastern City[1] is lofty and long,
Winding about in an unbroken line;
A whirling wind sweeps over the ground;
The thick vegetation of autumn is already dark-green.[2]

The four seasons change and bring about their changes;
The close of the year comes—oh, how quickly!
The falcon nourishes its old (cruel) heart;
The cricket bewails its hard circumstances.[3]

1. This seems to refer to 定遠, Ting-yüan, in modern Anhui. "Lofty" means built on an eminence; "long" refers to the city wall.
2. The green of spring would be 青.
3. On the approach of winter. Cruelty and hard fate are always with us.

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Cleansed, let us now give rein to our desires;
Why remain in bonds of our own making?[1]
In the States of Yen and Chao there are many lovely
women—
Beauties with complexions like jade.

They dress themselves in robes of silk,
And at their doors sing clear-ringing songs
In tones which vibrate—oh, how sadly!
The shrill pitch of the strings showing that the nuts have
been tightened.

Having relieved their feelings, they arrange their
kerchiefs and girdles,
Crooning deep notes, now higher, now lower . . .[2]
Would that I were like a pair of flying swallows,
Bringing mud for my nest on the Prince's house.

MR. WALEY (pp. 44, 45) TRANSLATES:

Line 1. The Eastern Castle stands tall and high;
„ 2. Far and wide stretch the towers that guard it.
„ 7. The Bird of the Morning Wind is stricken
with sorrow;
„ 8. The frail cicada suffers and is hard pressed.
„ 9. Free and clear, let us loosen the bonds of our
hearts.
„ 17. To ease their minds they arrange their shawls
and belts.
„ 18. Lowering their song, a little while they pause.

[In line 14, for 清曲 Mr. Waley has "tranquil lays." "Pure lays" might be considered.]

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1. Suggesting escape from a country threatening rebellion against the Imperial House of Han.

2. Loyalty triumphs against temptations when the poet detects a note of sadness even in song of the Ladies of Yen and Chao, and he longs to contribute his modicum of mud to strengthen his sovereign's rule by his own attachment.

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III

行行重行行　與君生別離
相去萬餘里　各在天一涯
道路阻且長　會面安可知
胡馬依北風　越鳥巢南枝
相去日已遠　衣帶日已緩
浮雲蔽白日　游子不顧反
思君令人老　歲月忽已晚
棄捐勿復道　努力加餐飯

Written after the poet's flight to the 梁 *Liang State.*

Marching, marching, and anon marching, marching,
Separated in life from my Prince,
More than ten thousand *li* apart,
At opposite ends of the earth to one another.
The journey is arduous and long ;
When can we meet again ?
The Tartar horse is happy with the north wind ;
The Tonquin bird rests on a branch in the south.[1]

The day we parted is already far off ;
My clothes and girdle have become daily looser and looser ;
Floating clouds obscure the bright sun ;
The wanderer has no hope of return.

Longing for one's Prince makes a man grow old ;
In no time the year has already approached its close....
Have done with it ! Let no more be said,
But let us devote ourselves to the pleasure of feasting.[2]

1. Each is happy in its own native sphere. So the Chinese proverb: "Happy are a thousand days at home, while every hour abroad is hard."
2. All chance of return being hopeless.

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MR. WALEY (p. 39) TRANSLATES:

Line 7. The Tartar horse prefers the North wind,
„ 12. The wandering one has quite forgotten home.
„ 14. The months and years swiftly draw to their close.
„ 15. I'll put you out of my mind and forget for ever
„ 16. And try with all my might to eat, and thrive.

[Referring to the last couplet, Mr. Waley says, the popular, but erroneous, interpretation of these two lines is:

"That I am cast away and rejected I will not repine,
"But only hope with all my heart you're well."

Mr. Waley does not tell us who was guilty of extracting this meaning from the ten Chinese characters which are literally

Cast reject not (=don't) again speak.
Exert strength add eat rice (=food).

IV

涉江采芙蓉
蘭澤多芳草
采之欲遺誰
所思在遠道
還顧望舊鄉
長路漫浩浩
同心而離居
憂傷以終老

In the Liang State.

I cross the River [1] and pluck hibiscus-flowers;
Orchids,[2] and many fragrant plants;
When I have plucked them, to whom shall I give them?
The one I long for is far away.[3]

1. The Yang-tsze, which the poet had to cross to get into the Liang State.

2. 蘭草生澤畔婦人和油澤頭故云蘭澤. Orchids grow alongside of marshes, and women mix them with oil and anoint their heads; hence, the name *lan tsé*. [*From the* 本草拾遺].

3. His Prince.

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I turn and look eagerly towards my old home,
But the long road stretches to an endless length.
My heart is with you,[4] though our bodies are apart;
Bitter sorrow will be mine to the end of life.

MR. WALEY (p. 42) TRANSLATES:

Line 2. In the orchid-swamps are many fragrant herbs.
" 7. The same heart, yet a different dwelling:
" 8. Always fretting till we are grown old.

V

青青河畔草
鬱鬱園中柳
盈盈樓上女
皎皎當窗牖
娥娥紅粉妝
纖纖出素手
昔爲倡家女
今爲蕩子婦
蕩子行不歸
空房獨難守

In the Liang State.

Green grows the grass on the river-bank,
Luxuriant the foliage of the willows in the garden;
A lovely girl in the upper storey,
A vision of beauty at the window.
Fair is her pink-powdered face,
And slender the white hand which she shows;
Formerly she was among a troupe of singing-girls,
And now she is the wife of a *roué*.
But as he has gone off and does not come back,
It will be difficult for her to live alone in her empty home.

4. This does not mean, as might be gathered from the text, that their political views were identical, but only that the poet's affection for his sovereign was unchanged.

1. This poem is understood to suggest figuratively the life of the poet in Liang, away from his Prince to whom he is always hoping to return. The fate of the singing-girl, never legitimately married, is supposed to be typical of his own failure in life; the disappearance of the *roué* is his own disappearance from his native State; and the last line is said to refer to his possible recovery of his Prince's favour.

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MR. WALEY (p. 40) TRANSLATES :

Line 3. Sad, sad, the lady in the tower.
" 4. White, white, sitting at the casement window.
" 5. Fair, fair, her red-powdered face.
" 8. Now she is a wandering man's wife.

VI

蘭若生春陽
涉冬猶盛滋
願言追昔愛
情款感四時
美人在雲端
天路隔無期
夜光照元陰
長歎念所思
誰謂我無憂
積念發狂癡

Written in Liang, on hearing of the rebellion of the Prince of Wu.

The orchid comes forth in the tenth moon,
And at the end of winter is still in full bloom ;
If I would speak in remembrance of my old affection,
My feelings would be influenced by all the four seasons.[1]
The beautiful girl[2] is on the extremity of the clouds,
And the celestial road cuts her off without hope ;
The glamour of the night lightens the primeval darkness,
As she heaves long sighs, thinking of her lover....
Who can say that I have no sorrows ?
My thoughts upon thoughts are ending in wild madness.[3]

1. The poet would have to recall the period when his advice was rejected and he fell into disfavour; as to flowers, one only thinks of their season of bloom.

2. The Weaving Damsel (*a Lyrae*) who is separated by the Milky Way from the Herd-boy (*βγ Aquilae*), her lover, except on the evening of the 7th of the 7th moon, when magpies form a bridge for her to cross over. See No. VIII.

3. This poem was excluded from the 文選, *Wen hsüan* (6th cent.) although its genuineness as the work of Mei Shêng had been established 陸機, Lu Chi (A.D. 261–303). Mr. Waley omits it from his "170 Chinese Poems" (p. 39) because of its "marked inferiority."

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VII

庭中有奇樹
綠葉發華滋
攀條折其榮
將以遺所思
馨香盈懷袖
路遠莫致之
此物何足貴
但感別經時

Written, like the last, in Liang[1].

In the courtyard there is a wonderful tree,
With dark-green leaves, which produces flowers in abundance;
I draw down a branch and pluck of its glory,
Meaning to send it to the object of my thoughts.[2]
The delicious perfume fills my vest and sleeves,
But the way is long and I have no means of forwarding it;
The thing itself—of what value is it?
Yet enough to stir emotion for the time elapsed since we parted.[3]

MR. WALEY (p. 43) TRANSLATES:

Line 2. Its green leaves ooze with a fragrant moisture.

VIII

迢迢牽牛星
皎皎河漢女
纖纖摺素手
札札弄機杼
終日不成章
泣涕零如雨
河漢清且淺
相去復幾許
盈盈一水間
脈脈不得語

Written in Liang, on hearing of the overthrow of the Wu State.

Far away is the star of the Herd-boy,
And glittering is the Damsel of the Milky Way;[4]

1. While the rebellion is still going on.
2. *Q. d.* his Prince.
3. From this we gather that the poet had already been for some time in Liang. "His feelings," says a critic, "are overcharged to express, while the language is extraordinarily restrained." 情彌迫而詞彌緩.
4. See No. VI, note 2.

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Slender is the white hand with which she throws the
shuttle,[1]
And rattle goes the loom as she works.
She will never accomplish her task ;[2]
Her tears drip down like rain.
The Milky Way[3] is clear and shallow ;
After all what a short distance apart they are ;
Separated by a beautiful piece of water,
They remain silent, unable to speak.[4]

MR. WALEY (p. 44) TRANSLATES :

Line 2. Brightly shines the Lady of the Han River.
" 4. Click, click go the wheels of her spinning-loom.
" 5. At the end of the day she has not finished her task.
" 7. The Han River runs shallow and clear ;
" 9. But the river water will not let them pass,
" 10. Gazing at each other but never able to speak..

IX

明月何皎皎
照我羅牀幃
憂愁不能寐
攬衣起徘徊
客行雖云樂
不如早旋歸
出戸獨彷徨
愁思當告誰
引領還入房
淚下沾裳衣

Written while still in Liang.

The bright moon, how radiantly it beams,
Shining on the gauze curtains[5] of my bed.

1. In order to make sense, "shuttle" has been taken from the next line.

2. This and the previous two lines are understood to refer to the poet's own efforts in the cause of peace.

3. Called the "Celestial River" by the Chinese.

4. Whereas No. V emphasized the distance between the poet and his Prince, this poem hints that though kept apart, the actual space between is bridged by their emotions.

5. A mosquito-net.

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For sorrow and anxiety I cannot sleep,
I seize my clothes, get up and pace to and fro.
Although the traveller talks about his joys,
Nothing is equal to an early return home.
I go out of the door and wander, alone, in uncertainty,
Thinking to whom I may tell my anxieties ;
Craning my neck[1] I go back again into the house,
And down flow my tears, soaking my clothes.[2]

MR. WALEY (p. 48) TRANSLATES :

Line 5. My absent love says that he is happy,
,, 6. But I would rather he said he was coming back.
,, 7. Staring before me I enter my room again ;
,, 8. Falling tears wet my mantle and robe.

1. These words may imply a state of expectancy, or merely mean moving forwards.

2. The poet is considering the question of his return to Wu.

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CHINESE AND SUMERIAN

BY

REV. HUGH W. WHITE, D.D.

[The bracketed numbers refer to the Table at the end of the *article*.]

The chief living student of this subject is the Rev. C. J. Ball, Professor of Assyriology in Oxford University. Twenty years ago he came forward with the theory that the Chinese language was derived from the old Babylonian or Sumerian, formerly called Accadian. Later, he worked on the truer principle that the Chinese and Sumerian scripts were kin. Hopkins wrote a strong review of his work in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, 1914–15, correcting some of his slips and giving suggestions as to lines along which his research might be profitable.

Lacouperie and Edkins had both worked on this idea before Ball. The former presented it in a paper before the Society of Arts in 1880, and the latter's book, *China's Place in Philology*, is based largely on the kinship of China and Babylonia. These authors buttressed their linguistic arguments with comparisons of sociological and architectural conditions in the two countries.

Ball went more deeply into his subject than they did, but he could not keep his eyes off the will-o'-the-wisp that misled

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Edkins, the idea that phonetics could be depended on to work out the kinship between ancient languages. Thus, much of Ball's work leads into bottomless morasses of guesswork as to what were the phonetic values of the ancient symbols, and how beautifully they proved—accepting, of course, his guesswork as a basis—that a Chinese "tap" or "tip" was the four-thousandth cousin twice removed of a Sumerian "tab" or "dib." Hence his book, on which he put so much time and effort, *Chinese and Sumerian*, does not come up to what we expected from his articles, published from time to time by the Society of Biblical Archæology.

On the written character also we see some flights of imagination. For example, Ball maintains (*Proceedings, S. B. A.*) that the Sumerian for "mouth" (1) is the same as the Chinese for "mouth" (2). How? Why, just strike off this, strike off that, and round up the corners; presto! there is your (2). He misses the self-evident fact that the Sumerian pictograph artist started with the whole face while the Chinese took merely the lips, a fact which differentiates the origin of the two. Ball's attempt to identify 金, "gold" with the Sumerian (3) must fail beside other views of that character. The Sumerian is from (4) "ku," bright, and (5) "gin," a reed, which Ball would identify with the Chinese 干, a rod. It might be possible to guess a few leaves on the rod, but how much simpler is the Chinese derivation from the phonetic 今 and the radical 土. Chalfant's derivation from two fires under a cover, *i.e.*, the crucible, is also simple, and possibly preferable. (Frank H. Chalfant, *Early Chinese Writing.*)

Yet Ball undoubtedly proves his main proposition. Even Hopkins admits that twenty-one of the ideograms studied by Ball show similarity in their Sumerian and their Chinese forms. We may not lay too much stress on mere resemblance in pictograms. Yet it is suggestive that the Sumerian for a "well" is (7) (Ball's No. 11) while the old Chinese is (8), and "field" in both is (9). Even more suggestive is Ball's No. 14, "wine-cup," which in Sumerian is (10) while the Chinese has (11) (according to Hopkins). So, too, Ball's No.

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40, "knife" (12), links up easily with the Chinese (39), from the shape of the knives of ancient China, as seen in the knife coins.

The evidential value of these pictograms is, however, weakened, so far as the general proposition is concerned, by others which show unmistakable proofs of divergent origin. Thus when the Sumerian would express the idea "East," he thought of the wind on the mountains, and formed an ideogram expressing this idea, while the Chinese expressed it by a picture of the sun rising behind a tree, (14) from (15) and (24). The one ideogram arose near the heights of Eastern Mesopotamia, while the other came from the alluvial plains of China.

Ball, however, goes further than mere pictographic resemblance. He shows some ideograms in which the resemblance could not have been accidental. Thus the Chinese character 卜, to "divine," is not a pictogram. It must have a history behind it. Chalfant and Couling at once saw its origin in the markings on the tortoise shells used in the ancient method of divining. To suppose that two countries, working independently, could have evolved this identical symbol—for both Sumerian and Chinese have the old form (16) sometimes written (17)—is an impossibility. Ball's No. 22 gives a good lead to the origin of 文, "writings," hence "literature." The Sumerian form (18) from the clay tablets, looks quite like the old Chinese forms (19) and (20). If these can be identified, they explain a character which otherwise is difficult to understand. Ball's No. 15, "region" or "place," represented in both Sumerian and Chinese, as he claims, by the form (21) would be strong evidence, as this is another ideogram which must have a history behind it. But Hopkins does not accept this as a variant of the old Chinese. He gives only such forms as (22) and (23).

Ball goes yet a step further, and traces up relationship in the compound characters. For two peoples to have adopted similar pictures of familiar objects might have been mere accident, but when we can see identity of process in the

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constructing of written forms, that clearly indicates community of thought. Ball traces this in the word "divination." The Chinese form 卜 (Giles' 877) is made up of 𠂆 and 口 and 卜 "one-mouth-divine." The Sumerian forms the same combination. Now take three other Chinese characters, "wood" (24), "not yet" (25), and "year" (26) (old form). These clearly have resemblance, yet we cannot conceive of any natural, unartificial relation between the ideas. One is a pictogram, and two represent abstract ideas. Chalfant has no suggestion on this subject. For "not yet," Chalfant's 387, he says, "significance not clear." For "year," his No. 129, he says, "obscure in origin." Now Ball calls our attention to the fact that the Sumerian has also these three ideas represented by ideograms (36), (37), (38), almost identical. Whatever the connection, it runs through both languages. Other chains of ideographic development suggested by him need further elucidation, and some sifting. From the above we see that Lacouperie, Edkins and Ball have all worked on a basis of fact.

I would suggest to students a yet broader proposition for investigation, viz., Are there traces in all the ancient scripts indicating an original kinship and common origin? Taylor classifies the hieroglyphs into five original, self-developed systems: Egyptian, Hittite, Babylonian, Chinese, and Aztec (*The Alphabet* by Canon Isaac Taylor). As to the Aztec, Professor A. H. Keane (*Encyc. Brit.* on "Indians"), William Dwight Whitney, and Max Müller, all held the view Taylor gives, that it was an original script. But little has yet been salvaged of this old writing except the ideograms for the months and numerals. (See, *e.g.*, *Report of the Smithsonian Institute*, 1903.) It is hardly practicable yet to trace up its kinships. But Denison, of Chicago, went into a prolonged investigation of the subject, thinking he was working on an original script, and came to the conclusion that it was derived from the Aryan! (*Primitive Aryans of America*, by T. S. Denison.) As for the Hittite, Sayce's valuable work towards the reconstruction of the Hittite script is thus far available

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only in the files of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The world waits for a book from him on the subject. Other writers, such as Messerschmidt, William Wright, etc., have given considerable data on the general subject. A comparative study of the Hittite and the Chinese ought to be practicable, given time and the competent man. Who knows what of relationship may be found between these two ancient nations, both comparatively lacking as to beards, with tip-tilted toes and flowing robes?

In the Egyptian there are most suggestive points as to its kinship with the Chinese. Ball "slipped up" by not taking the Egyptian into consideration. Thus he traces the Chinese "sun" (15), to the Sumerian (27). The obvious differential of the dot or stroke in the middle is easily disposed of with a dash of imagination—"Oh, it got there somehow." He had not noticed that the Egyptian "sun" has a dot in it, thus showing the Chinese and Egyptian "suns" to be first cousins, while the Babylonian can only come in as a third or fourth cousin. We have seen above that Ball's identification of the Chinese for "mouth" (2), with the Babylonian will hardly stand. But the Egyptian scribe follows the idea of the Chinese, taking the lips for his pictogram, thus (28) (*Encyc. Brit.*, 11th edition). So too the old Chinese pictogram for the eyes (29) (Shuo Wên) (目), fits with the Egyptian (30) (*Sixth Memoir* Egyptian Exploration Fund), rather than the Sumerian (31). The Chinese "mountain" also (32), is the Egyptian (33) (Egypt. Exp. Fd.) rather than the Sumerian (13). As to "field," we find all three, Chinese, Sumerian, Egyptian, using the identical ideogram (9). This striking fact should not be overlooked. That three great civilizations should choose this (9), mere pictogram though it be of level fields laid off for irrigation, seems to suggest community as to methods of farming and a common symbol to represent the idea. Note that the rounded form of (9) is a later modification, and the squaring of the character in modern times throws it back to its original form.

One of the composite characters, in which (9) is used, presents an interesting study. This is the character for

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"myriad." Chalfant would consider it a pictogram of a frog or some animal. Some of the numerous old forms given in the "Shuo Wên" would seem to bear him out. The puzzle is largely due to the lower part of the character, which no one can explain. But the form as it has been written by ages of Chinese scribes is composed of "field" and "grass," a most appropriate combination certainly to represent the idea "myriad." Now it is striking that the Egyptian, according to a character given by Maspero (*The Dawn of Civilization*), symbolizes "myriad" in the same way in the form (41). If this apparent parallelism in process of construction can be proved, it is significant.

Another ideogram which must have a past is that for "records" (冊). The Chinese form (34), Chalfant's No. 247, and the Egyptian (35) are evidently the same. Can we doubt that they are kin?

The one subject that needs most careful study is the Six Methods of Forming Characters, so well known in Chinese literature. Ball claims to find traces of these methods in the Sumerian. Hopkins takes issue with him on several points, and there is a battle royal over the fifth method, the "pivotal" characters, if we take the traditional name of that class. No wonder, for the "pivots" on which these characters revolved are enigmatical, and there is much discussion among Chinese authorities themselves as to what this class is, and what was the method. On other points, such as Ball's study of the third method, the combining of two fully formed ideograms and their meanings to make "suggestive combinations," Hopkins does not assail him, and indeed encourages investigation.

As to methods of forming characters, it is most interesting to find that the Egyptian makes full use of the fourth method, that on which such a large proportion of Chinese characters are formed, phonetics having their signification distinguished by radicals. It was Professor Tychsen, of Rostock, (died, 1815), who first discovered that the Egyptian uses what

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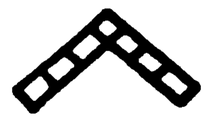
(4) 

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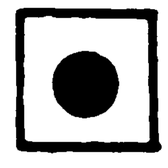
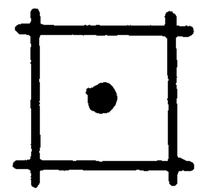
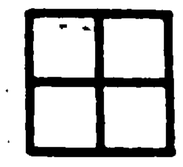
(7) 

(8) 

(9) 

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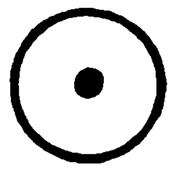
(15) 

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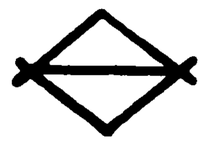
(18) 

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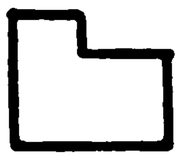
(21) 

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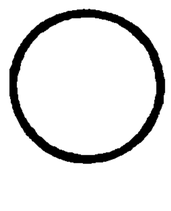
(27) 

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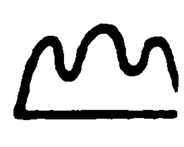
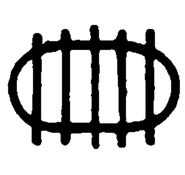
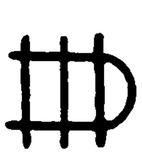
(33) 

(34) 

(35) 

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Egyptologists prefer to call phonograms and determinatives, the principle being the same as in the Chinese. (*International Encyc.*)

As to the Six Methods, in private correspondence Sayce writes that "all developed systems of writing (Cuneiform, Egyptian, Hittite, &c.) [parenthesis his] exhibit the same methods of forming characters as Chinese, with the exception of No. 5 (pivotal)."

On this whole subject it would seem that competent and thorough study would certainly produce results worth while. Proof might be found adequate to establish a common origin for the original scripts. The intercourse of those ancient days may have been more intimate than we should have thought possible. Failing either of these inductions, we should at least find that mankind is so much of a unit that under different times and in widely different conditions, the progress of human thought and mental development work out along lines remarkably similar.

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LE GRAND PÉLERINAGE BOUDDHIQUE DE LANG-CHAN ET LES CINQ MONTAGNES DE TONG-TCHEOU

BY

HENRI DORÉ S.J.

(*Suite.*)

CHAPITRE III

La Montagne du Loup et son pélerinage au temps actuel.

Article I.—*But de cette étude.*

Dans le chapitre précédent nous avons fait connaissance avec les célebrités du passé et étudié les pagodes élevées sur la montagne du Loup depuis le VIIe siècle jusq'au XVIIIe siècle ; les génies et les bouddhas honorés au cours de ces onze siècles ont defilé devant nos yeux ; c'est une page d'histoire religieuse pour le *passé.* Il nous reste à décrire l'état *présent* de ce sanctuaire bouddhique et les divinités qui y sont vénérées de nos jours ; ici nous abordons l'histoire religieuse contemporaine. Plusieurs ont pensé, peut-être, que la république chinoise proclamée depuis cinq ans doit avoir aboli toutes ces superstitions puériles. Hélas ! s'il y a eu quelques changements plutôt de façade que de réalité dans les ports ouverts et dans les grands centres, les campagnes

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restent à peu près dans le *statu quo* et il faudra vraisemblement des siècles pour déraciner ces pernicieuses coutumes.

Le pélerinage de Lang-chan en particulier, loin d'avoir perdu de sa célébrité devient de plus en plus fréquenté ; on y accourt de tous le points du Kiangsou, c'est par milliers que les pélerins s'y pressent à certains jours.

En étudiant attentivement ce lieu de pélerinage nous aurons sûrement la note juste sur les pratiques religieuses actuelles, car ces grands pélerinages sont comme des manifestations spontanées des croyances religieuses.

C'est dans ce but que je veux conduire le lecteur pas à pas à travers tout ce dédale de pagodes, depuis la grande porte d'entrée au bas de la montagne jusqu'au temple qui domine son sommet. Ensemble, nous visiterons minutieusement chacun des temples, nous verrons une à une les statues des dieux qui reçoivent l'encens des pélerins, nous assisterons même aux cérémonies cultuelles des dévots ; cette visite expérimentale et scientifique est de nature à donner des idées précises sur la religion contemporaine des Chinois.

Les trois cartes ci-jointes partagent en trois sections l'ensemble des constructions élevées sur la montagne du Loup.

I Le plan A reproduit la première section au Sud-Est, vers la base de la montagne.

II Le plan B figure les pagodes bâties sur le flanc Sud, légèrement Sud-Ouest, depuis la base de la montagne jusqu'à son sommet.

III Le plan C comprend la tour et les temples bâtis sur le faite de la montagne.

Article II.—*Les monuments du Plan A.* (Vers la base Sud-Est.)

1° Une porte monumentale bâtie à l'angle S.E. à la base de la montagne donne accès au petit bourg bâti au fond de la gorge étroite, qui sépare la montagne du Loup de la montagne du Glaive.

Cette population est presque complètement composée de traiteurs, cabaretiers et marchands d'objets superstitieux ;

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tout ce monde vit du pélerinage. A certaines époques les païens s'y rendent par milliers, mais en dehors de ces grandes affluences il y a toujours un courant ininterrompu de dévots ou de visiteurs ; peu de jours où il n'y en arrive au moins une centaine. Le commerce est donc assuré d'un bout de l'année à l'autre, surtout depuis l'achèvement de la route carossable qui relie la montagne à la ville de Tong-tcheou. L'inscription Chan men (山門), Porte de la Montagne, domine la porte d'entrée surmontée d'un étage. De chaque côté, derrière une balustrade, s'élèvent les deux statues de Heng Ha eul tsiang (哼哈二將), les deux maréchaux Heng et Ha, le Renifleur et le Souffleur, deux génies qui prirent part aux combats épiques livrés par Kiang-tse-ya (姜子牙) et Ou-wang (武王), (1122 av. J.C.), au dernier empereur des Chang (商) qui fut détrôné. Les hauts faits de ces génies sont racontés dans le Fong-chen-yen-i (封神演義). (Cf. *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. IX, p. 582.) Nous voici donc dès l'entrée en face de deux génies taoïstes constitués comme gardiens et sentinelles avancées du célèbre pélerinage bouddhique.

2° La pagode de Koan-kong (關公). Un petit sentier en zigzag, taillé sur le flanc du rocher, conduit à la pagode du dieu de la guerre, honoré officiellement encore sous la République chinoise.[1] Sur l'inscription au-dessus de la porte d'entrée on lit ces mots : Fou sing chan yuen (福星禪院) Monastère bouddhique de l'Étoile du bonheur. Deux rangées de chambres de chaque côté de la cour intérieure servent de maison d'habitation aux bonzes, Ce temple était jadis appelé, La grande pagode de Koan-kong. (Cf. chap. II, Art. 7.)

3° Les tombeaux. A l'Ouest de la pagode de Koan-Kong se trouvent les trois tombeaux du maréchal Kin Yng, de Lo Ping-wang, et d'un lettré du Fou-kien nommé Lieou Nan-lou (劉南廬).

A. L'épitaphe du tombeau du maréchal Kin,[2] le premier à l'Est, est ainsi conçue :

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VI, pp. 54-66; XIII (Dieux composites).

(2) Cf. chap. II, Art. 1, B, Sous les Song.

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"Année Ting-mao (1747), à la 4e lune, sous le règne de Kien-long. Tombe du maréchal Kin (de la dynastie) des Song. Restaurée par Lieou Ming-fang du Fou-kien (Min) et Ting Yeou-yu, habitant du pays."

De l'ancienne épitaphe en vers composée par Wen Tien-siang il ne reste plus trace.

B. Le tombeau de Lo Ping-wang est placé au centre, entre les deux autres. Sur la pierre tombale on lit les caractères suivants :

"A la IXe lune de l'année Ou-t'cheng (1748) (du règne) de Kien-long, (de la dynastie) des Ta-tsing, le préfet (de second ordre) Tong Kiuen-wen, gérant la préfecture indépendante (de second ordre) de Tong-tcheou. Tombe de Lo Ping-wang, (de la dynastie) des Tang. Restaurée par Lieou Ming-fang, de l'ancienne province Min (Fou-kien), et les notables du district Che Tchou et Siu Ling, qui ont fait graver cette pierre tombale."

Pour l'histoire de cette tombe cf. chap. II, Art. 1 (III, Les hôtes de passage ; A, Sous les Song.)

C. La tombe de Lieou Nan-lou. Ce monument est dans un état de délabrement qui touche à la ruine ; du reste il ne rappelle aucun souvenir historique important. L'épitaphe gravée sur pierre consiste en ces quelques mots :

(閩處士劉南廬墓) "Tombe de Lieou Nan-lou, lettré du Fou-kien." Devant les trois tombes un pai-fang ou arc de triomphe en pierre, à trois baies, forme l'entrée du cimetière. Les deux baies plus petites de l'Est et de l'Ouest sont fermées par un mur surmonté d'une grille en fer. La baie du milieu sert de porte d'entrée dans l'enclos mortuaire.

Article III.—*Les pagodes inférieures du flanc meridional.*

Les monuments du plan B sont bâtis en étagère sur le versant Sud, S.O. de la montagne ; nous les diviserons en deux sections, la première moitié du versant fera le sujet de cet article.

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Vers le milieu du petit bourg de Lang-chan s'ouvre le grand portail, qui donne accès à ces temples. Une série d'escaliers en pierre et de palliers, ménagés le long de la pente, relie les diverses constructions. Ces lacets courant en zigzags le long de la montée, permettent aux pélerins de visiter tous les temples tout en faisant l'ascension de la montagne.

PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU PLAN B.

1° Kin-kang-tien (金剛殿), le temple des quatre Maharadjas. Il est placé le premier en entrant, au Nord du grand mur d'honneur disposé en demi-cercle. Deux caractères forment le frontispice du portail : Lang-chan (狼山). Après avoir franchi cette porte d'entrée on pénétre dans le temple des Quatre grande rois, nommés par les Chinois Se ta kin kang (四大金剛), les quatre Maharadjas. On y voit quatre colosses foulant aux pieds des diablotins de bas étage ; ce sont les pendants hindous des Titans de la fable, escaladant le ciel pour détrôner Jupiter.

Voici leurs noms :

a. Mo-li-tsing (魔禮青), qui tient en main son sabre producteur du vent.

b. Mo-li-hong (魔禮紅) a pour caractéristique son parapluie. Il produit les pluies.

c. Mo-li-hai 魔禮海 accorde sa guitare.

d. Mo-li-cheou (魔禮壽) tient entortillé autour de son bras le serpent dragon hoa-hou-tiao 花狐貂.

Ces deux derniers distribuent dans un sage mesure les pluies et les vents.[1]

Au centre du temple, devant la porte d'entrée, sont logés les deux gardiens de la pagode, (a) Mi-lei-fou (彌勒佛) ou Maitreya, le bouddha futur, appelé aussi Siao-fou (笑佛), le bouddha rieur. Il a le ventre énorme et la figure épanouie.

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions*, tom. VII, pp. 226–33.

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(*b*) Wei-touo (韋馱), gardien armé du bouddhisme, ou le général Wei-touo.[1]

Une inscription verticale suspendue au sommet de la logette de Maitreya nous apprend que ce monastère Koang-kiao-chan-se (廣教禪寺) fut bâti par ordre impérial, la seconde année de Tsong-tchang (總章) (669 ap. J. C.) à la 2e lune, et fut récemment restauré à la 8e lune de la 4e année du règne de Hien-fong (1854) sous la dynastie des Ta-tsing, par les notables du Bureau d'entretien des pagodes.

Nous avons étudié cette question historique au chapitre II, (Art. V), nous n'y revenons plus ici.

2° Ta-pei-tien (大悲殿), le temple de la très compatissante (Koan-yng). Au sortir de la pagode des Maharadjas par la porte du Nord, on se trouve dans un grande cour intérieure entourée de temples. Sur main droite, à l'Est de la cour, c'est la pagode de la très compatissante Koan-yng.

(*a*) Le gardien est Wan-ling-koan (王靈官), génie taoiste, disciple de Lin-ling-sou (林靈素) au XIIe siècle. Comme dans plusieurs grandes pagodes, l'autel central est à double face. (*b*) Sur l'avers au centre, trône une Koan-yng avec mille mains.[2] (*c*) A sa gauche se tient Wei-touo. (*a*) A sa droite siège Koan-kong, le dieu de la guerre. (*e*) Sur l'avers de l'autel on trouve une seconde statue de Koan-yng, accompagnée de (*f*) Chan-tsai (善才), (*g*) Long-niu (龍女). Chan-tsai était un jeune bonzè que le Tou-ti-lao-yé (土地老爺) donna comme compagnon de Koan-yng à Hiang-chan (香山).[3] Long-niu était la fille du troisième fils de Long-wang, le roi-dragon ; elle demanda à son grand père la permission de se mettre sous la conduite de Koan-yng à Hiang-chan.

3° Luen-tsang tien (輪藏殿); le temple de la Roue de la Loi, ou de la Précieuse Loi, Pao-tsang tien (寶藏殿). Ce fameux temple, si connu dans tout le pays, se trouve à l'Ouest de la cour.

(1) *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine*, tom. VI, p. 78; VII, p. 206.
(2) *Ibid*, tom. VI, p. 149.
(3) *Ibid*, tom. VI, p. 117.

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Le premier autel en entrant est dédié à (*a*) Ti-tsang-wang (地藏王), le roi des entrailles de la terre, et dont nous avons parlé déjà précédemment. A l'Ouest de cet autel un grillage en bois formant cloison, interdit l'entrée de la salle occidentale. La porte ménagée dans cette cloison est toujours fermée à clef; quiconque veut y pénétrer doit payer son droit d'entrée au bonze portier.

Au-dessus de cette entrée est suspendue une inscription en quatre caractères: Fa-luen tchang tchoan (法輪常轉), la roue de la loi tourne toujours. Voici l'aménagement de cette salle.

(*b*) La triade bouddhique siège sur l'autel du fond. (*c*) De chaque côté de la triade on voit une statue de Ti-tsang-wang, le roi moderne des enfers. (*a*) Enfin au centre de l'appartement est érigé l'appareil tournant qui figure la Roue de la Loi. Il se compose d'une solide pièce de bois verticale, sa partie supérieure pénètre dans une solive du plafond, et sa partie inférieure s'enfonce dans un socle en pierre, creusé en forme de gond. Les deux extrémités de cette poutre sont arrondis et tournent à jeu doux dans le socle et dans la solive. Un pagodin en bois de forme octogonale est adapté solidement, comme un large chapiteau, vers le sommet de cet essieu vertical.

Devant chacune des huit portes ménagées sur les flancs du pagodin, se tiennent huit génies à figure grimaçante et au geste provoquant; ce sont les (*e*) pa-fang-chen (八方神), esprits des huit directions, préposés aux huit points de la rose des vents. Le peuple les nomme pa tsiang (八強), les huit fiers à bras.

Ces esprits des huit directions ne sont autres que les génies des huit régions correspondant aux huit diagrammes chinois et aux huit divisions de notre rose des vents. Comme le pagodin en question est un octogone, on en place un devant chacune des portes ouvertes sur ses flancs. De fait il y a en tout neuf esprits, nommés les Nobles esprits des neufs palais, kieou-kong-koei-chen (九宮貴神). Celui qui doit occuper le centre n'ayant pas où se loger, on l'a omis. Cette invent-

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ion remonte au· regne de Tang Hiuen-tsong (唐玄宗), 744 ap. J. C., et eut pour père le magicien Sou Kia-k'ing (蘇嘉慶), qui sollicita l'érection d'un autel dans les faubourgs de l'Est, en l'honneur de ces esprits, préposés à la pluie, aux vents, à la sécheresse et aux variations de la température. Pratiquement, ils remplacèrent le culte rendu aux cinq dominateurs Ou-ti (五帝), préposés aux quatre points cardinaux et au centre.

Pour faire tourner la lourde machine deux pièces de bois de dix pieds de longueur sont enfilées en croix dans deux mortaises de la poutre, quatre hommes saisissent les extrémités de cette croix, mettent le treuil en mouvement et font tourner le pagodin figurant la roue de la loi ou de la métempsycose.

D'après le système bouddhique les âmes roulent dans le cercle sans fin des renaissances. Après la mort, la roue de la métempsycose les rejette dans une vie nouvelle. Ceux qui n'ont pas d'enfants viennent tourner cette roue, dans l'espoir qu'elle déversera un héritier dans le sein maternel. Les bonzes ont fait croire à ces pauvres païens que le grincement produit est un signe que leur prière est exaucée. Aussi, avant d'entrer dans cette salle, ils offrent de l'encens à Bouddha, payent la somme convenue pour que le bonze ouvre la porte, puis se mettent à vigoureusement tourner la curieuse machine, jusqu'à ce qu'ils entendent les extrémités du montant grincer dans les gonds.

Tous les païens affirment qu'à certains moments on voit les yeux des huit génies remuer dans leur orbite, suivant qu'on foule aux pieds telle ou telle dalle de cet appartement ; alors même que la roue est au repos. Nous avons essayé de trouver le pavé sympathique, mais sans y réussir. Je croirais volontiers que, si ces racontars ont un fondement, les bonzes doivent avoir etabli à l'étage un système de ficelles, qui peut à volonté faire osciller les yeux de quelques statues, suspendus d'une certain façon dans l'orbite. J'ai étudié à loisir ce système de suspension, sur une statue de Lei-kong pou-sah, dans une vieille pagode de Taiping-fou au Ngan-hoei. Le globe de l'œil est suspendu à la manière des aiguilles aimantées dans

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une boussole : il suffit de toucher le magot pour que les yeux remuent.

Toujours est-il que toutes ces industries sont fort lucratives ; la roue de la loi procure de jolis bénéfices aux malins bonzes. L'installation actuelle date de Tao-koang, 5e année de son règne, 1825.

4° Le grand temple de Çakyamouni. Au Nord de la cour, et orienté vers le Sud, domine le grand hall de Çakyamouni. Au frontispice on lit cette inscription : Ta-hiong-pao-tien (大雄寶殿), très beau et précieux temple, c'est-à-dire le *nec plus ultra* des temples, le 'clou' des constructions de la montagne. Nous l'avons décrit en détail au Ch. II, Art. 4. De nos jours il est dans le même état qu'au XVIIIe siècle.

5° De chaque côté de cette pagode monumentale, près des angles Sud-Est et Sud-Ouest, sont bâtis deux temples secondaires, qui forment comme les decors de sa façade.

A. Kia-lan-tien (伽藍殿), le temple de Kia-lan ou Kalanda, disciple de Çakyamouni.[1] Il est situé à l'angle S.E.

B. Tsou-che tien (祖師殿), le temple des Patriarches du bouddhisme chinois. Il est placé à l'angle S.-O. ; on y vénère (*a*) Ta-mo (達摩), Bodhidharma, le premier patriarche du bouddhisme chinois, arrivé de l'Inde en Chine sous Liang Ou-ti (梁武帝), 527 ap. J.C.[2] (*b*) Chen-koang (神光), le second patriarche. Bonze novice à Hiang-chan, il se rendit à Song-chan (嵩山), fut ordonné par Bodhidharma. On le nomme aussi Hoei-ko (慧可).[3] (*c*) Tche-kong (誌公), nommé encore Pao-tche chan-che (寶誌禪師) ; né en 424, mort en 514. Il fut le favori de Liang Ou-ti, qui lui décerna le titre de Kouo-che (國師), maître du royaume. Il se donnait comme un avatar de Pi-kia-na (毘伽那), disciple de Çakyamouni. Plusieurs sectes bouddhiques le compte pour le 3me patriarche du bouddhisme chinois,

(1) *Recherches*, III partie, Vie de Çakyamouni.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, p. 246.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, p. 252.

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bienque historiquement le troisième soit Seng-tsan (僧璨), mort en 606.[1]

Article IV.—*Les pagodes supérieures du flanc méridional.* (Seconde moitié du Plan B.)

1° San-yuen tien (三元殿), le temple des trois Principes. Il est nommé aussi Fan-hing-ngan (梵行菴). Les trois principes furent formés par Yuen-che-tien-tsuen (元始天尊), l'être "a se," qui après avoir aspiré les neuf effluves du Yang (陽), et les sept effluves du Yin (陰), les fit sortir comme un souffle de sa bouche. Ils se nomment (*a*) Shang-yuen, Tchong yuen et Hia-yuen. On les nomme aussi les trois Agents, ciel, terre, et eau.[2]

2° Tse-hang-ngan (慈航菴), la pagode de l'île de la Miséricorde. Dédiée à Koan-yng, on y voit quatre statues difiérentes de cette même divinité, et toutes quatre représentent Koan-yng la pourvoyeuse d'enfants.

Derrière cette pagode s'élève une sorte de kiosque ou de tour sans porte, que les bonzes nomment Kiosque du bol et de l'habit (鉢衣亭), pouo-i-ting.

3° Koan-ti tien (關帝殿), le temple du dieu de la guerre. Il est construit à l'Ouest du précédent. On y vénère (*a*) Koan-kong (關公), le Mars chinois ; (*b*) Tcheou-tsang (周倉), sorte de géant, chef de brigands, qui fit sa soumission à Koan-kong, passa dans les rangs de son armée et devint son protecteur dans les combats; (*c*) Koan-ping (關平) fils de Koan-ting (關定), et fils adoptif de Koan-kong.[3]

4° Yu-wang miao (禹王廟), la pagode de Yu-wang. Deux statues y reçoivent les honneurs divins: celles de (*a*) Yu-wang, l'empereur Yu, le canalisateur de la Chine et le fondateur de la dynastie des Hia (夏), 2205 av. J. C.; (*b*) Wen-tchang (文昌), le dieu de la littérature, très souvent nommé Tse-tong chen (梓潼神), esprit de Tse-tong, parce qu'il habita Tse-tong au Se-tchoan.

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VII, pp. 253–71.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, pp. 16, 17.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, pp. 29, 62, 63.

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5° Fa-tsiu ngan (法聚菴), la pagode de la Concorde doctrinale, ainsi nommée parce que trois divinités appartenant à trois religions s'y donnent réunion, San kiao wei i (三教爲一), dit l'adage chinois, Les trois religions n'en font qu'une. (*a*) Wen-tchang ; (*b*) Liu-tsou (呂祖), un des huit immortels du taoïsme ; (*c*) Tchang-sien (張仙), le pourchasseur du chien céleste, le donateur d'enfants, très vénéré dans les pagodes bouddhiques.[1]

6° Fou-hoei ngan (福慧菴), la pagode du Bonheur et de la Science. Elle est située au N. E. et un peu au-dessus de la pagode Tse-hang ngan ; on y honore la triade bouddhique.

7° Fou-sing ngan (福星菴), pagode de l'Etoile du bonheur ; non loin de la précédente, un peu à l'Ouest. C'est encore une pagode dédiée à Koan-kong.

8° Pei-i ngan (白衣菴), la pagode de l'Habit blanc, c'est-à-dire de Koan-yng, où se trouve une statue de cette déesse vêtue d'un manteau blanc.[2]

9° Chan-yao kuan-ko (山腰官閣), la Pavillon officielle à mi-côte. Il est partagé en trois sections.

A. Ta-cheng siège sur l'autel central. C'est le bonze Se-tcheou Ta-cheng, le souverain de la montagne du Loup.

B. Sur l'autel oriental sont les statues de (*a*) Wen-tchang, (*b*) Liu Tong-ping (呂洞賓), (*c*) Tchang-sien. Elles occupent la même place que dans la pagode de la Concorde doctrinale.

C. Sur l'autel occidental sont représentés les trois Agents, san koan (三官); (*a*) Tien-koan, (天官), l'agent du ciel, réincarné dans la personne dc Yao (堯); (*b*) Ti-koan, (地官), l'agent de la terre, réincarné dans la personne de Shun (舜); (*c*) Choei-koan, (水官), l'agent de l'eau, réincarné dans la personne de Yu (禹).[3]

(1) *Recherches*, tom. IX, pp. 499, 587.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 145.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 23; *Chen-sien-lie-tchoan:* chang kiuen, pp. 54–57.

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10° Le kiosque à mi-côte (半山亭), pan-chan ting. Bâti en face la ports du Pavillon officiel, il servait de parloir et de salon à thé, lors des réunions officielles. A notre époque il est englobé dans le pavillon officiel ; ce petit édicule sert de trône à Ta-cheng.

Ces dernières années les bonzes ont établi une école pour les novices des sept bonzeries de la montagne. Quelques pagodes jadis ouvertes au public ont été affectées à cet usage, et réunies par des murs de clôture. Par le fait, elles deviennent une habitation privée, et les pélerins ne sont plus autorisés à y entrer.

Cette mesure a été prise par peur des décrets de confiscation ; l'école n'est nullement ouverte par amour de la science, mais elle servira comme de paratonnerre contre les cupidités républicaines.

J'ai visité ces pagodes avant qu'elles fûssent devenues des locaux scolaires ; elles ne contenaient aucune divinité spéciale qui n'ait été mentionnée dans les articles précédents. Je me rappelle seulement y avoir vu les dieux du Ministère du Tonnerre : Lei-kong (雷公) l'esprit du tonnerre ; Tien-mou (電母), la mère des éclairs ; Fong-pé (風伯), l'Eole chinois, dieu du vent ; Yu-che (雨師), le maitre de la pluie.[1]

Sur les autels figuraient en outre quelques pou-sahs, vermine de l'Olympe, et les dieux des cinq directions, Ou-fang chen (五方神).[2]

Article V.—*Les temples du sommet.* (Première section du Plan C.)

Le plan C comprend les monuments du sommet ; il sera, lui aussi, divisé en deux moitiés qui feront le subjet de deux articles.

Après avoir montê un large escalier de pierre et traversé les palliers, où sont installés les marchands des biblots superstitieux, on arrive à une large esplanade, entourée d'une

(1) *Recherches*, tom. X, pp. 689–707.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 750.

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balustrade en pierre. Cette vaste plate-forme carrée s'étend à l'avant de la pagode de Wang-ling-koan.

1° Wang-ling-koan tien (王靈官殿), le temple de Wang-ling-koan. La statue de ce génie est perchée au centre, sur une poutre. Sur les autels à sa gauche siègent (*a*) Tsoei chen (崔神), l'esprit qui hâte l'accouchement. Représenté tantôt sous la forme feminine de Ta-nai-fou-jen, tantôt sous figure masculine.[1]

(*b*) Kiang-chen (江神), l'esprit du Kiang. Pour cette charge transcendante il y a plusieurs titulaires : Ki-siang (奇相); Kiang-nan-pé, le comte du Sud du Kiang, Li-ping (李冰); Ou-tse-siu (吳子胥), ministre du royaume de Ou.[2]

Les trônes à la droite de Wang-ling-koan sont occupés par Wen-tsai chen (文財神) le dieu des richesses civil, et Ou-tsai chen (武財神), le dieu des richesses militaire. Ce duo est très en vogue à notre époque. Très souvent les deux personnages qui remplissent ce rôle sont Koan-kong et Tchao Kong-ming (趙孔明), des Trois royaumes. Le cheval rouge de Koan-kong, autrement dit le 'lapin rouge,' est placé près de la porte dans un angle du mur, à côté du cheval blanc du lettré.[3] Plus souvent encore Tchao Kong-ming, (趙公明), général des Chang (商), est honoré comme dieu militaire de la richesse.

2° Le vestibule du pavillon. Après avoir traversé la pagode de Wang-ling-koan, le visiteur se trouve en face du grand vestibule bâti la XVIIe année de Kia-king, 1812. Il sert d'entrée d'honneur au pavillon Tsoei k'ing-leou (萃景樓). Au frontispice de ce portail une inscription horizontale en quatre caractères invite gracieusement les pélerins à monter les degrée du perron construit en avant du pavillon : Keng chang i tseng (更上一層), Montez encore un degré.

3° Tsoei-k'ing-leou (萃景樓), le pavillon du Site Ravissant. Au delà du vestibule on franchit une cour

(1) *Recherches*, tom. X, p. 742.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, pp. 773, 788.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XI, pp. 956, 969.

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intérieure et on entre dans le pavillon aujourd'hui transformé en pagode. C'est ce monument, qui en raison de sa merveilleuse situation sur une esplanade tout au faite de la montagne, a inspiré aux poètes chinois leurs plus belles poésies.

A. Deux statues occupent le centre du monument. La plus proche de la porte d'entrée est celle du bouddha (*a*) Tsié-ing (接引), Amitha bouddha, honoré par les amidistes contemporains. Il habite le paradis de l'Ouest, où ses dévots jouissent d'un bonheur sans partage après leur renaissance d'un lotus.[1] (*b*) Wei-touo pou-sah, le général gardien des pagodes bouddhistes, se tient en arrière de Tsié-ing.

B. Sur les autels de l'Est siègent trois divinités stellaires. (*a*) Teou-mou (斗母) la mère du pôle. La célèbre Maritchi, mère des souverains humains, appelée en chinois Mo-li-tche (摩利支). Son palais est placé dans la Polaire, il se nomme le Gond du ciel, parce que toutes les étoiles tournent autour de ce pivot central.[2] (*b*) Nan-teou (南斗), l'esprit stellaire du pôle sud. C'est le vieux Cheou-sing (壽星), le dieu de la longévité. L'intendant des six étoiles du pôle sud est nommé Tcheou-ki (周紀).[3] (*c*) Pé-teou (北斗) l'intendant des sept esprits stellaires du pôle nord, est Hoang Tien-siang (黃天祥), fils de Hoang Fei-hou (黃飛虎), général des armées de Ou-Wang, le fondateur des Tcheou, 1122 av[4] J.C.

C. Sur les autels de l'Ouest; (*a*) Cheou (壽), l'esprit de la longévité, au crâne dénudé, le même que précédemment (*b*) Lou 祿, l'esprit distributeur des charges officielles et des dignités. Sous ce titre on honore Wen-tchang, qui a été canonisé : Intendant des dignités et des appointements des vivants et des morts (生死爵祿).[5] (*c*) Fou (福),

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VI, p. 81.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. IX, p. 565.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XI, p. 966; XII, Divinités stellaires; *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 99.
(4) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 709; *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 34.
(5) *Ibid.*, tom. II, p. 302; VI, p. 45.

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l'esprit distributeur du bonheur. Kouo-tse-i (郭子儀). né en 697, grand ministre des Tang, est d'ordinaire honoré sous ce titre. Cependant les païens honorent aussi Tien-koan-se-fou (天官賜福), l'agent du ciel, distributeur du bonheur.[1]

4° Kiang-chen-pao-tien (江神寶殿), le précieux temple de l'Esprit du Kiang. Au-dessus de la porte d'entrée on lit cette inscription (天風海濤), tien-fong-hai-tao ; c'est-à-dire, (L'arbitre) des vents du ciel et des vagues de la mer. Une tablette érigée sur son autel porte l'inscription suivante : Tablette de l'esprit du Kiang et de la mer, honoré par décret impérial.

Au chap. II, Art. viii nous avons donné la traduction de ces pièces officielles.

Sur l'autel du centre dédié à l'Esprit de la mer et du Kiang on honore Ou-tse-siu, ci-dessus nommé.

Sur les deux autels latéraux trônent les quatre grands rois-dragons, esprits des mers (les Nāgārājas de l'Inde). Leurs noms différent d'après les auteurs ; souvent les bonzes honorent Ngao-koang (敖廣), Ngao-kin (敖欽), Ngao-choen (敖順), et Ngao-joen (敖潤).[2]

5° A l'Ouest de la cour et du bassin Tai-ping tche (太平池), on voit une petite pagode divisée en deux salles distinctes. La première se nomme Eul-lang tien (二郎殿), salle dédiée à Eul-lang. Eul-lang ou Yang-tsien (楊戩), est maintenant un personnage connu, nous n'insistons pas. La deuxième salle se nomme Yen-koang tien (眼光殿), salle sous le vocable de Yen-koang pou-sah. Yen-koang ou la déesse de la lumière oculaire, la déesse oculiste, est une des acolytes de la célèbre Pi-hia-yuen-kiun (碧霞元君), fille du dieu de Tai-chan.[3]

Article VI.—*Les temples du sommet.* (Deuxième section du Plan C.)

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XI, p. 948 ; VI, p. 20.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 767 ; VII, p. 234.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 737.

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1° Tai-ping tche (太平池), le bassin de la Paix. Ce bassin est creusé dans la cour au Sud de la tour. Il est situé de telle sorte que des étages supérieurs de la tour on n'aperçoit qu'une étroite section de sa surface, en dehors du prolongement des toits. Les bonzes ont su mettre à profit cette particularité ; ils ont persuadé les gens que celui qui aurait l'adresse de jeter des pièces de monnaie du haut de la tour, dans ce bassin, serait le favorisé de la fortune. Toute pièce de monnaie jetée est recueillie, soi-disant pour les morts, parce que ce bassin se trouve placé devant la statue de Ti-tsang-wang, le dieu des enfers. Si les morts ne s'en servent pas les vivants savent les utiliser !

2° Tche-yun-ta (支雲塔) la tour Etai des nuages. D'après la manière de parler chinoise elle est à cinq étages, en réalité elle n'a que quatre étages superposés au-dessus du rez-de-chaussée. A chacun des étages quelque divinité est installée, mais c'est surtout le rez-de-chaussée qui constitue la véritable pagode de ce monument.

I. Le rez-de-chaussée. Cette pagode, aménagée entre les quatre murs massifs qui forment comme une sorte de crypte sous la partie basse de la tour, est dédiée à Ti-tsang-wang. De chaque côté de la porte d'entrée, deux niches ménagées dans l'épaisse muraille, renferment les statues des divinités (*a*) Koan-kong, dieu de la guerre, et jouant ici le rôle de gardien armé de la pagode. (*b*) Touo-ta Li-tien-wang (托塔李天王) Li Porte-tour, ou Li Tsing (李靖), père de Na-touo-san-tai-tse (哪吒三太子) ; génie taoïste à qui le bouddha Jan-teng (燃燈), fit présent d'une tour. Il est choisi tout d'avance comme gardien des tours.[1]

L'autel central est consacré à Ti-tsang-wang. Mais comme la tour Etai des nuages est dédiée au bonze Ta-cheng, il est juste que sa statue trouve place dans cette pagode, et on l'a placée derrière celle de Ti-tsang-wang, sur un trône près de la muraille Nord. Il a deux bonzes pour acolytes : Hoei-ngan-chan-che (慧岸禪師), et Mou-tcha tsuen-tché (木义尊者).

(1) *Recherches*, tom. IX, p. 569.

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A la gauche de Ta-cheng sont les six statues des esprits des six étoiles du Pôle Sud. Voici les titulaires de cette agence céleste. (*a*) Tcheou Ki (周紀), combattait dans les armées du tyran Tcheou (紂). (*b*) Hou Lei (胡雷), mourut au service de l'ancienne dynastie Chang. (*c*) Kao Koei (高貴), défenseur du parti des Chang (商), contre le pretendant Ou-wang (武王). (*d*) Yu Tcheng (余成), adversaire de la nouvelle dynastie Tcheou (周). (*e*) Suen Pao (孫寶), tué dans les combats contre Ou-wang. (*f*) Lei Koen (雷鯤), général des Chang (商).

Devant ces génies une tablette est érigée pour indiquer leur charge transcendante : Nan teou lou se yen cheou tchen kiun (南斗六司延壽眞君), les six vrais princes du pôle sud, recteurs de la longévité.[1]

Deux autres tablettes figurent encore à côté de celle-ci ; la tablette de Maritchi, la mère des souverains humains, surnommée la Mére du pôle et souveraine absolue de toutes les constellations de ces parages. Déjà nous l'avons nommée précédemment. Il y a aussi la tablette de l'Esprit recteur du soleil.

Le titulaire de cette haute fonction est l'esprit archer Chen-i (神羿), surnom du génie Tche-kiang-tse-yu (赤將子輿), disciple de Tai-i-hoang-jen (太乙皇人), et ministre de Hoang-ti (黃帝).[2]

D. A la droite de Ta-cheng sont rangées les sept statues des esprits stellaires de la Grande Ourse. Voici les noms des titulaires : (*a*) Hoang-tien-siang (黃天祥), fils de Hoang Fei-hou, général des Tcheou ; (*b*) Pi-kan (比干), le tyran Tcheou lui fit arracher le cœur ; (*c*) Teou Yong (竇榮), maréchal des armées du tyran Tcheou (紂); (*a*) Han Cheng (韓昇), chef d'armée de l'empereur Tcheou-wang ; (*e*) Han P'ien (韓變), défenseur de l'ancienne dynastie Chang ; (*f*)

(1) Tous ces hommes moururent dans les combats livrés par Kiang-tse-ya au tyran Tcheou 紂, et furent canonisés après leur mort. Cf. *Fong-chen-yen-i*, Hoei 99. *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires

(2) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires ; *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. III, art. 2, p. 9; art. 3, pp. 1–8.

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Sou Tsiuen-tchong (蘇全忠), officier au service du dernier empereur des Chang; (*g*) Ngo Choen (鄂順), officier au service de Tcheou-wang. Tous moururent glorieusement au service de leur souverain, et furent canonisés par Kiang-tse-ya.[1]

Devant ces statues les tablettes de deux autres divinités stellaires ont été érigées. (*a*) La tablette du mari de Maritchi, Tcheng Tsi-tchong (辰祭從), qui habite avec sa conjointe dans la palais le Gond du pole et est charge de la surveillance des constellations polaires.[2] Le titre de Libérateur des péchés, qui est ici sur la tablette, s'applique d'ordinaire à l'agent de l'eau, Choei koan.

(*b*) La tablette de l'esprit lunaire. La titulaire est Wan-ngo (婉娥), épouse de Chen-i (神羿), qui vola à son mari des pilules d'immortalité, les mangea, et puis s'envola dans la lune. Son mari habite le palais solaire et elle habite le palais lunaire. Le 15e de la lune Chen-i vient voir son épouse, et c'est pour ce motif que la lune brille d'un éclat exceptionnel.[3]

E. Dans une niche extérieure, au pied de la tour, sur le côté nord, on a logé une statue de Wei-touo, le général gardien des monuments bouddhiques.

II. Au premier étage. On a placé la statue de Tsié-ing, Amitha bouddha, du paradis de l'Ouest.

III. Au seconde étage est la statue de Tchoen-ti (準提), le Tchundi du bouddhisme, à multiples bras, huit ou même dix-huit, et à trois têtes, dont l'une est une tête de porc.[4] IV. Au troisième étage est la statue de Ti-tsang wang. V. Au quatrième étage se trouve deux statues, celle de Wei-touo et celle de Koan-yng sous figure masculine. Il est réprésenté assis, son pied droit est posé sur sa cuisse, et ses habits sont

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Fong-chen-yen-i*, 99 hoei.

(2) *Ibid.*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. I, art. 4, p. 9.

(3) *Ibid.*, tom. XII, Divinités stellaires : *Chen-sien-tong-kien*, liv. I, art. 4, p. 9.

(4) *Ibid.*, tom. VII, pp. 197–203.

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complètement dorés ; le pouce, l'index et le petit doigt sont allongés, les deux doigts médians sont recourbés, ses avant bras reposent sur sa jambe posée en travers. Il porte une longue barbe noire et sa chevelure est presque totalement dissimulée sous une toque dorée à l'indienne.

C'est un fait très significatif de trouver le Koan-yng masculin au sommet de la tour Etai des nuages, dédiée à Ta-cheng, avatar de Koan-yng. C'est une probabilité en plus, que Koan-yng était encore honoré sous figure masculine au temps du bonze Ta-Cheng, et à l'époque où fut élevée cette tour.

3° Tchoan-tche-ngan (川至庵), la pagode de l'afflux du fleuve : nom symbolique que nous avons expliqué au chapitre précédent. Cette pagode est sise en dehors de l'enclos de la tour, à l'Est du mur d'enceinte ; elle est dédiée à la triade bouddhique.

Au Nord de la tour, l'enclos s'élargit à l'Est et à l'Ouest en forme de deux demi-lunes, où sont bâties deux pagodes, placées sous le vocable des dieux de la littérature. En voici la déscription.

4° Wen-sing-ting(文星亭), le kiosque de l'étoile de la littérature, dans la demi-lune orientale. On y vénère Wen-tchang, le dieu de la littérature ; Koan-kong vénéré par les lettrés et les militaires ; Liu-tsou (呂祖), Liu Tong-ping (呂洞賓), un des huit Immortels et patron des lettrés.

Près de l'angle Sud-Ouest de ce kiosque, un pagodin supplémentaire nous fournit l'occasion d'étudier un trait de mœurs bien caractéristique.

Les lettrés, aussi superstitieux que les gens du commun, sinon plus, n'aiment pas se mêler au peuple pour faire leurs dévotions ; assez souvent même, ils se posent comme incrédules à propos de ces drôleries, de peur qu'on les raille de leur trop de crédulité ; mais loin des yeux de profanes témoins, la plupart d'entre eux ne peuvent s'affranchir de la routine. Bien rares sont ceux qui ne tournent point leurs regards vers le dieu de la richesse et les dieux tutélaires de l'enfance. Les bonzes n'ignorent point ces travers, et c'est pour cette raison

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qu'ils ont aménagé ce petit kiosque à leur usage. Il est situé de telle façon, qu'en se rendant au temple des dieux de la littérature, ils doivent passer devant la porte du pagodin. Et même, pour ménager leur orgueil, humilié d'offrir publiquement leurs hommages à une femme, les bonzes y ont placé un pou-sah masculin, à qui ils ont donné le nom de Tsoei-chen, esprit hâtant l'accouchement et présidant à la naissance de leurs enfants. Ainsi tout s'arrange pour le mieux. Ce kiosque renferme donc les deux pou-sahs, Tsoei-chen, et Tchao kong-ming (趙公明), dieu de la richesse et maréchal des Chang.

5° Wen-sing-lou (文星樓), pavillon à étage de l'Etoile de la littérature. (*a*) Tout au fond et au-dessus des autres dieux est perchée la statue de Koei-sing, divinité stellaire distributrice des grades littéraires.

Le titulaire de cette charge est un académicien nommé Koei, qui se vit injustement refuser la rose d'or, parce qu'il avait une mine désavantageuse. De dépit, il se jeta dans le fleuve, mais un monstre marin nommé Ngao (鰲), le remonta à la surface et le porta aux cieux.[1]

Les autres dieux sont (*b*) Wen-tchang, dieu de la littérature, déjà nommé. (*c*) Koan-kong, dieu de la guerre et des lettres. (*d*) Liu-tsou, l'immortel, patron des lettrés. (*e*) Tchou-i (朱衣), l'Habit rouge, le protecteur des candidats faibles, le dieu de la chance pour les lettrés qui se présentent aux examens.[2] (*f*) Kin-kia (金甲), la Cuirasse d'or. Ce dieu porte un drapeau qu'il n'a qu'à agiter devant une maison pour que la famille compte parmi ses descendants des lauréats aux concours académiques.[3]

Nous voici enfin arrivés devant la dernière et la principale pagode de la montagne ; c'est le célèbre temple du bouddha Ta-cheng, qui occupe le point culminant de la cime. Ce sanctuaire bouddhique est un des plus fréquentés de notre époque ; il mérite donc une description minutieuse.

(1) *Recherches*, tom. VI, p. 45.
(2) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 50.
(3) *Ibid.*, tom. VI, p. 52.

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Nous y trouvons quinze dieux appartenant à toutes les religions, il y en a donc pour tous les goûts.

A. Se-tcheou ta-cheng (泗州大聖), le grand saint de Se-tcheou. C'est le maître de céans, il trône sur l'autel central, assis dans sa niche enfumée. Son front est ceint d'un diadème d'or ; devant sa statue deux vases contiennent des fleurs de lotus métalliques. La fumée des lampes et des bougies de graisse a noirci les murs et infecté l'air de ce bouge d'enfer. Il est entouré des quatorze esprits protecteurs de la foi bouddhique, Hòu-fa-chen (護法神), comme les nomment les bonzes. Voici leurs noms :

B. Les sept à la gauche du bouddha.

1. Sé-chan-tchao-lié-ta-ti (祠山照烈大帝), vulgairement nommé Tchang-ta-ti (張大帝), honoré specialement à Koang-té-tcheou (廣德州), au Ngan-hoei. Il se métamorphosa en porc pour creuser un canal. Il vivait vers la fin des Han occidentaux.[1]

2. T'soei-tien-chen (崔天神) ; son nom est T'soei Yng; il habitait Fei-hoang-chan (飛鳳山), où le maréchal Hoang Fei-hou (黃飛虎), le gagna à la cause de Ou-wang, fondateur des Tcheou. Ce général, en récompense de ses services fut canonisé: Intendant du mont sacré du Nord.[2]

3. Lou Tien-chen (盧天神), le général Lou Tchang (盧昌), mourut dans le combat des Dix mille génies, pendant la guerre du changement de dynastie au début des Tcheou (周). Il fut canonisé Recteur de l'étoile Tien-ki-sing (天機星) (3° de la Grande Ourse).[3]

4. Teng-tien-chen (鄧天神), Teng Tchong (鄧忠), général des Chang, prit part à la bataille de Si-ki (西岐), contre Kiang-tse-ya, fut canonisé Intendant du Ministère du tonnerre avec le titre de Tien-kiun, prince céleste. C'est un génie au visage bleu-verdâtre, cheveux rouges, dents ressortantes et croisées hors des lévres ; il est vêtu d'une

(1) *Recherches*, tom. XII, Dieux composites.
(2) *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 69; hoei 99, p. 37.
(3) *Ibid.*, hoei 99, p. 39.

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robe rouge et porte une cuirasse d'or, son armure est une hache.[1]

5. Teou-tien-chen (竇天神), Teou Yong (竇榮), maréchal de Tcheou Wang (紂王), tué à Yeou-hoen-koan (遊魂關), par Kin-touo, et Mou-touo, fils de Li Porte-tour. Il fut canonisé Recteur de l'étoile Ou-kiu-sing (武曲星). Chaque fois que cette étoile se réincarne sous figure humaine, cet homme devient académicien militaire.[2]

6 et 7. Deux Rois-dragons ; Nagarajas bouddhiques. Çakyamouni avant sa mort avait confié sa loi aux rois-dragons, les priant de la protéger contre ses ennemis.[3]

C. Les sept à la droite du Bouddha sont (*a*) Wang-ling-koan (華光五顯靈官大帝), (*b*) Ma-ta-yuen-choai (馬大元帥) ; nommé encore Ling-koan Ma-yuen-choai, génie mi-bouddhique, mi-taoïste, condamné par le bouddha Jou-lai (如來) à se réincarner, parce qu'il s'était montré trop sévère dans la répression des mauvais esprits.[4] (*c*) Tchao-yuen-choai (趙元帥), Tchao King (趙景), du Se-tchoan, un des noms de Eul-lang. Cet officier livra combat au dragon, le poursuivit dans les eaux du fleuve, et lui coupa la tête.[5] (*a*) Wen-yuen-choai (溫元帥), bachelier du Tché-kiang, vainqueur du dragon. Canonisé Maréchal des Esprits et Intendant de tous les fonctionnaires du Pic sacré de l'Est. Il figure dans la plupart des pagodes du dieu de Tai-chan. Il est armé d'une sorte de poignard hérissé de pointes.[6] (*e*) Yo-ta yuen-choai (岳大元帥), Yo Fei, général des Song, dont nous avons parlé ci-dessus. (*f*) (與佛齊德安樂聖公). Ce bouddha s'appelait Ngan-lô kou-fou (安樂古佛). C'est le 13e d'une série de 24 bouddhas, qui sont des transformations de 24 pierres précieuses, que possédait l'ancêtre primordial Ou-yuen kou-fou (無源古佛), ou le

(1) *Fong-chen-yen-i*, hoei 41, p. 9; hoei 99.
(2) *Ibid*, hoei 93, 94, pp. 19, 21 ; hoei 99.
(3) *Recherches*, Vie de Bouddha.
(4) *Ibid.*, tom. X, p. 710.
(5) *Ibid.*, tom. IX. p. 591.
(6) *Ibid.*, tom. IX, p. 658.

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bouddha ancêtre sans origine.[1] (*g*) L'esprit gardien de la montagne du Loup. Le génie protecteur de cette montagne est par le fait le protecteur du temple qu'on y a érigé.

Pour achever notre tournée d'inspection il ne nous reste plus qu'à jeter un coup d'oeil sur le kiosque moderne de la Koan-yng à l'Habit blanc, érigé au-dessus de la paroi à pic de la vieille falaise, sur le flanc septentrional. Ce monument symbolise on ne peut mieux la moderne Chine s'obstinant à rester païenne. Il domine les constructions neuves que Mr. Tchang Kien vient de faire élever au pied du rocher pour les mendiants qui harcelaient les pélerins, espérant leur tirer quelques sapèques.

Le succès du pélerinage. En terminant cette étude, voyons dans un résumé rapide quelles sont les causes de célébrité de ce pélerinage de Lang-chan.

1° Un site pittoresque, tranchant sur la monotonie de cette vaste plaine d'alluvion.

2° Une vue splendide du haut de l'ancienne falaise dominant le cours du Kiang.

3° Des noms poétiques donnés à tous les saillants de roche. Les paysans sont de grands enfants qui ont besoin d'être amusés; les poètes chinois, baladins de la phrase, ont trouvé le mot de la situation.

4° De vieux souvenirs légendaires, habilement transmis de générations à générations, se rattachent à tous les recoins de la montagne. Grotte des immortels, grotte du Soleil levant, pont jeté en mer par T'sin Che-hoang-ti, multiples souvenirs des hommes remarquables des temps passés; maréchaux, poétes, peintres, littérateurs, compatriotes célèbres, etc.

5° Les légendes, qui jouent un si grand rôle dans les milieux populaires; pierres tombées du ciel, ascensions d'immortels, préparation de pilules d'immortalité.

6° Les poésies chantant l'aménité de ces hauts lieux, et en circulation dans les milieux lettrés.

(1) *Sien-fon-tcheng-tchoan-tche-kiai* (préface) 仙佛眞傳直解 (序).

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7° Les prodiges inventés par les bonzes pour duper la simplicité de ce pauvre peuple: statues flottantes, prétendus miracles de leurs divinités.

8° Victoire célèbre que la jalousie d'un ministre de la guerre attribue officiellement à un Esprit, plutôt que de voir son rival en cueillir les lauriers

9° Edits impériaux prescrivant la construction de certains temples, l'oblation de sacrifices.

10° Cérémonies officielles en grande pompe, à l'occasion des sacrifices, de l'érection des stèles, de la restauration des pagodes.

11° Les monuments rappelant le souvenir des ascètes, des bonzes célèbres ou thaumaturges, et des premiers fondateurs.

12° Attractions, amusements, v.g. la Roue de la métempsycose, l'oscillation des yeux de certains pou-sahs, l'ascension sur le sommet de la tour, le jet des pièces de monnaie dans la Piscine de la paix.

13° La multiplicité des pagodes et des pou-sahs qui y sont honorés.

14° Le choix judicieux des dieux les plus en vogue, les plus populaires.

15° Surtout le vocable de Koan-yng, qui y est honorée sous toutes les figures. Koan-yng aux mille mains, Koan-yng la donatrice d'enfants, Koan-yng à l'Habit blanc, Koan-yng sous figure masculine, etc.

16° Le culte de Ta-cheng, avatar de Koan-yng, ou Koan-yng dans une existence plus rapprochée de nous. Trouvaille énorme! mais qui n'est pas faite pour épouvanter la crédulité populaire. Plus la chose est forte, plus elle a chance de faire fortune, quand elle caresse des illusions chéries.

17° En Chine on croit encore presque universellement que le dragon forme les nuées et produit les pluies. Or des légendes nombreuses placent l'antre des dragons à Lang-chan, sous la domination plénière de Ta-cheng. Donc il est l'arbitre

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de la sécheresse ou de l'inondation, la fortune des paysans est entre ses mains, il importe de se le rendre propice.

Cet aperçu rapide a encore un avantage plus général, c'est de nous initier à la mise en œuvre des moyens de réussite exploités par les bonzes dans les cas analogues. Ce n'est pas seulement à Lang-chan qu'ils ont usé ces expédients, mais sous une forme ou sous l'autre nous retrouvons un peu partout les mêmes procédés couronnés du même succès.

Tout pélerinage en Chine est une spéculation, car les bonzes et les tao-che sont aussi réfractaires à tout amour désintéressé, qu'une plaque d'amiante à l'action du feu.

[Fin.]

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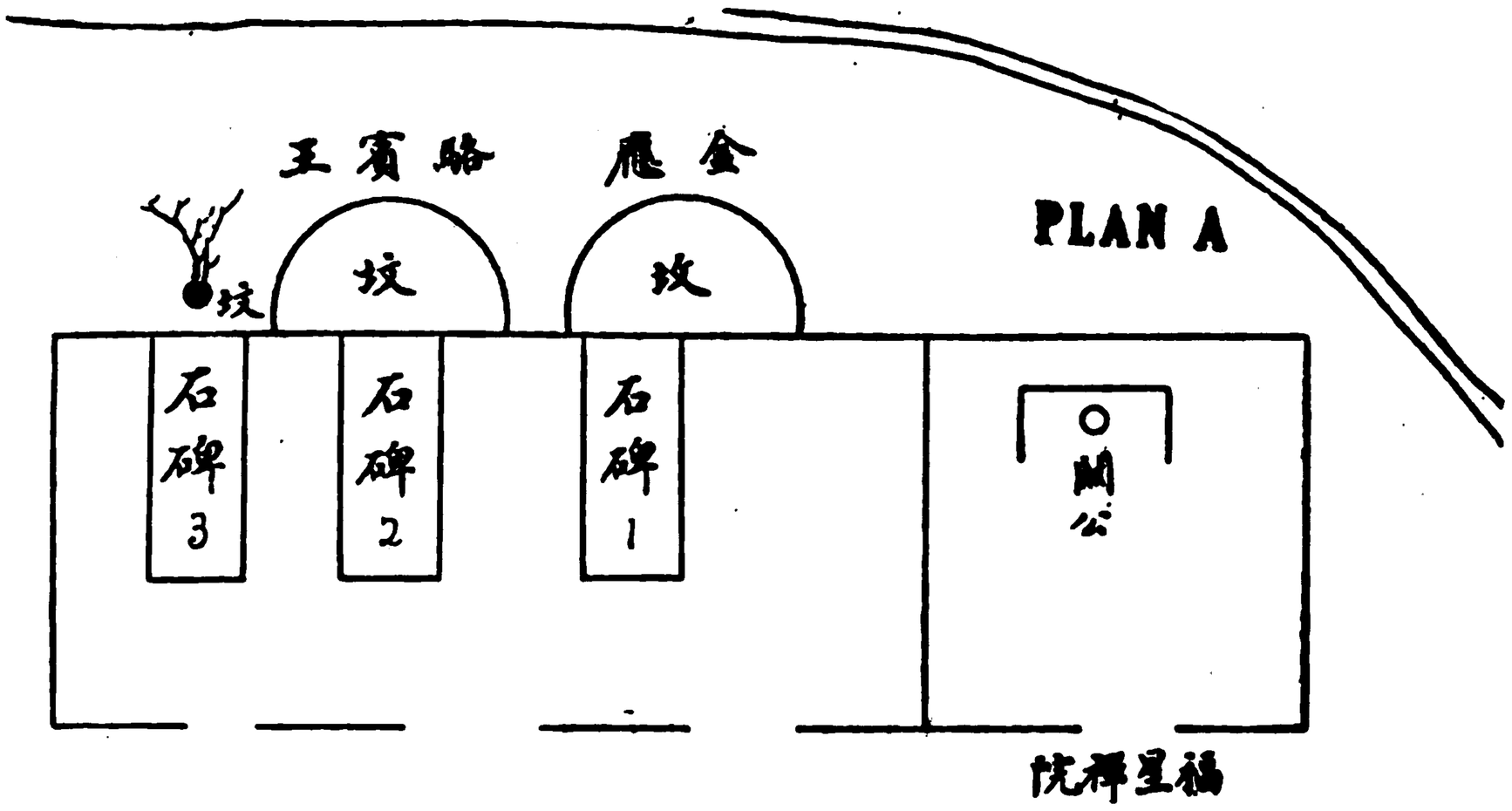

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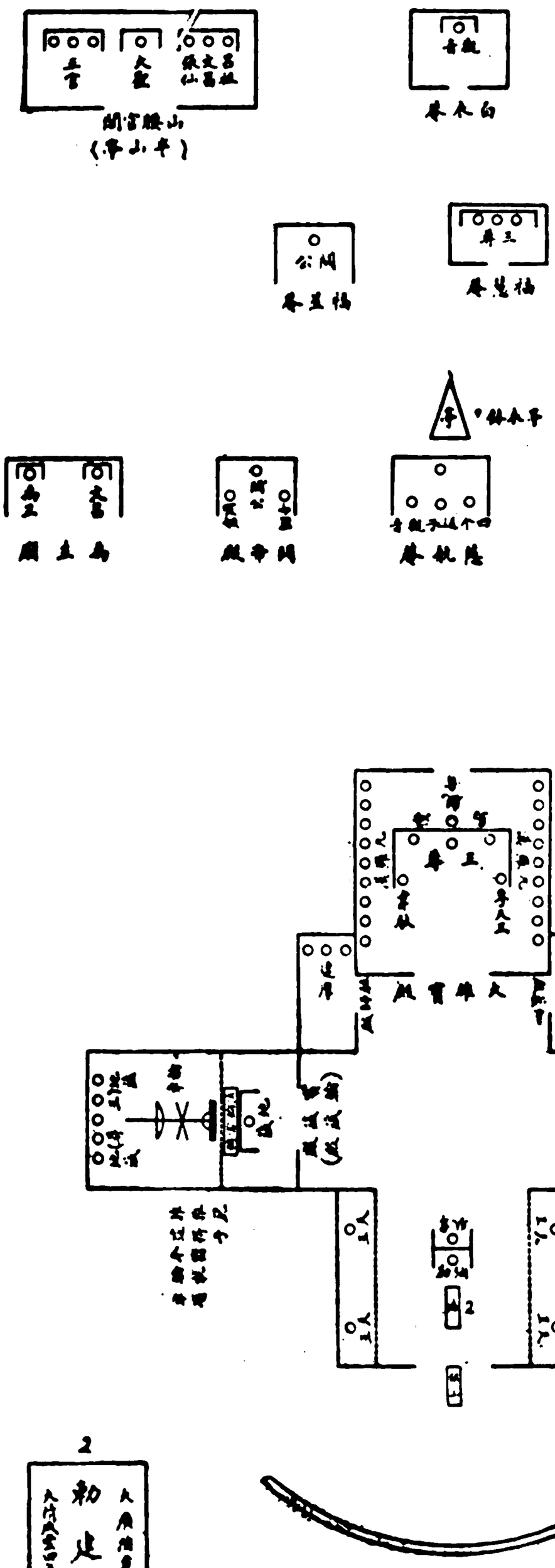
PLAN B



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PLAN C

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

SECRET SOCIETIES

During the past twenty years the writer's calling has often brought him into close contact with and even into sharp opposition to secret society organizations in Ssŭch'uan. The chief difficulty in studying such societies is, of course, that they are secret, and the divulging of details is likely to be severely punished.

The difficulty all missionary societies have had in getting a foothold in Ssŭch'uan is due to the Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行), or Confucian Society. The plots of the literati culminated in the riots of 1895. From that year till about 1902 new influences were brought into play by bringing the more lawless elements of society into action. This period might be called the Hypnotic Period; it includes the Yü

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Man-tzŭ rebellion of 1898, the Boxer upheaval of 1900, and the local Boxer trouble of 1902, when the Boxer bands even entered the provincial capital.

From 1902 a new phase begins, when the Ch'ien Tzŭ Hang (鏈子行), or Tally Society, made a movement toward the Church to capture it for political purposes, both protective and aggressive. The period ended in the Revolution of 1911.

To be clear, it may be stated here that the Tally Society is the same as the Han Liu (漢流), or Ko Lao Hui (哥老會), and the period may be named the Han Liu period.

After 1911 those who had entered the Church for political reasons tried to get possession of Church property or to start self-governing causes of their own; but always for political or personal advantage. This might be called the Self-government Period.

The first three of the above periods exhibit phenomena important not only now, but acting even in remote antiquity.

The writer believes that this ancient West China fraternity originated in the Totemistic age. That age, which was one of magic, has left many traces, especially in these sodalities. The frequent mention of the dragon in the organization of the brotherhood abundantly proves its Totemistic origin. The leading Elder Brother is spoken of as the "Dragon's Head." The baser sort, who make a living by roving, are called "Rolling Dragons." And a score of similar instances might be given.

Not to go further back than the end of the Choù (周) dynasty, we may divide the society of the time into three classes: (i), followers of Confucius—the reform party; (ii), followers of Lao-Tzŭ—a mystical party; (iii), followers of Nature—a reactionary party that developed into the Han Liu fraternity. These three schools of thought can be distinctly seen in the secret society organizations of West China to-day.

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The Confucian Society, Tang Tzŭ Hang (黨子行)

The School, or Society, is very ancient and has always borne an agnostic stamp, both in literature and religion.

The worship of Confucius is a very real thing in China, and the substitution of a tablet for an image, a change made by the Republic, is very superficial. But few, if any, of the Confucian schools have ever been satisfied with the worship of Confucius alone, but freely indulged in the worship of ancestors, and have invited the aid of the Shaman brethren when expedient or when sickness or death in the family made it necessary. Thus, the Confucian scholar may also be a follower of both the mystical and naturalistic schools.

It is readily understood that the class of persons who enter the Confucian Society is different in caste and calibre from those of other societies; but it must be remembered that the agreement is equally binding and the political consequences even more serious than in the case of other societies, and it has been the source of revolutionary activities of great importance.

The Confucian Society is the society *par excellence* of the official, scholar, and student. In its present form it dates at least from the T'ang dynasty, when the followers of the "Peach Orchard" trio refused to recognize the T'ang and clave to the Han (漢) and Liu (劉), and are called Han Liu (漢流).[1]

The Mystical or Hypnotic Sect, Chiao-fei (教匪)

The Hypnotic School has always been closely connected with the Taoist sect, with charms, trances, and spells of various kinds; and it may be that some of the exploits attributed to ancient heroes were done under hypnotic influence. The trances, etc., are brought about by regular training of mind and body, a rigid concentration of spirit, and

(1) Though the characters are different some Chinese give this explanation of Han Liu.

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complete submission of the being to the domination of some particular demon: when the training is complete the whole person is under the mesmeric control of the demon.

The rallying centre of these hypnotic sects is generally a living goddess of mercy, usually a girl of sixteen or eighteen or even younger; doubtless the remnant of a cruder, naturalistic system of great antiquity.

There is quite a long list of these sects which have caused insurrection and bloodshed in different parts of the country. These religious fanatics, *chiao fei*, have caused much more difficulty to the government than the ordinary *ku-fei* (喝匪) (*v. inf.*) The latter rob for their sustenance, and having stolen enough they live luxuriously till there is need for another raid to get more funds. But the religious fanatics are of a very different character.

Such societies seek first by charms and vegetarian vows to win the rich and landed classes. They promise immortality as the reward of large liberality and abstinence from fornication, wine, and pork. The entrance fee is generally small, but members have only the common purse; even rice and clothing are held for the common use.

Having gained a footing among the rich, they next win over the village headmen, and finally the retainers of the district magistrate. When trouble arises, the magistrate may send to suppress it and may even raid the Society's headquarters; but care is taken that the propagandists are protected and escorted to their resorts in the southern mountains.

Such societies may differ in the charms they use and the idols they worship; but they have mesmeric hypnotism and fanatical trances as their common feature.

In this category are included the White Lotus Society (白蓮教), the Arabic (天方),[1] the Eight-Diagram Society

(1) This might mean "square heavens."

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(八卦), the Red Lantern Society (紅燈教), the United Fists Society (義和拳), the Big Sword Society (大刀會), the Lamp-wick Society (燈花教), and others.

The many rebellious movements and rebel leaders with which and with whom these Societies are connected will be found in history.

In Ssŭch'uan many people knew the Boxer arts before 1900, especially round such centres as Paoning (保寧), Mienchou (綿州), and Chin T'ang hsien (金堂); but there was not enough strength or organization for a rising.

The hypnotic arts are still practised in secret in different parts of the province, but more especially in the North, their original home. The vows used are many and various, but the chief are for the purification of the body and of the mouth. Their charms also are very abundant, the chief ones being the Kao Wang (高王符) charm and the Goddess of Mercy (觀音) charm.

In 1905 a hypnotic sect entered Ssŭch'uan from Shensi and disturbed the eastern and southern parts of the province. It was known as the Ch'ing Ch'a Chiao (清察教). Its charms were similar to those of the Red Lantern Society; but the vows were different and seem to have originated in the Yangtze provinces, for the "tea-planter's ballad" was used in the religious observances.

During the short reign of Hsüan T'ung a religious sect drilled and caused trouble in eastern Ssŭch'uan; but they never got out of control owing to the severe measures taken against them by the authorities.

The Reactionary School, or Han Liu (漢流)

This is our third great class of secret societies. It must be borne in mind that our division is by no means arbitrary. It is quite possible for a person to belong to all three classes; on the other hand there has sometimes been strife, especially between the Hypnotic and the Reactionary Schools.

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Investigating the origin of this School we find it begins in hoary antiquity, and probably represents the most ancient demon worship. The class tenaciously holds to natural depravity, resists external reforms, and through the ages has made licentious liberty the chief ideal of life.

The heroes worshipped are the " Peach Orchard " trio of the Han dynasty; but they have also a system of Shamanism probably of much earlier date, and including all manner of sorceries and wizards' art.

Among other terms the brethren call themselves *tsa-mên ti-hsiung* (咱們弟兄), we brethren. *Tsa-mên* is of northern origin and Shamanism had its origin in Northern Asia; hence I believe this brotherhood to be Asiatic Shamanism. This system of Shamanism has very wide ramifications in Central Asia, where neither race nor religion seems to debar anyone from joining the secret conclaves. On the Tibetan border Chinese and aboriginals make sworn covenants for mutual protection and assistance in business matters. No Chinese could prosper in barter trade with Tibetans unless he was a member of this Society; he would most likely be robbed and killed on his first journey.

The sorcery practices which are such a feature in this brotherhood are presided over by a system of lay Taoist priests called *ho-chü-tao* (夥居道). These men, though knowing all the arts of the exorcist and much of the doctrine of Tao, are not celibates or hermits, as in the regular priesthood, but have their homes among men and around their ancestral tablets.

The Society delights in sorcery and wizardry, and on the slightest pretext members present one another with a "pacification concert." Such occasions as a sickness in the family, a slight bodily injury, an unlucky omen, etc., are seized on as excuses for a midnight orgy to expel some troublesome demon. At the close of such uproarious nocturnal performances the baser sort amuse themselves by committing robberies on their way home in the small hours.

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The weird music connected with Shaman worship needs to be heard, for no pen can describe the uncanny effects; the drum of the temple, the blast of the trumpet, the conch horn of the wizard, the hooting cow's horns of the priests, the clash of cymbals, the crash of gongs, the howling of demon-oppressed people, the cry to departing spirits, are all directly or indirectly related to this brotherhood.

Many primitive and objectionable customs are still practised in the sect. Marriage by capture is by no means unknown, and to many it is the ideal method. Eating the liver and the heart of an enemy, or distributing parts of his body to distant places for others to eat; the sacrifice of human victims to the flags or to the spirit of a fallen comrade, are customs still practised. The Society has thus earned the name *ho-êrh-liu* (和而流), or loose profligates.

The Ssŭch'uan Ku-lu-tzŭ (嘓嚕子)

The province was practically depopulated by the robber bands of Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (李自成), Chang Hsien-chung (張獻忠), Wang San-huai (王三槐), and others. Many were slaughtered, many fled. Afterwards immigrants from Hupei, Hunan, and other provinces occupied the deserted soil and bound themselves by oaths for mutual protection against remnants of robber bands or returning émigrés.

Many old inhabitants returned, to find their lands in possession of strangers. Such people, the weak taking to beggary, the strong to robbery, together with the scattered remnants of the earlier robber bands, all together received the name of *ku-lu-tzŭ*.

This term is peculiar to Ssŭch'uan and it was contracted into *ku-fei* (嘓匪). The explanation of this is not satisfactory. The *Kuang Yün* (廣韻) says that *ku* resembles the sound of quacking and gabbling, while *lu* means flattering words such as beggars use. The *Chêng Tzŭ T'ung* (正字通) speaks of *tu-lu* (吐嚕) as meaning *k'o-hsi* (可惜), a term of pity. In some parts evilly disposed beggars are still called

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tu-lu-tsŭ, so it is possible that it is a term of pity, and meant, pity the poor aborigine. Some explain by saying the *ku-fei* were to be feared because of their number and character while the *lu-fei* were to pitied because of their extreme poverty. This explanation, which seems reasonable, makes the term *ku-lu-tsŭ* mean robbers and beggars; and it may have been applied by the Mongol and Manchu troops who came to the province to restore order.

As the Ch'ing dynasty gradually got control of the country the *ku-lu-tsŭ* vere dispersed, and began to be spoken of as *p'i-fei* (痞匪), which means obstructionists. They were also jokingly called *hsien-ta-lang* (閒打浪), or idle wave beaters; this is now contracted to *ta-lang-ĕrh*, and seems to mean one who lives by his wits or his luck.

These obstructionists lived in blue tents, and were used as entertainers at funerals or festivities. On such occasions they pitched their tents at the door of the dwelling house where they were invited and opened a gambling booth for the entertainment of the visitors.

Such entertainers were divided into two distinct classes, the red cash and the black cash fraternity. The latter made secret vows amid the sacrificial burnings of the incense hall, carried arms, and lived by burglaries. The red cash fraternity occupied themselves with slitting open cash bags or cutting off the last 200 cash on a string of cash. If any red cash brother got caught and was branded on the face he was at once degraded into the black cash brotherhood. These two classes exist to-day, the red cash people being gamblers and pickpockets by daylight while the black cash brethren live by burglary in the dark.[1]

The settlers from other provinces naturally hated all *ku-lu-tsŭ* and called them "rats" because of their nocturnal habits and because they so readily disappeared at the approach of the enemy. In the south of the province any one with the

(1) The red and the black cash must not be confused with the red and the black flags, to be mentioned later.

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look of an aborigine is still called a rat. But the curse has come home to roost, for in Hupei and Hunan all Ssŭch'uanese are now called by this term, whatever their extraction. In retaliation the Hupei people in Ssŭch'uan are contemptuously termed "Hupei bean-curd."

In spite of government and settlers the *ku-lu-tzŭ* have never been exterminated, and they continue to style themselves the Han Liu.

The terms "Han Liu" and *ku-fei* seem synonymous, the former being used by the brethren, the latter being applied to them by the officials. The former term implies their wish to preserve the ancient Han ideals and aspirations as against Mongol and Manchu influences. The other term, *ku-fei*, indicates that the officials regard them as malcontents and opponents of law and order.

For many years before the Hsien Fêng reign (1851–62) the "Yellow River was at peace," that is, was free from rebellion. Then the *ku-fei* rose in revolt under the leadership of Lan Ta-shun (藍大順) and Li-Tuan-ta (李短韃). The different characters of these two are shown by their nicknames, "Lan hurry up," and "Li go slowly." Though not Ssŭch'uanese they easily persuaded the *ku-fei* to join them against the Manchus. The revolt was quelled by Hunan troops under Viceroy Lo Wên-chung. The remnants of Lan's marauders were scattered in Tsung Ch'ing-chou, Kuan-hsien, and Tai-I hsien. These districts west of the Min River seem to have been also the chief refuge of Chang Hsien-chung's bands, which no doubt accounts for the lawless, ungovernable character of the population there.

After Lo Wên-chung's coming the *ku-fei* began to be called *t'u-fei*, but the former term is still known and is sometimes applied to them by officials. The term *t'u* was used of the aboriginal tribes, and *fei* probably meant they were not fit to be classed as men, *fei-jên* (非人). This term, *fei-jên* (匪人), has been systematically applied to all aborigines all over China.

The meaning of Han Liu is also variously given; some regard it as meaning simply brigands; others say the name

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means the descendants of Liu Pei (劉備) of the Han dynasty; but it most likely means the descendants of the obstructives and outcasts of the Han period.

It may safely be said that there is now little or no difference between Han Liu, *ku-fei*, *t'u-fei*, *p'ao-ko* (胞哥), *ko-lao* (哥老), and *chiang-hu* (江湖); all are somehow linked up in one great fraternity. The prestige of some brethren extends over several provinces and it would be highly interesting to trace the connection between the Dragon throne and the rolling dragons of the provinces.

The Ko-lao-hui and the Han Liu. With the advent of Lo Wên-chung and the suppression of Lan Ta-shun's revolt about 1855, a new secret society organization seems to have been introduced into the province in the shape of the *Ko-lao-hui*. Some Chinese state that it was introduced by the government as a check to the Han Liu. It is more generally held, however, that Lo's Hunan braves brought it with them. Many of these soldiers settled in Ssŭch'uan and their brotherhood gradually amalgamated with that of the Han Liu. It would seem as if there was also a union with some piratical elements. The term *chiang-hu*, so often used, means "rivers and lakes" and is supposed to mean "rovers of the waters." The terms *to-pa-tzŭ* (拕把子), "helmsman"; *ma-t'ou* (碼頭), "anchorage"; *hai* (海), "sea"; *shui* (水), "water"; all seem to point to a piratical origin, but are in constant use in the fraternity.

The Ko-lao-hui was originally divided into eight lodges, each known by a distinctive character, as follows; (1) *jên* (仁), "benevolence"; (2) *i* (義), "rectitude"; (3) *li* (禮), "propriety"; (4) *chih* (智), "wisdom"; (5) *hsin* (信), "sincerity"; (6) *san-yüan* (三元), "the Taoist trinity"; (7) *ssŭ-hsi* (四喜) "four joys"; (8) *wu-fu* (五福), "five happinesses."

All recognize the Benevolent Lodge as being not only the senior, but also the aristocratic part of the brotherhood. Its members are called (清水胞哥) "clear-water womb-brothers"; their conduct is more enlightened and their customs more

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rigid than in the other lodges. This Benevolent Lodge is now amalgamated with the Western Lodge of ancient Han Liu, and I believe their character-marks are interchangeable.

In the second, or Rectitude Lodge, are massed the turbid-water (渾 水) womb-brothers, probably the real Han Liu members; all the lawless elements in the district adjoining Chêngtu are mustered under this Rectitude mark.

In these districts, strange to say, a few belong to the Benevolent Lodge, the majority to the Rectitude Lodge, and the other lodges are mere empty names. In districts on the Yangtze, however, it is not so; there, some of the other lodges are fully occupied and organized; the Ko-lao-hui element seems the stronger there, while in the Chengtu districts the Han Liu element predominates.

Those in the Rectitude Lodge call the brethren of the Benevolent Lodge by the term "uncle." It is sometimes easy to mistake the sworn adoptive relationships for those of blood.

Each lodge has twelve grades of membership, *pai* (排) or *tai* (代).

The first consists of the presiding elder (坐 堂 大 爺), *tso t'ang ta yeh* and the vice president, *t'i tiao* (提 調) *ta yeh*. The former position is a very important one, since all believe that the success of their meetings rests on the virtues of their president.

The second grade is called *Wu shêng* (武 聖). Few dare assume the responsibilities of this grade, for their lot in life will then be poor and mouldy and their luck mean and miserable. Some Buddhist or Taoist priests are generally found to shoulder the responsibilities.

The third grade is known as *Hsüan Hou* (桓 侯) *san yeh*, Hsüan Hou being Chang Fei (張 飛), of the "Peach Orchard" trio.

The fourth grade stands with no representative, in fact no one would be allowed to take a position under the grade even if willing. The cause is superstition; *ssŭ* (四), "four," is akin in sound to *shih* (事), "trouble," and is the same except in tone as *ssŭ* (死), "death."

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The fifth grade is called *Kuan shih* (管事) *wu yeh* This is a very important position, occupied by two men at each "anchorage," known as the red flag and the black flag managers (紅旗), and (黑旗), *Hung ch'i* and *hei ch'i Kuan shih*. Most power is in the hands of the former, while most of the drudgery falls to the latter, who is generally a man of inferior ability or one who has been degraded to that position for some misdemeanour. Sometimes, however, a rich man with plenty of money to lose and no brains for managing business may be made black flag leader. From the sixth grade downwards the grades are simply known by numbers. But number seven is another grade without a representative, its positions being mere empty names. This is owing to the character for "seven" being akin in sound to the character "to slice."

The eighth grade is called *lao pa* (老八), or *jaọ pa* (么八), and the last grade is called *lao jao* or *hsiao lao jao*.

Any one may buy his way to the top of the Society, *i pu têng t'ien* (一步登天), "rising to heaven at one step." Such a one enters the benevolent lodge as a senior brother, and is called *hsien p'ai* (閒排) *ta yeh* or "leisure-grade brother." Another term for such is *mao ting* (帽頂), or "cap top."

The entrance fee for one and all is 1,280 cash. A candidate, *hsin fu* (新福), must find some one to introduce him and also a guarantor for his good faith. All recruits first enter the grade *lao jao*, but those with ability soon get promoted. On entrance the introducer and guarantor must have presents, and all along the line superiors must be honoured and humoured with gifts. The rank and file of the Rectitude Lodge on meeting the elders of the Benevolent Lodge have to show respect by a three-fold kotow. This is called "one shot with three reports" (一砲三響), *i p'ao san hsiang*. If the knocks of the head on the ground are not distinctly heard it is considered a lack of reverence.

Meetings are generally held in out-of-the-way villages or in some large secluded temple. They are called *k'ai t'ang* (開堂), "to open the hall"; *shao hui* (燒會), "meeting to burn (incense?)"; *tso fang shou* (做方手), which probably means

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the "crossing of the hands to the four points of the compass"; *tso hsien shih* (做賢事), "practising the acts of the worthies."

These gatherings are generally held at the time of some festival such as the Single Sword Festival (單刀會), the 13th of the 5th moon; the Ch'ing Ming (清明) Festival, about April 5; the Yü Lan (盂蘭), Festival in the 7th moon; and at the New Year. In this way Society business may be done in better security and the officials are deceived. Expenses are met by contributions and entrance fees from novices, by fines for misdemeanours, etc. An elder brother of the Benevolent Lodge is generally invited to preside or "sit on the dragon's head" (坐龍頭), *tso lung t'ou*. He is treated with great respect and formality.

On a dais in the centre of the meeting place is a tablet to Kuan Yü, which is worshipped by all. Before the tablet swords are hung from the roof, and it is supposed that the fear of a sword falling on them will prevent people from worshipping with wrong motives.

Younger members are detached to guard the entrances; they scrutinize every comer so as to guard against attack or surprise by the officials.

The red and the black flag leaders make orations, which are mere gibberish to the uninitiated; the list of members' names is preserved on the dais and worshipped; the president reads aloud the rules of the Society; the novices are introduced by their guarantors to the *Kuan shih* of the 5th grade and he announces their nomination and reception into the lodge.

The following oath is then read: 我們今夜晚結拜一不當頭子二不當眼睛如有當頭子當眼睛照香而死照雞而亡. The meaning is roughly this: "We are met here in conclave to-night; if there should be any false ones come to spy may they die as this incense and perish as this fowl." The incense is then ignited and chopped in two; the chicken's head is chopped off, the blood drained into a bowl of wine, and all the company drink it.

The new members must then worship the tablet beneath the suspended blades, repeat the above oath and drink of the

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wine. Matters of discipline are attended to ; some members are degraded and some expelled. Where time for repentance is allowed, the offender has to kneel before the tablet and apply a dagger to his thigh till the blood flows freely. This is called *p'u chiao-tao* (撲尖刀), "falling on the knife." The culprit may choose another way of showing penitence—by putting nails on the ground, points upward, and rolling on them naked till his body is bloody. This is called *Kun ting pan*, (滾釘板), "rolling on the nailed board."

The wretch to whom the tribunal refuses space for repentance is at once led out to some grove or other secluded spot and despatched with the sword ; the body is thrown into the river or left to be devoured by dogs.

Those who have done meritorious service to the whole Society or for the senior brethren are raised in rank and honoured by the assembly.

The president then announces that the particular meeting will be known as such and such a hill or water or hall; this enables new members to refer to their initiation without divulging the place of meeting. The novices who first enter the Society and have their positions defined later are said "to first ascend the hill and then plant the willow." The reverse is said of those who before entering state what position they will hold ; and it is these who provide the midnight feast for the assembly.

A member absenting himself from the meetings is punished by being reduced in rank for the second offence, and excluded from the Society for the third. This means he will no longer have the Society's protection ; and though while law and order are maintained he may be safe, when there are disturbances he will most likely pay for broken vows with his life.

Each district has an "anchorage" (碼頭) *ma t'ou*, also known as *kung-k'ou* or *t'ang-k'ou* since the use of *kung-t'ang* (公堂) has been forbidden by law. Each anchorage has a resident elder living in the hall. These halls are often in the houses of the elder brother himself. He keeps a register of

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affiliated halls and of his own sworn brethren; he entertains guests from a distance and advises or helps brethren who appeal to him for protection or money. Members from other districts should notify their arrival; otherwise if they get into any trouble they will get no help till they have owned their fault. The elder brother of a hall has tremendous power; his orders (上 頭), *shang-fu*, ought to be obeyed without questioning by every loyal Han Liu.

Certain classes, such as barbers, chairbearers, etc., are not allowed to enter the Society. Persons who try to pass themselves off as *chiang-hu* or pretend to higher rank than they really hold are punished by a special tribunal.

The book of rules of the Society is called *hai-ti-shu*, "book of the sea-bottom"; its chief tenets are filial piety, rectitude, benevolence and reverence.

The use of passwords is common. Without knowing the password an entrance might possibly be got into a secret meeting; but I am told it would be practically impossible for the offender to get out alive.

Within the Rectitude Lodge there are cliques whose influence is wholly evil; these are called *hui-fei*, "Society rascals."

Women play a large part in the Society; leading women being called *nü-kuang-kun* (女 光 棍) or "female polished sticks." Youths have a juvenile society organized on the model of the adult Society and known as the *pang* (棒) *pang hui* or Cudgel Society. They exchange cards, make vows, conduct fights and organize petty persecutions of those whom they dislike.

Each anchorage has a *ying-p'in-hui* (迎 賓) with a fund for the entertainment of visitors.

The salutations of the Society are very complex. The general term for them is *tiu-ch'ien-tzŭ* (丟 簽 子) or "casting the tally." Salutations to the chief, second, third, and fifth grades are by placing the hand on the shoulder, elbow, forearm or wrist. Between equals the salutation called "right and

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left twist (左右歪子), *tso-yu-wai-tzŭ*, is used. Thus the status of members can be recognized at once without enquiry.

A country robber is known as *pang-k'e*, "cudgel guest," and the keeper of a robber's den is called (窩戶) *wo-hu*. Such a keeper has great influence, and may be the helmsman of an anchorage. He receives a large share of the booty. Stolen goods are hidden for a time, then taken into the capital and pawned for a term of years. Later they are dyed and altered and sold to second-hand dealers. The helmsman is nearly always acquainted with the reasons for murders, arsons and robberies in his locality and with the means used.

I have learned on good authority that many people go from home ostensibly on business, but really for dishonourable purposes, for work they can do at a distance with a good conscience, though they would not degrade themselves by doing it near home. If they should happen to relieve of his goods some notable in the Society, the property will soon be restored if he applies in the proper quarter at once, before it is sold or pawned.

It must not be supposed that only the poor and illiterate compose the Han Liu Sodality: many sons of the country gentry join through love of money and adventure. Thus robberies are not made by the poor and half-starved so much as by the strong and able-bodied who are in comfortable circumstances. In fact, but for the connivance and help of the rich it would be impossible for the rogues to carry on their depredations. People say that when a robber gang is equipped for action and makes its appearance at dead of night it is a terrifying sight. Torches are fixed in their caps or hats, their faces are painted with hideous colors, they are armed with battering rams, swords, clubs, crowbars, and latterly with rifles and Mauser pistols. Their attack is sudden and determined, but at the slightest alarm they retire, carrying with them what silver and valuables they have been able to secure. Prior to the raid some servant has been bribed to reveal where the silver is kept.

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If any of the gang should be caught, there is danger that secrets may be let out; but some of the descendants of Lan Ta-shun's bands will defy torture and scorn death. No officials can get their secrets either by torture or cajolery; and no severities used on them seem to have any moral effect on the rest of the gang; indeed it sometimes seems as though the more are killed the more the membership grows.

The chief Han Liu ideal is liberty, which means to them anarchy, selfishness and depravity, and it may be said that the Society is always "agin the government." They are under a kind of military rule, make their own laws and reserve all rights of interpreting and administering them.

There is, however, a growing tendency to social equality and the senior brother does not enjoy the same blind obedience as formerly. Among certain classes his word is no longer law. The tendency is to follow a popular man apart from his social standing; but such a man soon finds himself in a difficult and dangerous position.

In such an organization there must be jealousy and strife. Even in peaceful times deep enmity may exist on personal grounds, between two anchorages in the same street. These factions have been compared to two tigers in the same forest,—fighting must ensue. Suspicion and envy develop into hatred and murder. Officials take advantage and use one faction against another; then secrets are divulged, mutual recriminations follow, and hatred is engendered which may last for generations, one victim after another on both sides being murdered in revenge. A son's duty to avenge a parent's wrong cannot be shirked.

Such conditions produce in members a cruel and relentless disposition, and foster a suspicious and revengeful nature.

As already mentioned, the place held by women in this secret society is not a small one. Many are sworn members, and the mothers and wives are often able assistants of male members. They spy out the land, hide the booty and screen the guilty. It is a rare thing for a woman to be put to death for implication in robbery; and it must be remembered that

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the mother of adventurous sons will also rear daughters of a similar character, who in turn become the mothers of a new generation of desperate adventurers; and thus a constant succession is assured in spite of official reprisals on the males. Here lies a social problem of immense importance, which might well tax the heart and brain of some great statesman. If brute force could cure the moral and social ills of this people it would by this time have had some effect; but torture and capital punishment have proved futile, and nothing short of a moral and spiritual regeneration will change the Han Liu adventurer into a law-abiding citizen.

This regeneration seems especially necessary for the female population, for the saying, "She who rocks the cradle rules the world" is true in Western China—she who carries the baby rules the land. So long as we have a race of women vicious enough to murder their own offspring in large numbers, to bind their daughters' feet, to abet the men in every crime, so long we shall have a race of brigands and buccaneers to terrify the country at every opportunity.

The hypnotic sects work secretly with the wiliness of serpents till they gain a secure hold; the naturalistic sects are full of bluster and pantomime, yet their propaganda is secret and swift. When either of these elements gains the upper hand the whole district is made to quake. Their methods of black-mail are inimitably ingenious; their revenge on traitors, swift and unswerving. Their cruelties to enemies are indescribable. When their passions are roused their victim will be hacked to pieces, each person cutting off just as much as he desires of the common enemy's flesh. The more daring and cunning he has been the more is his liver and gall wished for, since it is believed that by eating these one's own valour and cunning will be increased.

Before the Revolution of 1911 and the organization of the Railway League, the Society men always had to be reckoned with; but since that date their influence has been supreme, and no one dare give offence to them, however much grieved or injured. If a Society rascal is arrested neighbors

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dare not refuse to bail him out, and whole families may be ruined for the divulging of a secret. The best policy for all is to humour the members and avoid any action that would rouse their wrath.

The Railway League (同志會), *t'ung chih hui*; etc. The Han Liu, true to its ancient traditions, is still the enemy of all reform, and is ever ready for any pretext of making trouble. The proposal to introduce railways into the province caused the formation of the so-called Railway League, in Chinese, "The Society of united purpose for protection of the way." It was really an amalgamation of the Confucian Society with the Han Liu for the purpose of opposing a railway system financed by foreign capital. The new name should not mislead the student; it was simply a revival of the revolutionary brotherhood reinforced by the addition of the weaker Confucian Society. The League leaders were the Han Liu leading elder brothers, and the organization was the anchorage system of the Han Liu.

A rebellion broke out first in Kwan hsien and the other districts already specified as full of brigand stock. The lawless wretches carried devastation and anarchy wherever they marched. They got more than they expected or wanted, but at the downfall of the Manchus they immediately set up the Han Republic (大漢), Ta Han. With the new government many of these outlaws got wealth and were decorated with medals for services rendered to the country, were much honoured by the Republican party, and became honoured officials of the new government. At that period the people had no one to appeal to for redress, since a magistrate was less powerful than a robber; as the Chinese said, "Robbery was done according to law." The poor fled their homes and suffered terribly, and the rich were blackmailed and bullied without mercy. Only those who passed through that crisis know how paralyzing was the grip of the Han Liu octopus.

Later on such taunts were thrown at the Ssŭch'uan Republican party that they determined to reform and started a new Society called the Hsi hua Kung hui (西華公會).

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The purpose was to dissolve the Railway League and then to eradicate the lawless elements of the Shê hui (社會) or Republican party, raising the rest to a higher standard of citizenship. A system of badges was instituted by which the senior brethren in each county might be recognized, and each clan head was made responsible for all of his name in his district.

Once more the Han Liu Society was faithful to itself, refused to acknowledge the new Society and declined to be reformed. The difficulty thus created was only relieved by an official order to dissolve all Secret Societies, making all alike illegal. The new Society melted its silver badges, but it seems impossible to hope for the extermination of the Han Liu, which, in spite of all adversity, has thriven for so many centuries. There have been later attempts at reform but they seem futile. The Society has entered into ninety per cent. of the homes, permeated all society, controlled well-nigh every institution in Western Shu and probably in a much wider area.

[To be continued]

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THE JAPANESE-CHINESE QUESTION

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

With the help of a little history, and some reasonable allowance for human nature it may be possible for those who have never dwelt long in the Far East to gain a clearer notion of the issues that threaten to embitter feeling between the two most prominent "yellow" powers. In the first place, the Japanese interest in Inner Mongolia is over 1,700 years old, for towards the end of the second century of our Christian era a Tungusic conqueror, then struggling with the ancestors of the Turks on the one hand and with the Chinese on the other, finding himself short of food supplies, bethought himself of the expedient of introducing expert Japanese fishermen to work the Mongolian lake, to this day still known as the *Pu-yii 'rh Hai*, or Fish Catching Sea. The descendants of this Tungusic conqueror did ultimately conquer, and for several centuries reign as Emperors over, the northern half of China, their proclivities being Buddhistic rather than Confucian. The point of the matter, however, is this: Professor Torii Ryuzo of the Imperial College of Science, Tokyo, has of recent years insisted upon the Tungusic origin of the early Japanese settlers who repulsed the Ainu aborigines towards the north. Professor Ryuzo's last book

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has been translated into French by a Jesuit Father, but evidently certain critics disapprove the above suggestion when they say "Professor Ryuzo *harps upon* his theory." According to the Chinese history of the above-mentioned Tungusic dynasty (recognised and chronicled by China as a legitimate dynasty) the descendants of the Japanese fishermen thus introduced were still found on the lake in the fifth or sixth century A.D. It seems clear, therefore, that, rightly or wrongly, bodies of the Japanese settled in parts of Eastern Mongolia long before the Chinese did so, or claim to have done so.

Towards the end of the ninth century of our era, the Japanese government had diplomatic intercourse with a well-organised Tungusic state occupying a great part of what we now call Central Manchuria; the Chinese called it Puh-hai, and the Japanese (by a perfectly regular transfusion) Botsu-kai; there is quite a complete little Chinese history of its two centuries of development (700–900) if diligent search to find it be made in the right places; but even De Guignes gives us only the scantiest notices, whilst the latest edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* seems to mention but once, and quite casually (under the head of early Manchuria), the mere "tribal name" of Pohai. Both this advanced Tungusic state and Japan herself used to send students freely to the Chinese colleges; and undoubtedly Japan—which was then only just beginning to elaborate, from Sanskrit and Chinese combined, forms of independent syllabic script of its own—received much of its Chinese culture through Puh-hai as well as through Corea, and was thus able to manufacture on Chinese models a retrospective but partly spurious "history" of an Imperial Japan taking in all the native traditions of any value. However, we do not here enter into the question of imitative history; we only wish to mention that, during the thousand years (with a break of pure Chinese rule from about 600 to 900 A.D.) North China was under continuous Tartar rule (about 370 to 1370 A.D.), the Japanese had quite as much legitimate political interest in Eastern Mongolia and

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Manchuria as had the Chinese, and moreover had there probably as many settlers or descendants of settlers.

When Genghiz Khan (1206–1227) and still more his grandson Kublai Khan (1260–1294) set about the conquest first of the Tungusic tribes and finally of all China, including in a certain degree Corea, Japan found herself confronted with a formidable as well as a grosser and more repulsive type of Tartar than she had ever known before: Kublai, failing to impress, in his pique sent a formidable fleet and army to bring the recalcitrant island power to reason, Corea being compelled to facilitate if not actually assist his operations; the result was a crushing defeat for China,—as represented by the overbearing Mongols. Hence, when in 1368 the Chinese rose in revolt and drove the Mongol hordes back to their deserts, Japan was in no mood to tolerate any suzerain pretensions on the part of the new Chinese dynasty founded by a Buddhist priest, and for a couple of centuries successfully parried the dreaded Chinese danger by making incessant "piratical" raids, from Kiaochow (the "German" place) in the far North, to Canton in the far South, and Wuhu far up the Yangtze River, scarcely one of what we now call the "treaty ports" escaping. Corea, on the other hand, welcomed the new native Chinese dynasty, tolerant as the founder was, and remained faithful to it until the very end (1644). The result of all this triangular fencing was that the famous Japanese "Napoleon," Hideyoshi, conquered Corea, and, it is said, even hoped, through Corea, to establish ultimate domination over China (1600 A.D.). Meanwhile, the Manchus, then much less numerous and more uncultured than the Japanese, were coming to the fore: only the name Manchu was new; the dynastic Chinese histories prove quite clearly that the Puh-hai people, and also the Kin (golden) or Nüchên dynasty of North China (1125–1234) displaced by Genghiz and Kublai Khans were both of them simply earlier editions of the same folk, which folk in their earliest recorded stage had been known by repute even to Confucius (500 B.C.).

All three dynastic editions of the Manchu Tunguses had shown great talent for military organisation; the story of how

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the latest Manchus "slipped in," when the last Chinese Emperor committed suicide or was killed in 1644, has been often told; but stress must here be laid upon the fact that when in 1644 the bold Manchu General Dorgun possessed himself of Peking and set up his nephew as first Manchu Emperor of China, it is quite certain that the whole Manchu warrior host did not exceed 250,000 effectives. The conquest of China was really accomplished by this slender backbone, reinforced by "faithful" Chinese generals, who were, then as now, too often prepared to sell their country's honour in order to feather their own nests. It is not that there is, or was then, any scarcity of honorable feeling in the average Chinese politician or general, but the whole of the Chinese morality for 2,500 or 3,000 years past reposes upon the conception of individual family continuity rather than "patriotism" or loyalty to one ruling race; moreover Chinese military men are rarely well-posted in the lessons of history and philosophy. The Emperor has always been regarded as the Father of the State, and the State was in primitive times the World; there was originally no knowledge of any other State, People, or World. There was really no word for "China" or the Chinese people. Any "barbarian" was welcome as a member of this innominate "human" family so long as he accepted the canons of soul continuity, ancestor "worship," and all the various family or State rituals inseparable therefrom. It was also a canon that this Son of Heaven or Father of the Human Family could only remain such so long as Heaven, the Ancestors of Fathers, or God—the three ideas vaguely merged into one—approved of him: the people were the Emperor's Heaven, and the idea of revolution, or change of dynasty, has always been recognised as the act of Heaven, or Heaven's People, evincing dissatisfaction with the wickedness and incapacity of the ruling house. It does not under this theory matter what "nationality" the new house belongs to, for the simple reason that, as above explained, there was no nationality in the ancient conception: from our less vague but more practical point of view, the great thing was to "get there," accepted of the people, i.e., of the world, and then—

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j'y suis j'y reste—until Heaven speak afresh through popular discontent or other fatality: thus, Tungusic, Manchu, Tibetan Emperors have held parts, half, and even the whole of China easily, and their "orthodoxy" in history as Sons of Heaven depends on the effectiveness of their rule. A Japanese *Tenshi* (Son of Heaven) would do as well as a native or a Tartar if he once "got there" and secured the adhesion of "those that mattered"—it was only by a fluke of mismanagement, coupled with the fact that American Democracy had made a few intellectually powerful converts, that Yüan Shi-kai's election by Heaven came to grief. One has only to study the official papers of 1915–1916 to see that his "call" was recognised generally. The Japanese, who are nowadays much better read in Chinese history than the Chinese themselves, quite understood all this by hereditary instinct, as they owe nearly all their basic abstract ideas to China; hence there grows up in Japan a party, by no means exclusively military, which is eager to "have a shot at it," or, as the old Chinese saying goes, "to hunt the stag."

Japanese history up to the nineteenth century is only of world interest to us to the extent that the squabbles of Mercian and Wessex kings is interesting to them; war and internecine strife between factions have been their lot incessantly until the puppet *Tenshis*, run by the practical *Shoguns* (*Maires de palais*) forced a sort of "German peace," under which the people for a couple of centuries lived quietly and on the whole happily until we Europeans broke the spell. The Russians gave the first alarm a century ago; then came the Americans and ourselves. In self-defence the ruling classes had to reconsider the situation; China, the only real power of which they had then any practical knowledge, had gone by the board, but fortunately for the Japanese themselves, they soon developed a steadfast military ardour such as the Chinese had never more than fitfully shown, besides methodically applying European literature and science to defensive ends. The results were astonishing: China flattened out in 1894, the "Boxers" in 1900, Russia in 1904, Germany in 1914: unquestionably Japan now is a Great Power

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of the very first rank, and she has earned every penny of her position by hard work. Moreover in all four campaigns she exhibited a decency and restraint very different from the cruel arrogance of the Germans in 1914–1918.

Japan took a very bold step when she placed herself unreservedly on the side of the Entente in 1914. We British take considerable credit to ourselves for our fidelity to Belgian engagements at a moment when prompt decision one way or another involved terrible and unknown responsibilities, and, however much we may hug the sense of our own virtue, there are still many opinions abroad, and even at home, that self-interest was the real foundation of our decision. Japan had to come to an equally hasty decision in the Far East, and is as much entitled to hug her sense of virtue as we are; for her fidelity to treaty undoubtedly saved the situation from immediate and pressing danger there as much as ours did in Flanders and France; Japan's enemies and grudging neutrals are of course as ready to suggest base self-interest in Japan's case as in our case. But Japan had to calculate what might happen in case the Entente were defeated, and it is therefore not to be surprised at that different parties in Tokyo held conflicting views as to how Japan might hedge, or reinsure, or anticipate, according to what or should or might possibly happen. Only ten years had elapsed since Russia gave Japan the fright of her life, menacing the existence not only of Corea but also of Japan herself; had the Russian people as well as the Russian ruling coterie understood, approved, and put any heart into the effort to crush Japan, it might have succeeded, and China certainly could and would have done nothing to comfort the island power. In the event of a complete victory over the Entente by Germany and her allies, what was Japan to expect? How was she to fortify herself against the vengeance of this or that combination of the three great powers she had checked in turn? In the event of a complete victory of the Entente over Germany and her allies—which for some time seemed more problematical than the contrary event—what guarantees did she hold for her position in the Pacific? And could she make sure that the

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five-year-old annexation of Corea, carried out in order to put a stop once for all to Chinese and Western intrigue in that boneless country, would not be reversed, and her own security once more gravely compromised? Small wonder then, that these and many other uncertainties worried the conflicting schools of political thought in Japan during the fitful heavings of Europe's travail, apart from the chances of securing immediate advantages in trade, finance, and political influence by securing timely supporters in China. China's best friends must feel that she lost golden opportunities of establishing herself as a world power during these four or five years of harrowing uncertainty. If in 1915–1917 she had been able to put up as much well-considered public spirit in favour of justice and democracy the world over as she ultimately displayed of ill-considered public spirit against the Japanese success at the Peace Conference of 1919,—which might easily have been arranged without recourse to boycotts and violence,—she would probably have by this time taken high world rank after or even with the "Big Five." But unfortunately during the three critical years when her effective government, if united, might have done everything, the ineffective government, being disunited and given up to faction fighting or personal considerations of pelf and power, did nothing at all, or acted in doubtful good faith when it tried to do something more or less definite: nothing could be more ill-judged than for one ally who had done practically nothing for the common cause to try and force another ally who had done everything for the common cause to submit through the agency of the general body of allies to mutilation and self-stultification, more especially when the one ally thus seeking publicly to humiliate the other had, through her highest officers of state, weakly agreed (without the general body of allies knowing exactly what she was doing, and why) to sign agreements against her own permanent interests, coquetting meanwhile with the enemies' subjects.

Though the Chinese make excellent soldiers under proper discipline and training, no Chinese general for at least a century past has displayed any convincing capacity for war

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on a large scale: without Gordon, Tsêng Kwoh-fan and Li Hung-chang would have scarcely been able to crush the Taiping rebellion; without French assistance via Tonquin, Ts'ên Yüh-ying would have had doubtful success in crushing the Panthays of Yun Nan. Tso Tsung-t'ang's great conception of making his own army cultivate its own food and of sweeping away the power of Yakub Beg in one great drive is about the sole outstanding instance of masterly Chinese strategy during the ninteenth century. Just as 275 years ago the Manchu mounted host quickly lapped up the whole Empire with their bows and arrows, aided by the willing coöperation of "faithful" Chinese, so, if all Western powers had agreed to stand entirely aside in 1915, Japan would probably have had little difficulty, efficiently armed with the most modern equipments and aided by the willing coöperation of "faithful" *tuchüns*, "in mopping up" province after province, Tibet, Mongolia, and Kashgaria included. In spite of its latter-day degeneracy, the Manchus governed and increased the population of China in a way unheard-of before; Chinese antiquity has nothing to compare with the three Manchu Emperors, K'ang-hi, Yung-chêng, and K'ien-lung, for the quality of simply "letting things be" and seizing opportunity as it occurred Possibly a Japanese dynasty would be equally effective if left a free hand to work out "yellow" progress on modern lines, and China might once have been happy under it.

But the example of Corea's development under Japanese tuition warns us that nowadays self-determination and racial sentiment appeal to men's minds much more than mere peaceful order and material prosperity, even supposing that Japan had proved herself to be as calm and capable in civil government as she has proved herself formidable in war. Moreover it would be a sad spectacle to see unfortunate China, with her nigh 3,000 years of history recorded almost day by day, her magnificent literature, her capacity for education, religion, industry, and morality—to see all this go under without a friendly effort to save her, to give her yet a chance. In a sense it may be said that in 1904 Japan saved China from Russia, and China was duly grateful for it; she

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was even disposed to accept the fraternal guidance of Japan; in fact Japan lost after the revolution a ripe chance which may never occur again of binding China to her by bonds of almost racial sympathy; for, although of different race origin, the two peoples for 1,500 years at least grew up under one and the same moral and literary inspiration of Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism, and general Chinese state philosophy. North China during the past 1,500 years has been ruled by alien races for at least half that period; but the same thing has always occurred; the hardier alien race has always softened under the more gentle and cultured Chinese influence, and has never succeeded in holding on or in establishing a permanent moral superiority or even equality capable of competing successfully in mental strategy with that of China.

The present apparent *impasse* is perhaps owing as much to the excessive eagerness of party spirit in Japan as to excessive carelessness and timidity on the part of inexperienced Chinese negotiators. The suggestion made by the *Times* a few months ago that Japan by a voluntary *beau geste* might arrange a reasonable settlement direct with China without there being left the slightest feeling of having had to yield to Western pressure seems very much to the point. Viscount Uchida's recent attempt to find a solution also seems to show an inclination on the part of experienced civilian Japanese supporters to look well before taking the final leap.

The above general considerations may possibly assist in evolving a political settlement quite beyond the competence of the writer. As a nation, China probably needs less "government" than any other, as throughout the war the people as a body of cultivators have done what they have always done, throughout changes of dynasty, that is, quietly governed themselves and gone methodically about their own business: the state of foreign trade, the brilliant success of Sir R. Dane's salt reforms, the gradual advance of education, religious tolerance, justice, and so on, all tend to prove this, whatever surface disturbances self-interested politicians may have caused.

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There is little danger except under extreme provocation of Bolshevist confusion taking root in the practical Chinese mind, though the brutal riff-raff levied by Lenin from among the miners and freebooters of Manchuria shew what a peril to Europe larger hordes of disgruntled Chinese might become. The political aims of the steadier element both in North and South China seem to drift more and more towards a federation of states after the American model; for local sentiment in China is strong, and the old idea of having non-provincial civilian officials seems to have gone by the board. The "my country right or wrong" feeling so powerful in the United States takes a reverse direction in China, where the hereditary instinct is rather "myself right or wrong"; "my family right or wrong"; "my clan, my district, my province, right or wrong"; thus the feeling of national loyalty inherent in the orderly Chinese mind enfeebles itself politically the higher it goes. Japan, as China's only organised neighbour not unnaturally has "special interests" in all this, and it is therefore to be hoped the "Big Five" will end by arranging a compromise fair to all, and above all fair to "400,000,000 one womb," as the Chinese are now fond of styling themselves.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

The Editor will be pleased to receive notes for these pages, or queries, or answers to queries

The REVIEW is not the place for current politics, but Professor Parker's article in this number is too good to be excluded. It is only semi-political and readers are asked to regard the valuable historical treatment of matters rather than the references to a present-day difficulty.

* * *

The portrait of Protessor Parker—obtained from Elliott and Fry—is not dated, but it is evidently not "present day."

* * *

In reply to the query on p. 541 of Vol. I, T. C. Hutchison, Esq., replies: "It would appear that the circular inscription is in the ordinary 'seal character' (*Chou tzŭ*) as given in the *Shuo Wên*, and reads in modern Chinese as: *fei yün ko*, meaning: fly cloud pavilion. It is simply the maker's mark, and some such phrase as 'Hall of the Scudding Clouds' would serve as a translation;—in much the same way as a piece of plate might be marked 'Mappin and Webb' or 'E. P.'

"The oblong inscription is Arabic and means: 'In the name of God the merciful.' It is to be seen in all Mahom-

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medan mosques and the 'incense-burner' is perhaps an oil lamp such as is commonly used in those buildings."

* * *

R. D. Abraham, Esq., also sends the modern form of the Arabic inscription with a translation by Mr. D. S. Somekh—"BISMILLAH AL RAHMAN AL RAHIM"—"In the name of the Most Merciful God," and states that "all chapters of the Koran except the 9th begin with this phrase."

* * *

With respect to Mr. Hutson's articles on "Chinese Life in the Tibetan Foothills," it may appear to some who are familiar with China that there is a good deal of merely commonplace information. It must be remembered, however, that a single fact or saying, however commonplace to residents, may be extremely valuable to some student of folklore or ethnology in another part of the world. It is by the commonplace that the common people are illustrated. It must also be borne in mind that the observations are not those of one who rushed through the district with a note-book and an interpreter, but of a student who has lived for years in intimate relations with the people and has noted things common and uncommon with exactitude and care.

黎 民 (cf. AUGUST, pp. 441, 442)

My attention has been specially drawn to Mr. Arlington's most interesting suggestion that (黎 民) *li-min* means "husbandmen." Mr. Arlington does not point out what may seem to some his best argument, that (黎) *li* is composed of (黍) *shu*, "millet," and 勿, which looks suspiciously like some sort of reaping hook. My next remark is that Mr. Arlington is inclined, if I may say so, to beg the question. He has apparently used a commentary on the (堯典) *Yao-tien* which is not accessible to me; but it seems difficult to see how the sentence which he quotes (黎民於變乃是民耳) can be regarded as proving that "the term 百姓 is derived from the hundred official clans," or even (if that is what is intended) that

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"there was a distinction between the 黎民 and 百姓." Then again (on p. 442) he writes, "the sentence (保我黎民) does not mean 'Protect our black-haired people,' but, 'Protect our husbandmen.'" The student asks inevitably, "Who told you so?" Or if we take the sentence from the *Odes* (大雅, 桑柔 verse 2), is Mr. Arlington's meaning so very obvious? (靡國不泯) "No kingdom is not ruined," (民靡有黎) "Of the people none has *husbandmen!*" Supposing that (黎) *li* cannot here stand for (利) *li*, "prosperity," still does not "black hair" make as good sense as "husbandmen"?

* * *

But my reason for writing is really to suggest that our recent European dictionaries have needlessly exaggerated our belief that (黎) *li* means "black-haired," relying entirely on Chu Hsi and Legge.

* * *

The *Shuo Wên* (A.D. 121) says (黎) *li* means (履黏) *li-mien*, "shoe-paste" (or whatever *li-mien* may be—I don't pretend to know).

* * *

The *Yii-pien* (A.D. 543), as quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎) *li* means (衆) *chung*, "many."

* * *

The *Chêng-yün* (? date) quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎) *li* means (黑) *hei*, "black"; and the *Shih-ming* (2nd century) quoted under the same heading (黑), says (土青曰黎) "Mould that is dark-coloured is called *li*."

* * *

The modern *Tz'ŭ-yüan* gives (黎) *li* three meanings, viz. 1. (衆) *chung* "many." 2. (種族名) *chung-tsu-ming*, "the name of a tribe." 3. (姓) *hsing*, "a surname"—i.e., of course, that *li* is used as a surname and as the name of a tribe. It gives also, among others, the following phrases: 1. (黎民, *li-min*: 黎衆也。謂庶民也。一說。黎黑也) "*li* means 'many,' the phrase refers to the common people. Another explanation is that *li* means 'black.'" 2. (黎庶, *li-shu*: 謂百

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姓也) "the phrase refers to the people." Instances are quoted from 韓詩後傳 and the 晉書. 3. (黎蒸, *li-chêng*: 民也。(漢書) 覺寤黎蒸 (注) 衆庶也) "the people. The *Han-shu* has Chüeh wu li chêng with the note: [li chêng] means 'all the common people.'"

* * *

In the passage from the *Yao-tien*, the only native commentary I have, says 黎衆也 making the phrase 黎民於變 mean, I suppose, "All the people, lo! were transformed." The ordinary commentary by (蔡) Ts'ai (13th century), quoted in *K'ang-hsi*, says (黎黑也) "*li* means 'black.'" In the same way my notes on the (大雅) *Ta-ya* say that (黎) *li* means either (齊) *ch'i*, "even" or "good" or "perfect," or (不齊) *pu-ch'i*, the opposite; while Chu Hs'i's standard notes say (黎黑也謂黑首也), "*li* means 'black,' referring to black heads of hair."

* * *

All the meanings of *li* quoted above from native dictionaries may be found in Morrison, and all except the "shoe-paste" in Williams, but the larger and smaller dictionaries now in more general use seem to me to give undue preference to the meanings "black" or "black-haired." On the other hand we should like Mr. Arlington to produce some reputable authority for his "husbandmen" or at least one example from a native author where that meaning is absolutely required by the context. In other cases, too, Mr. Arlington would add value to his interesting notes if he would give his sources and authorities in more detail. For example, Professor Giles must have felt rather pleased when he first translated the classical (色難) *se nan* as "It is hard to define"; but now he is told, without one quotation to support the statement, that the phrase "is constantly used." The remark is no doubt perfectly true, but it is of little value to the lexicographer or student unless it is supported by examples and references. And we want to know more about the idea of "duties" or "duty," which, though Mr. Arlington seems hardly conscious of it, is a real modification of Professor Giles' view.

C. M.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Sino-Iranica, Chinese contributions to the History of Civilisation in Ancient Iran, with Special Reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products, by Berthold Laufer. Chicago, 1919.

The flora of a country is studied in several ways. The merest tyro in botany can make a collection of the plants in his locality, dry them, and send them to Kew Gardens or elsewhere for identification. This is a very necessary work, and for China has resulted in Forbes and Hemsley's *Index Florae Sinensis*. But how much remains to be done in this elementary work may be seen from Rev. Père Courtois' statement that in Bretschneider "not more than twenty-five species are mentioned for Anhui and the floral page for Honan is still blank." *Encyclopaedia Sinica s.v.* Botany.

A further development of the study consists in examining the affinities of the Chinese flora with the florae of other countries, and again in deciding on what plants are indigerous. It is certain that through Japan being more open to exploration, there are many species labelled *japonica* which should be *sinensis*.

Beyond all this, however, is the task of those Sinologues who instead of culling flowers on the hill-side, have taken the names of plants in ancient Chinese literature with a view to

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identification, Bretschneider and Faber being the chief workers on these lines.

The book before us has a still wider sweep and takes a far more general view. It is a work of vast erudition and shows a wonderful amount of linguistic knowledge. We must, however, begin by saying that though our above remarks are prompted by the sub-title this is not primarily a work on botany; its subject is the connection between old Persia and China.

Iranian peoples once extended far east, occupying Turkestan, and by close contact with the Chinese, made a bridge between the extreme east and west of Asia. In the west Iranian literature is left to us only in fragments, and these have not been fully studied. In Central Asia, through the labours of Chavannes, Stein, Pelliot and others, unknown languages used by Iranian races have lately come to light and will be invaluable for the reconstruction of our knowledge of Old-Persian civilisation. But the Iranian peoples with whom the Chinese came most in contact were without a written language; yet, as on the beach the farthest-reaching waves leave ripple marks on the harder sand, so traces of the Iranian culture are found to-day in the literature of China. The Chinese have always been careful students of plants, as is shewn by their long series of *Pên Ts'ao* works; they have preserved for us many Iranian names and other particulars of plants introduced from Persia, and it is from such evidence that Laufer seeks to add to the reconstruction of the civilisation of Iran.

Plants, of course, are not the only things to be thus studied. Dr. Laufer has already dealt with armour, etc. in his *Chinese Clay Figures*, and he promises to treat zoölogy in a later volume. Indeed, the work before us has a chapter on textiles and another on minerals, metals and precious stones. There are besides several Appendices on linguistic matters, and moreover an interesting chapter on plants etc. transferred from China into Persia.

Dr. Laufer seeks to destroy the "Chang Ch'ien legend" which attributes to that warrior such a wholesale introduction

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of new genera into China, and affirms that he brought nothing but the two treasures of alfalfa and the grape-vine.

We do not hesitate to say there is no one in China who can properly review this book; for adequate criticism we must look for articles by French savants in French journals. We will finish our notes here by summarising the first chapter, which is on alfalfa. This will suffice to show what a true *po-shih* (博士) the erudite and versatile author is.

We are first referred to the earliest extant literary allusion to alfalfa (*Medicago sativa*), which is in Aristophanes, and the Greek line is given us; then the Greek name Mēdikē is discussed; after which we pass to the use of the plant in Iraṇ as fodder for their splendid breed of horses. These horses were much desired by the Chinese, who called them *han hsüeh* (汗血) or blood-sweating, and believed them the off-spring of a heavenly horse.

We are then regaled with a discussion of the Chinese name for alfalfa, *mu su* (苜蓿); we have the Sanskrit, the Japanese, the Tibetan, Russian and other names also given us, with a good deal of varied information on the uses of the plant as an article of human food, fodder, etc. and we are certainly in the final sentence brought down to modern days by a reference to the United States Department of Agriculture, which has introduced alfalfa seeds from China, and to the indebtedness of the Argentine for its cattle-breeding to this plant.

We cannot but regret that the author has used a new transcription of Chinese. It may be more scientific, as the phonetic spelling of English would be; but till acquired with some trouble it is a mere stumbling-block and irritation to most readers.

Old Tartar Trails, by A. S. Kent, Shanghai; *North-China Daily News aud Herald*, 1919,. 153 pp. Illustrated. $6.00.

This is an unpretentious account of an uneventful journey, but it makes more satisfactory reading than some gorgeous narratives of wild adventure.

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The author talks much of the glamour of travel, of the "call of the wild" and so on, but surely Mongolia is one of the least pleasant of lands to visit; the flies, the lack of food, the filth, the delays, the bitter cold make a heavy price to pay for the pleasure of seeing some interesting people with their barbaric customs. There is a sustaining purpose if one is doing scientific exploration, but we think and have experienced that most of the pleasure in rough travel is of the *Haec olim meminisse* order.

Kiachta was reached by motor-car from a station on the Siberian railway, and thence five days by horse and telenga, a Siberian springless vehicle, brought the traveller to Urga. This was preferable at that season of the year to the long journey across the desert from Kalgan. From Urga began the arduous journey to Kobdo, past the ruins of Karakorum, to Uliassutai and Kobdo, thence over the spur of the Altai mountains to Biisk and so to civilisation again. There were no wild adventures, the worst being the upsetting of the conveyance, which "might have been serious;" nothing but daily and even worse nightly miseries. In the style of writing there is something reminiscent of the note-book: thus we are told too many times of the difficulty of dismounting at a station until the natives had driven away the savage watch-dogs. But the straight-forward narrative is very pleasing. We get to know a little more of a country and people once so important in world-history and still such a problem for the future. Those who can enjoy a plain tale by an observant and truthful traveller, not professing to be scientific or archæological, will find this an eminently readable work.

A few misprints disfigure the book. One chapter leaves off at Uliassutai and the next begins "On the 3rd of July we left Kobdo." This is sudden: it should be "left for Kobdo." There are valuable Appendices concerned with trade, communications, etc. There are capital pictures from the author's own photographs and a sufficiently satisfactory map.

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REPLY LETTERS by S. P. Smith to R. F. Johnston's Letters to a Missionary, 63 pp. Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1919.

That Mr. Smith should reply to the criticism of his views by Mr. Johnston was inevitable; if he could not remain quiet when Mr. Frost discussed what is after all a minor point in theology, how much more was he impelled to speak when his main position was assailed by a critic. We seem to be in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries again, with their religious pamphleteering. As a mere debater Mr. Johnston must have the palm unless, of course, we grant Mr. Smith's assumption of the literal inspiration of the Scriptures; he makes a partial disclaimer of this on page 10, but it practically underlies all he says; whereas it is the very thing he should have proved. Both debaters manifest for the most part a fine spirit; Mr. Johnston tends to be flippant and irreverent at times, Mr. Smith is at least once peevish and uncharitable (in his judgment of Dean Inge, p. 41). He does not understand the mystics as well as Mr. Johnston, and it is quite unjust to describe the latter as "a most outspoken opponent of all that a Christian means by the word 'religion.'" If Mr. Smith is not writing for his friends merely, and really wants to persuade his opponent, it is sheer stupidity to assure him that some day he will bow before God (p. 20, note) and to criticice him for coming to the Scriptures as an intellectual critic and not a humble learner (p. 17). Generally speaking the discussion has served the useful purpose of clearing the air somewhat, and of bringing into clear perspective one phase of the modern form of the age-long dispute between the conservative and the liberal; of proving once again that they do not speak nor understand each other's tongue. But surely all that is useful has now been said; let us hope that Mr. Johnston will not feel obliged to return to the charge, and waste his special gifts in the unprofitable continuance of controversy. After all, he might win the debate every time and yet be further from the truth than is Mr. Smith.

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We have also received the invaluable *Calendrier Annuaire* (Zikawei, Catholic Mission), the only fault of which is that it seems too full of information ; the *Far Eastern Review* for January, with some very readable and useful articles ; the very promising numbers of the new weekly *Finance and Commerce*, and the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française*, tome XIX, N° 4 (La Justice dans l'ancien Annam, par L. Deloustal).

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When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

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PROFESSOR HENRI CORDIER.

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THE NEW

CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II April 1920 No. 2

MULTIPLE BIRTHS AMONG THE CHINESE

BY

BERTHOLD LAUFER

The Chinese Annals contain records not only of human events, but also of unusual natural phenomena which left a deep impression upon the minds of the contemporaries. In the early days of historiography, when occurrences were chronicled day by day and year by year, the two categories of human and natural events were noted indiscriminately, merely in the chronological succession as they happened. In the introduction to the *Shu king* we read, for instance: "The king's uncle, the prince of T'ang, found a head of grain, two stalks in different plots of ground growing into one ear, and presented it to the king." In the Bamboo Annals (*Chu shu ki nien*) this feature is still more conspicuous: solar eclipses, meteoric falls, earthquakes, droughts, extraordinary phenomena

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in the growth of trees, appearance of a *fung-hwang* (so-called phœnix), rain of particles of earth, unusual thunder-storms, and other phenomena are there on record, being interspersed with the traditions of imperial and military affairs. Beginning from the Annals of the Former Han Dynasty (*Ts'ien Han shu*), a novel departure from the old practice was instituted inasmuch as the natural events were detached from the general narrative to be relegated to a special section, entitled "Records Relating to the Five Elements" (*Wu hing chi*, 五行志). The majority of official annals has adopted this practice. These chapters contain most interesting information, not for the historian, but for the scientist, and therefore merit close study. They give detailed lists, with exact reference to date and place, of great catastrophes, such as famines, droughts, locust-pests, inundations, hail-storms, landslides, earthquakes, conflagrations, excessive cold, electric storms in the winter, etc., abnormal phenomena and monstrosities in domestic animals and human beings, cases of insanity, abnormal customs and practices, etc. It is to this department of records that we owe our principal information on a subject which has not yet been discussed—the frequency of multiple births among the Chinese.

In ancient times, under the Chou dynasty, the officer presiding over the people (*se min*, 司民) was obliged to keep a register of the population. All individuals were recorded from the age when the teeth appear. A separate count was taken of males and females; every year, the number of births was added, while the number of dead was taken off the register (cf. E. Biot, *Le Tcheou-li*, Vol. II, p. 353). We cannot but regret that documents of this character have not survived. No allusion to twins or other plural births is made at that period.

The chapters *Wu hing chi* of the two Han Annals contain no records of multiple births. The *Wei shu* gives a single case of a quadruplet birth. Triplets, but only two cases, are first recorded in the Books of the T'ang Dynasty, and there is a long list of them under the following Sung dynasty. There is one case of a triplet birth of early date, not on record in

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the Annals, but in the *Sou shen ki* (搜神記), written by Yü Pao (干寶) in the early part of the fourth century, who reports that "in A.D. 243 there was a woman who gave birth to three sons." I have not embodied this case in my statistical review of the matter, as the work in question is a Taoist book of marvels, and as the extant edition presents merely a retrospective make-up (cf. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 192).

While triplet and quadruplet births are mentioned in the Annals with comparative frequency, they hardly trouble about twins, save a few cases of united twins. This omission may indicate one of two possibilities: either twin births were too common to attract much attention, or were too scarce to be worthy of notice. This alternative cannot be decided without a solid foundation of statistical material, which unfortunately we do not have. At the outset I am not disposed to assume, on a merely empirical basis, a high degree of fecundity of the Chinese woman or a relative frequency of twins; for it is a common experience of our time that personal opinions and impressions along this line are seldom, if ever, upheld by the results of statistical research. Restraint in this case is the more commendable, as in regard to twin births in Annam we have the following observation of Dr. A.-T. Mondière (Monographie de la femme annamite, *Mémoires de la société d'anthropologie*, II, 1875, p. 474): "Les grossesses doubles sont excessivement rares chez la femme annamite. Sur les 153,174 naissances que j'ai relevées sur les cahiers des villages de toute la Cochinchine de 1872 à 1877 inclus, je n'ai trouvé que 15 accouchements de jumeaux. Soit 1 sur 10,211 naissances. De plus, un arrondissement particulier, celui de Bentré, semble avoir ce privilège, car sur 15 accouchements gémellaires il en a 9 à lui seul, c'est-à-dire 60 pour 100. Les six autres arrondissements (sur 19) qui en ont présenté: Bien-hoà, Chau-Doc, Saigon, Soctrang, Tan-an, Tay-ninh, n'en ont eu chacun qu'un seul cas, en ces six années. D'après ce que les autorités cambodgiennes m'ont déclaré, les jumeaux seraient plus fréquents chez eux, et d'une façon assez sensible, mais ils n'ont pu me fournir de chiffre exact."

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A real investigation of the problem in question is impossible for the present, as we lack any vital statistics for the Chinese Republic. Nevertheless I venture to hope that the facts and observations given below will be of some interest to anthropologists. In order critically to balance the data furnished by the Chinese Annals, it would be indispensable to have reliable birth statistics for China, to know the birth-rate for the different provinces, and to depend on good records showing the total number of plural births for at least a decade. In default of such material in the mother-country I anticipated to receive at least some data from those countries outside of China with a large Chinese population, although it must be taken into account that social and economic conditions of the Chinese abroad are different and that, above all, Chinese emigrants hardly ever take their families along, but intermarry, when settled, with women of other nationalities. I have not yet been able to obtain relevant statistics from the British, the French, and the Dutch colonies; but what I have found thus far is not very encouraging. The Birth Statistics for the Registration Area of the United States for 1915 (Washington, 1917) give a total of 74 births (33 males and 41 females) among the Chinese for that year, but nought else.

According to a communication of Dr. William H. Davis, chief statistician in the Bureau of Census, Washington, D. C., there were, in the years 1915–17, 309 births among the Chinese in the registration area for births in the United States (California, not being admitted to the registration area, is not included), only one pair of twins appearing in this total. The state of California gives in its vital statistics only the number of births and deaths of its Chinese populace, without touching the question of plural births. In 1916 there were 425 births (compared with 727 cases of death); in 1917, 419 births (compared with 818 cases of death) among the Chinese of California (Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Health of California for the Fiscal Years from July 1, 1916, to June 30, 1918, Sácramento, 1918, pp. 201, 203, 205, 207, 224). The statistics of Mexico

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contain merely the number of Chinese living in the various provinces, the total, as taken in the third and last census of 1910, being 13,118 men and 85 women = 13,203 (Estados Unidos Mexicanos, *Boletin de la Dirección General de Estadistica*, Num. 5, p. 37, Mexico, 1914), but no tables of births.

The data are arranged under the headings—Triplets, Quadruplets, Quintuplets, Sextuplets, and Septuplets, and finally United Twins. The reader should keep in mind that these data are not co-ordinated in the Annals, as they appear here, but that they are scattered there and intermixed with other items; they were hence extracted from the text. These data naturally are monotonous, as birth-certificates and statistics in general are bound to be; but in the same manner as it is the statistician's duty to publish his tables of dry figures before offering his conclusions, I deem it my duty to present the Chinese data literally and unchanged in their sober chronicle style in order to enable the reader to formulate conclusions for himself and to check up my own.

TRIPLETS

For the period of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618–906) only two cases of a triplet birth are on record in the Annals.

1. In A.D. 775 a woman of the family Chang (張), of Chao-ying (昭應), gave birth to one male and two females.
2. In A.D. 905 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of P'eng Wen (彭文), one of the people of Ju-yin (汝陰), in Ying-chou (潁州) (Ngan-hwi).—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21b.

For the Sung period (A.D. 960–1278) the data of triplet births are fuller than for any other dynasty. The following are placed on record:

1. In A.D. 960 triplets (males) were born to Liu Tsin (劉進), a soldier of the Kwei-yi army (歸義軍民), in Hiung-chou (雄州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).—*Sung shi*, ch. 62, p. 19b.

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2, 3. In A.D. 961 triplets (males) were born to Mong Fu (孟福), one of the people of Mong-chou (孟州), (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Mong Kung-li (孟公禮), one of the people of Ting-chou (定州) (Chi-li). The former case is also on record in the *Mong hien chi* (ch. 0B, p. 2).

4. In A.D. 962 triplets (males) were born in the family of a soldier, Yi Ch'ao (宜超), of the Lung-tsie army in the capital (京師龍捷軍卒).

5. In A.D. 965 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of Liu Hwi (劉暉), one of the people in the prefecture of Kiang-ling (江陵) (Hu-pei).

6. In A.D. 966 triplets (males) were borne by the wife of Chao Yüan (趙遠), a soldier of the Hiao-kien army (驍健軍卒), of Ngan-chou (安州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

7–9. In A.D. 967 triplets (males) were born to Kao Yü (高輿), one of the people of Kwang-chou (光州) (Ho-nan); to Chao Se (趙嗣), one of the people of Te-chou (德州) (prefecture of Tsi-nan, Shan-tung), and to Wang Tsin (王進), a soldier of the K'ien-ning army (乾寧軍卒).

10–12. In A.D. 968 triplets (males) were born to Wang Cheng (王政), one of the people of Yi-chou (沂州) (Shan-tung); to Sie Hing (謝興), one of the people of Shan-chou (澶州) (now K'ai-chou (開州), in the prefecture Ta-ming, Chi-li); and to Wang Ngan (王安), one of the people in the district of Ch'ang-chou (長洲縣), in the prefecture of Su-chou (蘇州) (Kiang-su).

13, 14. In A.D. 069 triplets (males) were born to Sun Yen-kwang (孫延廣), one of the people of Lang-chou (閬州) (Se-ch'wan); and to Tung Yüan (董遠), one of the people of K'ai-chou (開州) (prefecture of Ta-ming, Chi-li).

15, 16. In A.D. 973 triplets (males) were born in the family of Wang Yu (王宥), in the district Ts'ing-ch'eng (青城) (prefecture of Wu-ting, Shan-tung);

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and to Liu Yüan (劉 元), one of the people in the prefecture of Ho-nan.

17–20. In A.D. 977 triplets (males) were born to Li Yü (李 遇), a soldier of the Chao-shou army (招 收 軍 卒), of Hing-chou (邢 州) (now Shun-te fu, Chi-li); to Yü Pa (魚 霸), a soldier of the Kwei-hwa army (歸 化 軍 卒), of Ju-chou (汝 州) (Ho-nan); to Sie Tsu (謝 祚), one of the people of Ch'ang-chou (常 州) (now Ch'ang-chou fu, Kiang-su); and to Yang Wan (楊 萬), one of the people in the district Tsin-yüan (晉 原 縣) (Se-ch'wan).

21–24. In A.D. 982 triplets were born to Kin Hing (靳 興), a soldier of the Lung-wei army (龍 衛 軍 卒), of Shan-chou (潭 州) (see above, 10–12); to Cheng Yen-fu (鄭 彥 福), one of the people of Tsin-chou (晉 州) (prefecture of Cheng-ting, Chi-li); three girls were born to Cheng Sün (鄭 訓), one of the people of Fen-chou (汾 州) (Shan-si); triplets, two males, and one female, were born to Ngan Wang (安 旺), a soldier of the Kwei-hwa army (as above), of Hwa-chou (滑 州) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan).

25–27. In A.D. 983 triplets (males) were born to Yü Chao (俞 釗), a soldier of the Shun-hwa army (順 化 軍 卒), of Yang-chou (揚 州) (Kiang-su); to Li Yü (李 遇), one of the people of Wen-chou (溫 州) (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Li Tsu (李 祚), one of the people of Yung-chou (雍 州).

28. In A.D. 985 triplets (males) were born to Ho Tsing (何 靖), one of the people in the district of Fung-sin (奉 新 縣) (prefecture of Nan-ch'ang, Kiang-si).

29. In A.D. 986 triplets (males) were born to Chang Mei (張 美), one of the people in the district Lu-shan (魯 山 縣) (Ho-nan); and to Chang K'in (張 欽), one of the people in the district of Lin-lü (林 慮 縣) (now Lin (林) hien, prefecture of Chang-te, Ho-nan).

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30, 31. In A.D. 987 triplets (males) were born to Chou Ch'eng-hwi (周承暉), one of the people in the district Tsin-yüan (晉原縣) (Se-ch'wan); and to Yang Sheng (楊昇), one of the people in the district of Ku-shi (固始縣) (Ho-nan).

32. In A.D. 988 triplets (males) were born to Fung Yü (馮遇), one of the people of K'i-chou (祁州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

33–35. In A.D. 989 triplets (males) were born to Sü Mei (徐美), one ofthe people of Ts'i-chou (齊州) (Shan-tung); to Hou Yüan (侯遠), one of the people of Ping-chou (幷州) (Se-ch'wan); and to Sü Liu (徐流), a soldier of Ch'ang-chou (常州) (Kiang-su).

36, 37. In A.D. 990 triplets (males) were born to Wang Pin (王斌), one of the people in the district Ho-yang (河陽縣) (now Mong (孟) hien, Hwai-k'ing fu, Ho-nan); and to Li Kwei (李珪), one of the people in the district Sin-si (新息縣). The former case is also on record in the *Mong hien chi* (ch. 10B, p. 2b).

38–46. In A.D. 991 triplets (males) were b rn to Hwang Chao (黃劍), one of the people in the district Tsin-ling (晉陵) (Ch'ang-chou fu, Kiang-su); to P'eng Kung-pa (彭公霸), one of the people in the district Nan-ch'ung (南充縣) (prefecture of Shun-k'ing, Se-ch'wan); to Chou Sin-wang (周信王), one of the people in he district Lung-yang (龍陽) (prefecture of Chang-te, Ho-nan); to Li Ts'ing (李清), one of the people in the district Wu (屋縣); to Kwo Chung (國忠), one of the people in the district Lin-ts'ing (臨清) (Shan-tung); to Sie Yüan-sheng (謝元昇), *li* (吏) of the district Lin-shwi (鄰水) (prefecture of Shun-k'ing, Se-ch'wan); to Chu Wang (朱旺), a soldier in the district Fung-hwa (奉化) (prefecture of Ning-po, Che-kiang); to Hu Li (胡立), one of the people of Ying-chou (瀛州) (Ch'ao-chou fu, Kwang-tung);

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and to Kao Te (高德), one of the people of Hing-chou (邢州) (now Shun-te fu, Chi-li).

47–50. In A.D. 993 triplets (males) were born to Cheng Ngan (鄭安), one of the people in the district Han-tan (邯鄲) (prefecture of Kwang-p'ing, Chi-li); to Wang Hi-nien (王希輦), one of the people in the district Ho-kien (河間) (Chi-li); and to Sung Ho (宋和), one of the people of Ngan-chou (安州) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li).

51. In A.D. 994 triplets (males) were born to Sheng T'ai (盛泰), a soldier in the district Yung-k'iu (雍丘).

52–56. In A.D. 995 triplets (males) were born to Li Shen (李深), a sergeant (*ti kün hiao* 商軍校) in Pao-chou (保州) (now Pao-ting fu, Chi-li); to Wang Hia (王拾), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng (宋城); to Ho Yung (賀用), one of the people in the district Lin-hwai (臨淮) (Ngan-hwi); to Tung Mei (董美), one of the people in the district Yung-ts'ing (永清) (prefecture of Shun-t'ien, Chi-li); and to Ma Fang (馬方), one of the people in the district Chüan-ch'eng (鄄城) (now Pu-chou (濮州), in Ts'ao-chou fu, Shan-tung).

57–61. In A.D. 996 triplets (males) were born to Chao Yen (趙演), one of the people of Fen-chou (汾州) (Shan-si); to Li Se (嗇), one of the people of Yi-chou (沂州) (Shan-tung); to Liu Siang (劉相), one of the people of Nan-kien-chou (南劍州) (now Yen-p'ing fu, Fu-kien); to Lu Lwan (陸鸞), one of the people in the district Ngan (安) (in Mien-chou, Se-ch'wan); and to Li Yün (李筠), a soldier of Wei-chou (衛州) (now Wei-hwi fu, Ho-nan).

62–68. In A.D. 998 triplets (males) were born to Wang Wang (王旺) in the district Yung-ngan (永安), in T'ai-chou (台州) (Che-kiang), to Cheng Hwi (鄭穢), a soldier of the Tsing-jung army (靜戎軍卒), of Shan-chou (澶州) (prefecture of

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Ta-ming, Chi-li); to Hwai Liang (懷 梁), one of the people in the district Shen (莘) (prefecture of Tung-ch'ang, Shan-tung); to Wang Kwei (王 貴), one of the people in the district Hwo-kia (獲 嘉) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan); to Lo Yen-t'ao (羅 彥 瑫), one of the people in the district Yung-k'ang (永 康) (prefecture of Kin-hwa, Che-kiang); to Yang Jung-p'i (楊 榮 毗), one of the people in the district Wen (溫) (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan); and to Wei Ki (魏 吉), one of the people in the district Ling (陵) (prefecture of Tsi-nan, Shan-tung).

69–71. In A.D. 1000 triplets (males) were born to Chu Tsin (朱 進), one of the people in the district Sui (睢) (Kwei-te fu, Ho-nan); to Sü Jao (徐 遶), a soldier of the Wu-wei army (武 威 軍 卒), of Yün chou (鄆 州) (now Yün-ch'eng in the prefecture Ts'ing-chou, Shan-tung); and to P'eng Yüan (彭 遠), one of the people of Shen-chou (深 州) (Chi-li).

72, 73. In A.D. 1001 triplets (males) were born to Kwo Jung (郭 瑩), one of the people in the district Wang-tu (望 都) (prefecture of Pao-ting, Chi-li); and to Liang Tsi (梁 濟), a soldier of the Teng-hai army (澄 海 軍 卒), of Yung-chou (邕 州) (prefecture of Nan-ning, Kwang-si).

74. In A.D. 1002 triplets (males) were born to Chao Nien (趙 黌), one of the people in the district Hia-tsin (夏 津) (Shan-tung).

75, 76. In A.D. 1003 triplets (males) were born to Liu Sien (劉 詵), one of the people in the district Shi-ch'eng (石 城) (Kiang-si, another of the same name in Kwang-tung); and to Tai Hing (戴 興), one of the people in the district T'ang-yi (堂 邑) (Kiang-ning fu, Kiang-su).

77. In A.D. 1004 triplets (males) were born to Li Tsung (李 總), one of the people in the district Nan-ch'ang (南 昌) (prefecture of Nan-ch'ang, Kiang-si).

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78. In A.D. 1005 triplets (males) were born to Wei Yung (魏勇), one of the people in the district Fung-sin (奉新) (Nan-ch'ang fu, Kiang-si).

79–81. In A.D. 1007 triplets (males) were born to Chao Jung (趙榮), a workman (匠), of Pa-tso se (八作司); to Jen Teng-lao (任登老), one of the people in the district Na-tun (南頓); and to Chang Sü (張緒), one of the people in the district Tsao-k'iang (棗強) (Chi-li).

82, 83. In A.D. 1009 triplets (males) were born to Chang Liu (張留), one of the people in the district Kwo (虢) (in Tai-chou, Shan-si); and to Yang Ts'üan (楊泉), who served in the army of Ts'ing-p'ing (清平) (Tung-ch'ang fu, Shan-tung).

84, 85. In A.D. 1010 triplets (males) were born to Feng K'o (馮可), one of the people in the district Hwo-kia (獲嘉) (prefecture of Wei-hwi, Ho-nan). Triplets (two males and one female) were born to Li Hwi (李惠), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng (宋城).

86. In A.D. 1011 triplets (males) were born to Feng Shou-k'in (馮守欽), one of the people in the district Ho-ch'i (河池) (K'ing-yüan fu, Kwang-si).

87, 88. In A.D. 1012 triplets (males) were born to Sü Lin (徐璘), a soldier of the Süan-yung army (宣勇軍卒) in the prefecture Ta-ming (大名) (Chi-li); and to Li Chao (李劍), one of the people in the district Tsan-hwang (贊皇) (Chèng-ting fu, Chi-li).

89–92. In A.D. 1014 triplets (males) were born to Li Kien (李謙), one of the people in the district T'ung-ti (銅鞮) (Shan-si); to Pai Te (白德), one of the people in the district Sung-ch'eng; to Chu Lin (朱璘), one of the people in the district Ho-k'iu (霍丘) (prefecture of Ying-chou, Ngan-hwi); and to Tsiao Se-shun (焦思順), one of the people in the district P'ing-liang (平涼) (Kan-su).

93–99. In A.D. 1015 triplets (males) were born to Sung Tsai-hing (宋再興), one of the people of Ho-nan

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fu ; to Chou Yüan (周元), one of the people in the district Chen-yang (眞陽) (now Cheng-yang (正陽) prefecture of Ju-ning, Ho-nan); to Hou Yen (侯言), a field-laborer of the district Li-t'ing (歷亭) (now Ku-ch'eng (故城), in Ho-kien fu, Chi-li); to Wang Chung (王忠), one of the people of the district Ho-k'iu (霍丘) (Ngan-hwi); to Wei Chi-ts'ung (衛志聰), one of the people of the district Mung-yang (濛陽); to Chang Ki (張吉), a soldier of the Hiao-wu army (驍武軍), of Ting-chou (定州), Chi-li); and to Hwang Tsin (黃進), a soldier of the Hwai-yung army (懷勇軍), of the district Yung-k'iu (雍丘).

100–103. In A.D. 1016 triplets (males) were born to Nie Te (聶德), a soldier of the Hiung-yung army (雄勇軍), of Ts'ao-chou (曹州) (Shan-tung); to Liu Yüan (劉元), one of the people of Ying-chou (瀛州) (Ch'ao-chou fu, Kwang-tung); to Chang Kwei (張貴), one of the people of Li-chou (澧州) (Hu-nan); and to Liu Ki (劉吉), one of the people of Kwang-chou (廣州) (Kwang-tung).

104. In A.D. 1017 triplets (males) were born to Ch'en Pa (陳霸), one of the people of the district Lien-kiang (連江) (Fu-chou fu, Fu-kien).

105, 106. In A.D. 1019 triplets (males) were born to Wen Sin (文信), one of the people of the district Ts'ien-t'ang (錢塘) (Hang-chou fu, Che-kiang); and to Li Ch'eng-yü (李承遇), one of the people of the district of Swi-ngan (遂安) (Yen-chou fu, Che-kiang).

107–109. In A.D. 1020 triplets (males) were born to Tu Ming (杜明), one of the people of the district Hiao-kan (孝感) (Han-yang fu, Hu-pei); to Liu Shun (劉順), one of the people of the district P'ing-ngen (平恩) (Shan-tung); in the seventh month, to Chang Chung (張中), one of the people of the district Lei-yang (耒陽) (Heng-chou fu, Hu-nan). On their foreheads there were white moles, over an inch square, and covered with white hair.

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110. In A.D. 1150 triplets (males) were born to a family of the people [name not given] in the district Chen-fu (眞符) (Shen-si).

For the time from A.D. 1023 to 1126 no list of names is given, but merely a statistical record covering several reign-periods. It is here reproduced in tabular form (*Sung shi*, ch. 62, p. 22b).

Period	Years	Quadruplets (males)	Quadruplets (3 males, 1 female)	Triplets (males)	Triplets (2 males, 1 female)	Total
1023–68	46	2	—	44	1	47
1068–83	15	1	1	84	—	86
1084–99	16	2	—	18	1	21
1100–26	27	1	—	19	—	20
Total	104	6	1	165	2	174
		Quadruplets total 7		Triplets total 167		

While the preceding cases are not recorded in the way of vital statistics, but solely as unusual events, the above table conveys the impression of embracing a fairly accurate register of all multiple births (save twin births) which took place within the span of a century. The proportion of quadruplet to triplet births in this period is 1:23.86. The total of triplet births on record during the Sung epoch, accordingly, is 110+167=277. The total of quadruplet births during the same period is 7 (as shown by the above table)+7 (recorded in the following section)=14. The proportion of quadruplet to triplet births for the entire period of the Sung is 1:19.78; while the proportion for the entire period of Chinese history here considered (A.D. 473–1643) is 1:10.8. This calculation is based on a total of 324 triplets and 30 quadruplets.

There are no multiple births on record in the chapter *Wu hing chi* of the *Kin shi*. The *Yüan shi* (chs. 50, 51), covering the period from 1260 to 1367, contains only 15 cases of triplets (all males), recorded under the years 1261, 1265, 1273, 1285, 1291, 1297, 1300, 1327, 1328, 1335, and

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1363. In the years 1273, 1297, 1335, and 1363, two cases are listed for each year; and it is of especial interest that in two instances we have two cases of triplets in the same family, the interval between the two being in either case given as three years. According to Dr. Puech, to whom we owe excellent studies on the causes of multiple births, the more children a woman has had at close intervals, the more she will be inclined toward these physiological anomalies. Three women admitted in the St. Petersburg Midwives' Institute between 1845–59 in their fifteenth pregnancy had triplets, and each had triplets three times in succession (J. M. Duncan, *Fecundity*, p. 71).

For the period of the Ming dynasty (1368–1643) we lack official records; but the section *jen i* (人異) of the *T'u shu tsi ch'eng* gives a list of 30 cases of triplet births, extracted from the provincial and local Gazetteers, and covering a period from 1404 to 1626. In 1413, 1515, and 1520, two cases are recorded in each year. In view of the fact that this material is extracted from a number of scattered books, it cannot lay claim to completeness; the figure 30 is certainly much removed from reality, but even if multiplied by 3 or 4, it is left far behind the total of the Sung period. On the whole, the impression prevails that the number of multiple births has steadily been on the decrease from the days of the Sung. This would agree with an anthropological theory to the effect that the phenomenon of multiple births in man represents a survival of or reversal to his former animal state and that with the advance of civilization the number of such births is liable to decline. There may be a correct biological viewpoint in this hypothesis, but it does not account for all facts connected with the phenomenon, and, above all, conflicts with given data and statistics. It is not brought out by the vital statistics of any European country that the frequency of plural births is on the decline; on the contrary, in France, for instance, it is surprisingly high (see below). Further, if that theory were correct, we should naturally anticipate to find the greatest number of multiple births among primitive tribes, which for all we

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know is not the case. Hardly a century has elapsed that records of plural births have been taken in Europe, and this period is too short to allow us to indulge in much speculation on the subject.

According to the Statutes of the Manchu Dynasty (大清會典), it was decreed in 1663 that in the case of a triplet birth or a twin birth of a boy and a girl, if it should occur among the people of the Eight Banners, a special report should be submitted to the Board of Rites (禮部); if it should occur in the provinces, the governer of such province should report to the Board of Rites, which would have to forward it to the Board of Finance (戶部), the latter to grant a premium of five piculs of rice and ten pieces of cloth. In 1674 it was ordered that a special report should be made solely in the case of male triplets, but not in the case of twins or female triplets. In 1684 an edict ordained that in the case of male triplets the Board of Rites and the Board of Finance should submit a joined report to the throne, and that rewards should be authorized in accordance with law. This benevolent attitude toward the energetic propagators of the race was not an innovation of the Manchu, but a heritage of the Ming; for under the Ming we are frequently informed of special grants of food, cloth, and even paper money, made to these involuntary heroes from public funds.

It may hence be inferred that under the Manchu régime a register of male triplets was kept, and presumably is still preserved in the archives of Peking. If it should ever be published, the fact must be borne in mind that female triplets were not officially reported. Meanwhile we are thrown back for that period on the local and provincial Gazetteers, which in the chapter on untoward or abnormal events sometimes record cases of plural births.

To cite a few instances of this kind in the period of the Manchu dynasty—the Gazetteer of Ju-chou in Ho-nan (quoted above) enumerates four cases (all males), which occurred in 1770, 1785, 1824, and 1833. In 1797 a triplet birth occurred in Hwa-yang (prefecture of Ch'eng-tu, Se-ch'wan); the case was reported to the throne, and by

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imperial favor, a picul of rice was granted to the father, Yang Kwo-yü (楊國玉) (*Hwa yang hien chi*, ch. 43, p. 3). The Gazetteer of Mong-chou (prefecture of Hwai-k'ing, Ho-nan) cites only two cases for the years 1682 and 1736. Most Gazetteers which I have looked up are disappointing: thus the Gazetteer of Shen-si Province (*Shen-si t'ung chi*) contains only two cases of triplets, recorded for the years 1470 and 1729.

In the Gazetteer of the Prefecture of Sung-kiang, three cases of triplets are recorded between 1367 and 1640 (according to D. J. Macgowan, Cosmical Phenomena Observed in the Neighborhood of Shanghai, *Journal China Branch R. As. Soc.*, II, 1860, p. 74).

The cases of triplets referring to the Sung period and listed in the Gazetteers are usually copied from the *Sung shi*. A few, however, seem to be derived from independent local sources; thus the *Ju-chou ts'iian chi* (汝州全志), published in 1840, gives the case of Chang Mei from Lu-shan under the year 986 in accordance with the Sung Annals, but has a further case concerning a certain Chang Shou (張壽), from Yi-yang (伊陽) (in Ju-chou, Ho-nan), whose wife had male triplets in A.D. 991—not recorded in the *Sung shi*.

The data of the Chinese certainly are defective, and cannot entirely satisfy the anthropologist. We miss, for instance, data concerning the ages of mother and father and order of birth in triplet deliveries (*rang chronologique de l'accouchement* of the French statisticians). Above all, we should desire information as to the vitality and fecundity of the off-spring. What the Chinese may boast of, however, is the fact that they possess lists of plural births for periods of the past when nothing of the kind was ever attempted in any country of Europe. In the vital statistics of France, plural births have been recorded only from 1858; and in no country of Europe did they receive any attention before the nineteenth century (in Berlin from 1825).

The sum of 277 triplet births for the Sung and 324 for the time from the T'ang to the Ming inclusive may seem a

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high figure to the uninitiated; in fact, however, it is strikingly low. During the four years 1907–10 there was in France a total of 327 triplet births; 91, 93, 68, and 75 in the respective years, making a mean average of 81.75 per year (Statistique général de la France, Statistique du mouvement de la population, Paris, 1912, p. 56). There were, accordingly, more triplet births in France during those four years than in China in the course of many centuries. Or, to cite another example, in the period 1835–47, there were in Bavaria 1,050 triplet, 56,062 twin, and 3,413,763 normal births. The frequency of triplets varies in different years and in different countries. In 1855, triplets were produced in Scotland by 11 mothers out of 92,300 births; that is, one in 8,391. Triplet births in Scotland from 1855 to 1901, a period of 47 years, numbered 644, and averaged 116 per million confinements (C. J. Lewis and J. N. Lewis, *Natality and Fecundity*, p. 62). I do not go any further into the question of the frequency of triplets in Europe and the proportion of triplets to twin and normal births, as the Chinese data are not comparable, and as figures of total births are lacking for the Sung period. Judging from our experience, it must be stated, however, that the Chinese data can hardly be complete; but there is no way of correcting or adjusting the figures, which we are simply compelled to take for what they are worth. The reader should not forget that the material furnished by the Chinese Annals is not intended as statistics, but merely as a record of extraordinary events in human life. In order to give a certain perspective to the number of multiple births, some data concerning the population may follow here. According to the calculations of E. Biot (Mémoire sur la population de la Chine, *Journal asiatique*, 1836, p. 461), the population of China under the Sung totaled 43,388,380 in the year 1021, and rose to 100,095,250 in 1102; again in 1223, it amounted to only 63,354,005 (in consequence of the loss of northern China to the Kin). These figures, in all probability, are too high; for they are estimated on the number of families given in the Chinese records, the assumption being made that the mean average of the number

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of individuals in a family is 5, which, in my opinion, is too high a figure.

The total number of triplets recorded for the T'ang and Sung periods is 279. The distribution of sex in this number is as follows: 273 all males, that is, 97.8%; 4 consisting of 2 males aud 1 female, that is, 1.4%; 1 consisting of 1 male and 2 females, that is, 0.04%; and only one consisting of 3 females (0.04%). Again, the 15 triplet births of the Yüen dynasty and the 30 of the Ming are all males exclusively. The above percentages perhaps give an approximate clew to the actual frequency of sex in triplet births, as far as China is concerned.

C. J. Lewis and J. Norman Lewis (*Natality and Fecundity*, p. 61, London, 1906), who base their remarkable study on the birth registers of Scotland for the year 1855, during which year there were 11 triplet births in that country (3 males 5, 3 females 3, 2 males and 1 female 3), offer the following conclusion in regard to the distribution of the sexes: "There is a strong probability that in any given occurrence of triplets the children will all be of the same sex, either all males or all females. If the same ratio held in other nations and in other years, it would amount to a law of triplet production that in over 70 per cent. of cases the newly-born children are all of the same sex."

In the period from 1858 to 1865, there were in France 1,005 triplet and 4 quadruplet births; among the former, there were 280 entirely males, 218 entirely females, 256 consisting of 1 male and 2 females, and 251 consisting of 2 males and 1 female. The number of twin births during the same period amounted to 83,279; of these 28,056 were two males, 26,310 two females, and 29,363 consisting of one male and one female (A. Puech, *Annales d'hygiène publique*, XLI, 1874).

Of the 277 triplets recorded for the Sung period, the social standing of the fathers is given in only 110 cases, while the remaining 167 cases are merely recorded as chronologic-statistical events. Among the 110 cases, the social status of the fathers is distributed as follows:

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		Percentage
Rural population (民) ..	85	76.7
Field-laborers (田 用) ..	1	1.1
Workmen (匠)	1	1.1
Soldiers (兵)	22	20.0
Petty officials (吏)	1	1.1
Total	110	100.0

In the Yüan period, 14 common people and 1 soldier share in the 15 cases of triplets placed on record. In the Ming period, 28 common people and 2 soldiers assume responsibility for 30 cases of triplèts recorded. It will thus be seen that the bourgeoisie, inclusive of officials, gentry, and merchants, has no share in these records. Peasants and laborers, of course, formed the majority of the populace; but there is no reason why triplet births, if they had occurred in the upper classes, should not have been reported or recorded.

In arranging our data according to families, we arrive at the result that the members of the families Li (李), Wang (王), Chang (張), and Liu (劉), take the uppermost rank. The male Lis reach the score with 16^3+1^4, while two female Lis figure with 2^4; in the years 986 and 996 respectively we have two male Lis participating in triplets. The record of the Wangs is 13^3+2^4 (plus one female Wang 1^3); the Changs follow with 9^3+2^4, plus two female Changs (2^3), and the Lius with 9^3+1^4, two members of this family being conspicuous in the same year (1016). This does not mean, of course, that these four families are more prolific than others, but is merely the index of the fact that they are the most numerous and the most widely spread. The share of the members of the Yang (楊) family is expressed by the figure 6^3, that of the Chao (趙) by 5^3 (plus one female Chao 1^3), that of the Cheng (鄭) by 4^3 (plus one female Cheng 1^4). The Fung (馮), Sie (謝), and Sü (徐) have a 3^3 to their credit; the Wei (魏) reach the mark 2^3+1^4; the Kwo (郭) 1^3+1^4, while the Chu (朱), Hou (侯), Kao (高), Mong (孟), and Tung (董), can

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only boast of 2^8 each. All other families are represented but once. These figures certainly have a mere relative value, and do not allow of any far-reaching inferences. It is assumed by anthropologists that the tendency to multiple births is frequently hereditary, both in the male and female line, more frequently in the former than in the latter; and there is no doubt that heredity is a potent cause in the perpetuation of plural births. In the case of triplets and to a still higher degree of quadruplets, the hereditary tendency is particularly striking. Quadruplets often issue from parents who were multiples themselves. Female twins often give birth to twins.

During the 61 years covering our records 1–109 ($=109^8$), the high-water mark is reached in the year 991 with 9^8, and there is only this one year that offers such a record. There are two years (998 and 1015) with 7^8, two years (995 and 996) with 5^8, 4 years (982, 983, 1014, and 1016) with 4^8, 8 years with 3^8, and 11 years with 2^8. In the remaining years there is but 1^8 or 0^8. In the Yüan period we have four years with 2^8.

QUADRUPLETS

Wei Dynasty, A.D. 386–532.

1–4. In A.D. 473 a woman in Siu-jung (秀容) (now Ting-siang, Shan-si) gave birth to four sons four times and thus had 16 sons.—*Wei shu.*

T'ang Dynasty, A.D. 618–906.

5, 6. In A.D. 655 quadruplets (all males) were borne by the wife of Wu Wei (吳威), one of the people of Kao Yüan (高苑) in Tse-chou (淄州) (Shan-tung); and to Hing Tao-hwo (辛道護), one of the people of Kia-chou (嘉州) (now Kia-ting fu, Se-ch'wan). If creation turns away from the regular norm, supernatural phenomena are bound to come forth; if the female element is abundant, the mother's way is fertile.—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21.

7. In A.D. 826 quadruplets (all males) were borne by the wife of Ho Wen (賀文), a man of Yen-chou (延州) (now Yen-ngan fu, Shen-si).

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Sung Dynasty, A.D. 960–1278.

8. In A.D. 982 quadruplets (all males) were born to Liu Si (劉習), one of the people in the district of Yen-men (膺門縣) (Shan-si).

9. In A.D. 1003 the wife of Kwo Jang (郭讓), one of the people in the district P'ing-hiang (萍鄉) (prefecture of Shun-te, Chi-li), gave birth to four sons.

10. In A.D. 1008 the wife of Wang Yen (王言), one of the people in the army of Kao-yu (高郵軍民), brought forth four sons.

11. In A.D. 1015 the wife of Chang Pao (張保), one of the people in the district Yung-kia (永嘉) (Wen-chou fu, Che-kiang), gave birth to four sons.

12, 13. In the period from 1023 to 1068 there were two cases of quadruplet births (all males).

14, 15. In the period from 1068 to 1083 there was one case of a quadruplet birth (males) and another of 3 males and 1 female.

16, 17. In the period from 1084 to 1099 there were two cases of quadruplet births (all males).

18. In the period from 1100 to 1126 there was one case of a quadruplet birth (males).

19. In A.D. 1097 a woman of the people of Süan-ch'eng (宣城) (Ning-kwo fu, Ngan-hwi), brought forth four sons.—宋史哲宗本紀.

20. In A.D. 1099 a woman of the people of Yi-shi (猗氏) in Ho-chung (河中) (Shan-si) brought forth four sons.—*Ibidem.*

21. In A.D. 1118 a woman of the people of Hwang-yen (黃巖) (Tai-chou fu, Che-kiang) brought forth four sons.—宋史徽宗本紀.

Yüan Dynasty, A.D. 1260–1367.

22. In A.D. 1283 the wife of Chang Chou (張丑) of Kao-chou (高州), *née* Li (李), brought forth four children at one birth—three boys and one girl.

23. In A.D. 1297 four males were brought forth at one birth by Ho-li-mi (和里迷), wife of Na Hwai (那

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懷) (Mongols), a falconer (*po-lan-ki*, 孛蘭奚) of Liao-yang (遼陽) (Sheng-king, Manchuria). Regarding the term *po-lan-ki*, see *Yüan shi*, ch. 101, p. 16b.

24. In A.D. 1306 the wife of Fang Ping (方丙) in the district Hu-k'ou (湖口) in Kiang-chou (江州) (Kiang-si), gave birth to four sons.

Ming Dynasty, A.D. 1368–1643.

25. In 1471 the wife of Wei Süan (魏宣), one of the people of the town Ho-yang (郃陽) (T'ung-chou fu, Shen-si), had four sons at one birth.—*Shen-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shen-si Province).

26. In 1543 the wife, *née* Li (李), of Wang Shi (王世), one of the people of K'i (郿) hien (Pao-ting fu, Chi-li), brought forth 3 boys and 1 girl.—*Shan-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shan-si Province).

27. In 1543 the wife of Lu Ngan (陸安), of Heng-chou (橫州) (Nan-ming fu, Kwang-si), brought forth four boys.—*Kwang-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Kwang-si Province).

28. In 1557 quadruplets (males) are recorded in K'ing-yang fu (慶陽府) (Shen-si).—*Ibidem* (no further data are given).

29. In 1583 four girls were born to Li Hwang (李鐄) of Hing-hwa (興化) (Fu-kien).—*Hing-hwa hien chi* (Gazetteer of Hing-hwa).

30. In 1608 two boys and two girls were born to Su Kiu-lang (蘇九郎), a soldier; his wife was *née* Cheng (鄭).—*Fu-kien t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Fu-kien Province).

The 7 cases numbered 12–18 are identical with those given in the statistical table of the Sung period (above, p. 5). It is noteworthy that the three cases under Nos. 19–21 are recorded in the biographies of the emperors, not in the section *Wu hing chi*; it seems that particular importance was attached to them.

In this total of 30, 4 quadruplets fall to the lot of a single woman. Twenty-five out of the number of 30, that is,

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⅚ or 83.33 per cent, consist of males exclusively. The remaining 5 are distributed as follows: 3 cases consisting of 3 males and 1 female (10 per cent), 1 case being 2 males and 2 females (3.33 per cent) and 1 case being 4 females (3.33 per cent).

In 1907 two quadruplet births in France produced 5 males and 3 females; in 1908 there was one quadruplet birth of 4 boys; in 1909 three quadruplet births produced 10 boys and 2 girls; and in 1910, there was one quadruplet birth of 2 males and 2 females (*Statistique du mouvement de la population*, p. 56).

The period covered by the above 30 cases ranges from A.D. 473 to 1608; that is, a span of 1,136 years.

For the 7 cases Nos. 12–18 no personal data are on record; in a single case of the Ming period the father's social status is not indicated. In the remaining 22 cases we find 2 soldiers, 1 falconer, and 19 common people, in all probability, farmers. Again, we accordingly meet here with the same social status of the parents as in the case of triplets.

As to the relative proportion of quadruplet to triplet births, see above, p. 5.

Pliny (VII, 3, §33) records the example of a quadruplet birth of two males and two females toward the end of the reign of Augustus and ascribed to Fausta, a Plebeian woman of Ostia (*Fausta quaedam e plebe Ostiae*).

QUINTUPLETS

It is striking and worthy of especial mention that the Chinese Annals do not record a single example of a quintuplet birth; at least I have failed in tracing any. Both Aristotle and Pliny were convinced of such an occurrence. Aristotle (*Historia animalium*, transl. of D'Arcy W. Thompson, p. 584b) states: "Some animals produce one and some produce many at a birth, but the human species does sometimes the one and sometimes the other. As a general rule and among most nations the women bear one child at a birth; but frequently and in many lands they bear twins, as

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for instance in Egypt especially. Sometimes women bring forth three and even four children, and especially in certain parts of the world. The largest number ever brought forth is five, and such an occurrence has been witnessed on several occasions. There was once upon a time a certain woman who had twenty children at four births; each time she had five, and most of them grew up." Pliny (VII, 3, § 33) has it that in the Peloponnesus a woman was delivered of five children at a birth four successive times, and that the greater part of these survived *(Reperitur et in Peloponneso quinos quater enixa, maioremque partem ex omni eius vixisse partu)*— perhaps the same event alluded to by Aristotle.

Nijhoff, in his interesting study "Vijflinggeboorten" (Groningen, 1904, 4°) has fully described and figured a case vhich came under his notice. He further reviews from literary records 29 more cases of quintuplet births, one of which only seems to be of doubtful authenticity. Cf. also S. Shishido, "The Birth of Five Infants at One Parturition" *(Iji Shinbun*, Tokyo, 1901, pp. 433–438).

SEXTUPLETS

In regard to sextuplets, I have found only two cases on record. According to the Gazetteer of Chi-li Province *(Ki fu t'ung chi)*, it was in 1574 that a woman of the people of Fei-hiang (肥鄉) (in Kwang-p'ing fu, Chi-li) brought forth six children at one birth (一產六子). The name of the woman and the husband is not given. The other case is reported in the *Sü K'ien shu* (續黔書) (ch. 5, p. 8), a record of Kwei-chou Province, written by Chang Chu (張澍), in 1805. In a certain village of western Kwei-chou a woman, *née* Wang (王氏), gave birth to six sons at one time, both children and mother being well. The author, however, had this merely from hearsay.

Nijhoff (p. 66) reports the case of a sextuplet birth in a peasant family at Castagnola near Lugano (Italy) in 1888 (4 males, 2 females, who were alive at the time of birth, but died in a few seconds) and another from Alburi on the Gold Coast

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in Africa after Dr. H. Vortisch of the Basle Mission. In the latter case a Negro woman is said to have been delivered of 5 boys and 1 girl, who for lack of care died shortly; the woman stated that it was her fifth deliverance, at the second she had twins, at the third quadruplets, and at the fourth triplets. An Italian woman, who in the fifth month of pregnancy miscarried, expelled six fœtuses; the truthfulness of this report is generally conceded (J. Parvin, *Science and Art of Obstetrics*, 3d ed., p. 161). Other cases of sextuplet delivery are described in the *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, XXXV, 2, 1847; and by J. W. Kerr and H. Cookman, *Med. Pres. and Circ.*, LXXV, p. 537, London, 1903: five boys and one girl. Cf. also Shishido, Examination of the Records of More than Five Infants at a Birth *(Iji Shinbun*, Tokyo, 1901, pp. 1890–1901).

SEPTUPLETS

The Gazetteer of Chi-li Province *(Ki-fu t'ung chi)* has it on record that in 1527 a woman, *née* Ch'en (陳 氏), of Ho-kien (Chi-li) was delivered of seven girls at one birth (一 孕 七 女), but that none of them survived. According to Trogus, there was a case of seven children at one birth in Egypt *(Et in Aegypto septenos uno utero simul gigni auctor est Trogus.*—Pliny, VII, 3, §33). Cases of septuplet birth are mentioned by Roy (Couches avec 7 foetus, in *Revue médicale française et étrangère*, Paris, 1877, I, p. 225); cf. also R. C., Multiple Pregnancy with a Vengeance *(Med. Rec.*, LXIII, p. 267, New York, 1903).

It is reported in verse on a tombstone of Hameln that on January 9, 1600, two boys and five girls were born to Thiele Roemer and Anna Breyers. The tombstone is adorned with a sculptured scene which shows six babes in swaddling-clothes on a pillow, while the lucky(?) father holds the seventh on his arm toward the Savior. Nijhoff (pp. 71, 72), who has reproduced the tombstone, holds that the question is here of a veritable fact, as at that time no mockery was made of religious subjects. I am far from sharing this opinion. It is well known that the Germans have displayed a great deal of

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fun and humor on their epitaphs, collections of which have been made. The tombstone itself does not suffice to bear out the historicity of the case. It would be necessary to trace it in the parish-register, death-lists, or any other documents in the archives of the town of Hameln ; but this evidence, as far as I know, has not yet come forward.

A case of eight children at a birth, as far as I know, is nowhere on record, but the following curious passage occurs in the book *Cosmographie de Levant* (p. 114, Lyon, 1554) by F. André Thevet d'Angoulesme: "Non seulement ce pays abonde en fruits, et herbes: mais aussi en fleurs odorifferentes, Les femmes y sont tant fecondes, qu'elles engendrent communement trois, et quatre, et bien souvent huit enfans : et encores qu'ils naissent au huitieme mois, ils vivent : ce qu'aucuns attribuent à la bonté du Nil: Outreplus elles surengendroient, (comme Pline raconte d'une femme d'Alexandrie) ce qui nest pas tant signe de merveille, que argument de fecondité." Thevet is doubtless influenced by the passage of Pliny, and is somewhat inclined toward exaggerations. I doubt very much that a case of octoplets has ever come under his actual experience: his statement is generalized, but no reference is made to a specific case.

UNITED TWINS

The Chinese Annals have preserved a few cases of twins grown together at birth. In this case, the question naturally is of twins produced from a single ovum.

In the fourth year of the period Kien-hing (建興) (A.D. 316), under the Emperor Min (愍帝), of the Tsin dynasty, a woman of the family Hu (胡), when she was at the age of twenty-five, the wife of Jen Kiao (任僑), a minor official (clerk) in the district of Sin-ts'ai (新蔡) (prefecture of Ju-ning, Ho-nan), gave birth to female twins grown together in the region of the abdomen and the heart, but separated above the breast and beneath the navel.—*Sung shu*, ch. 34, p. 28.

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In A.D. 487 (under the Emperor Wu of the Ts'i dynasty) the wife of Wu Hiu (吳休), one of the people of Tung-ts'ien (東遷), in Wu-hing (吳興) (now Hu-chou fu, Che-kiang), gave birth to male twins grown together below the chest down to above the navel.—*Nan Ts'i shu*, ch. 19, p. 16b.

In the fourth month of the third year of the period Yi-fung (儀鳳) (A.D. 678) King-chou (涇州) (Kan-su) presented the Court with two infants the hearts of which were connected, but each with a separate body (二小兒連心異體). Formerly it had happened that the wife, *née* Wu (吳), of Hu Wan-nien (胡萬年), a soldier of the guard in the district Shun-ku (鶉觚) (Kan-su), gave birth to twins, a male and a female, whose breasts were connected, but who, for the rest, had individual bodies; when separated, both died. At a subsequent birth it was thus again. The twins were boys, and were brought up. In the above-mentioned year they had reached the age of four years, and were presented to the Court.—*T'ang shu*, ch. 36, p. 21.

In A.D. 1610, the wife of Li Yi-ch'en (李宜臣), of Fan-ki (繁峙) (in Tai-chou, Shan-si), *née* Niu (牛氏), brought forth two girls with their heads and faces grown together, but with separate arms and legs.—*Shan-si t'ung chi* (Gazetteer of Shan-si Province).

Two Chinese twins grown together, born in 1887, were shown by Barnum and Bailey in 1902, and at that time were still unseparated and well. Cf. R. Virchow, Xiphodymie (*Z. Ethn.*, 1891, pp. 366–370).

The modern Gazetteers occasionally record the birth of twins, not, however, on account of any special interest attached to the fact itself, but merely in order to emphasize the interest in the vitality of twins (cf. W. A. Macnaughton, The Longevity of Twins, *Caledon. M.J.*, X, pp. 127–129, Glasgow, 1915). The following examples from the Gazetteer of Hwa-yang (*Hwa-yang hien chi*, ch. 43, p. 4) will suffice to illustrate this feature.

The wife of Chu Ch'ang-hwa (朱昌華), *née* Lin (林氏), had 14 sons, among these 2 pairs of twins, who did not die prematurely, but are still alive (俱存無殀).

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The wife of Chung Se-kin (鍾思謹), *née* Tsou (鄒氏), had 9 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The wife of Chung Chao-kin (鍾超錦), *née* Chang (張氏), had 9 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The wife of Li Ch'ao-kung (李朝恭), *née* Lin (林氏), had 8 sons, among these one pair of twins still alive.

The preceding article discloses the fact that a department of vital statistics, either in connection with the Government or as a private enterprise, is urgently required for China. The motive which principally guided me in writing this notice was to demonstrate by a concrete example the necessity of founding such an institution. It goes without saying that a statistical research into the population of China would mean a considerable advance of our knowledge from which the economists and sociologists all the world over might learn and benefit, and that the Chinese would yield the most fruitful material for all problems of heredity and eugenics. It is particularly genealogical research that could be carried on in China with most promising results. Another problem which is much on my heart is that of longevity and the average duration of a generation among the Chinese and the Japanese; and if nothing interferes, I hope to make a small contribution to this question in the near future.

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A NOTE ON THE YUNG LO TA TIEN

BY

LIONEL GILES

In response to the Editor's appeal, published in the first number of this REVIEW, I have examined such volumes of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* as were accessible to me in England, and noted down some particulars of their contents. It is to be hoped that a similar description of other volumes which have fallen into private hands, or been presented to libraries and museums in various parts of the world, will soon be forthcoming.

It may not be generally known that, although the body of the Encyclopædia was allowed to remain in manuscript until its destruction in 1900, the 目錄, index or table of contents, was printed to form part of the 連筠簃叢書, *Lien yün i ts'ung shu*, a collection of thirty works which I believe is still obtainable in China. A copy of this Index is now in the possession of H. E. the Chinese Minister in London, who has been kind enough to lend it to me. Unfortunately, the first *pên* is missing, an imperfection which is the more regrettable because one might reasonably expect to find in it some sort of preface or other preliminary matter; nevertheless a few words about this printed Index may fitly precede the description of particular volumes.

It consists of 60 *chüan* in 20 *pên*, each *chüan* containing some 20 to 30 leaves, and is very clearly printed in

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good-sized type. There are ten columns to the page, and as a rule a single column, though sometimes two or more, are allotted to each *chüan* of the Encyclopædia, there being 22,877 *chüan*[1] in all, exclusive of the table of contents in 60 *chüan*. It is thus obvious that but scanty details as to the actual contents of this mighty work can be looked for in the Index; under all the more important words, however, there occurs the sub-head 事 韻 (a term which seems to include definitions, pronunciation, ancient forms, etc.), often followed by 詩 文 (extracts from literature in prose and verse) and 姓 氏 (surnames with biographical information about eminent persons). In many cases, too, and especially when the character dealt with extends over a number of *chüan*, the principal works laid under contribution are named, or the general contents indicated.

It needs but a cursory inspection to discover that the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, as its name indeed implies, is rather a gigantic dictionary than an encyclopædia in the usual sense of the word.[2] Its framework is similar to that of the later 佩 文 韻 府, *P'ei wên yün fu*, containing as it does all the characters of the language arranged under a series of rhymes and treated singly and in combination, each phrase being illustrated by extracts from the literature of the past. As differences, on the other hand, we may note that

(1) The rhyme series is not the one adopted in the *P'ei wên yün fu*, but is taken from the 洪 武 正 韻, *Hung wu chêng yün*. Here the rhymes are distributed under four tone-groups only, namely 平 (23 rhymes), 上 (23), 去 (23), and 入 (11), making 80 rhymes in all.[3]

(2) The *Yung Lo Ta Tien* is planned on a much vaster scale. The number of works quoted is not, perhaps, very much greater, but the extracts are as a rule far longer,

(1) The 明 史, *Ming Shih*, ch. 98, says 22,900. The other figure, however, appears in the (表) official report presented by 姚 廣 孝, Yao Kuang-hsiao, on the completion of the work. The *pên* numbered 11,995, according to the *Tz'ŭ Yüan;* this, however, may be a slip for 11,095, the figure given in 七 修 類 藁, *Ch'i hsiu lei kao*, ch. 17, fol. 5vo.

(2) In the *Ming Shih*, loc. cit., it is incorrectly classed as a 類 書.

(3) The table of rhymes for both works is appended to this article.

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and extensive works are frequently transcribed *in toto*. The total number of characters dealt with is also several times as large, though many of them, it is true, are very rare, and therefore briefly dismissed, *e.g.*, under the rhyme 齊 we find 133 words in the *P'ei wên yün fu* and 585 in the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. The space sometimes devoted to a single word is truly stupendous. Thus, there are no fewer than 798 *chüan* under 宋—a regular encyclopædia in itself!

(3) There is more looseness in the arrangement, and no strict principle is observed in the order of the phrases. Those consisting of four words now and then occur among those consisting of two.

Although the manuscript must have been the work of a great many different copyists, the handwriting in all the volumes which I have examined is on the whole very uniform. The style, of course, is 楷書, but not, so far as I can judge, of any special calligraphic merit. Large characters are used for all the headings. Each page is framed in red, and divided into eight partitions, each containing two columns of well-spaced manuscript, with 28 characters to a column, and room for two more at the top. The titles of the works cited are also written in red, making it very easy to ascertain the contents of a page at a glance. In these respects the manuscript of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* is much preferable to the small, cramped printing, with the titles enclosed in *cartouches*, of the *P'ei wên yün fu*. When commentary is given, it is written in smaller characters, but not in double columns. The paper is described as 硬面宣紙, *i.e.*, paper manufactured at Hsüan-ch'êng in Anhwei, with a hard surface.

On the cover of each volume (which is of thin pasteboard covered with coarse yellow silk) there are, or should be, two labels, the larger one rectangular, bearing the title 永樂大典, and the numbers of the *chüan*, the smaller one square-shaped, containing the rhyme-character, its number in the tone group, and another serial number showing what place the *volume* occupies under the rhyme in question. Each volume contains usually one or two, but sometimes as many as three or four *chüan*.

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On a fly-leaf at the end of every volume are inscribed the names of the officials responsible for the copying of that particular volume. These are always six in number:

(1) The first bears the title 重鐫總校官侍郎, "General Director or Supervisor of the Board of Re-issue."

(2) The second is a 學士, or Member of the Same Board.

(3) The third is 分校官, Reviser in Detail, holding the special rank of 編修, or 侍讀, or 修撰, or 檢討, or 中允, or 洗馬.

(4) The fourth official, who seems to have been the actual copyist, is in most cases styled 書寫儒士; but in the volume containing ch. 19,735 he is 寫書官序班.[1]

(5) and (6) 圈點監生. These individuals supplied the punctuation and tone-marks, represented in the present work by small red circles which were evidently impressed, not described with a brush.

The following table shows the names of these officials in each volume where the list has been preserved:

Chüan	1	2	3	4		
7515-6	高拱	胡正蒙	晏強臨	成瑞禎琦鳳涇呂泰奇冕鳳棟	私春浩	痈愚學
7677	,,	,,	自大 ,,	瀾鳴夢 應 尤國一 一	克莊 ,,	陽性成 ,,
8021	,,	,,	呂馬陶	楊呂張金孫林王陳曹周王張	徐李徐	歐蘚曲
10135-6	,,	,,			蔣馬林散林散林傳	歐吳董孫董孫董許
10460	,,	,,				
11368-9	,,	,,				
11887-8	,,	,,				
11903-4	,,	,,				
13498-9	張鳴鳳	王大任				
13629	,,	,,				
13876-8	,,	,,				
14385	,,	,,				
14622	,,	,,				
19735	陳以勤	,,				
19789-90	,,	,,				
20139	,,	,,				
20850-1	,,	,,				

(1) The 序班 were Ushers attached to the 鴻臚寺, Court of State Ceremonial. Originally 50 in number, they were reduced to 42 in 1557, and raised again to 48 in 1583. (*Ming Shih*, ch. 74.)

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It would appear from the above that the whole work was parcelled out among three Senior Superintendents: Kao Kung (see Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, 955) was entrusted with the first and second tone-groups (ch. 1–10034 and 10035–12209); Ch'in Ming-lei[1] with the third (ch. 12210–19598); and Ch'ên I-ch'in[2] with the fourth (ch. 19599–22877).

As regards the history of the Encyclopædia, we read in the 四庫全書總目, *Ssŭ k'u ch'üan shu tsung mu*,[3] or Imperial Catalogue, that the Emperor 成祖, Ch'êng Tsu, ordered its compilation in the 7th moon of the 1st year of *Yung-lo* (July–Aug., 1403), the general editor being 解縉, Hsieh Chin, with a staff of 147 assistants. In December of the following year the work was laid before His Majesty, who bestowed upon it the title 文獻大成, *Wen hsien ta ch'êng*. Its dimensions, however, were not considered satisfactory, the material collected being far from complete. By a second edict, therefore, Yao Kuang-hsiao and 劉季篪, Liu Chi-ch'ih, were associated with Hsieh Chin as Co-Directors, and the Commission enlarged to a total of 2,169 men. The work was finally announced as complete in December, 1407, and its title changed to *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, the Emperor himself writing the preface. At the same time, orders were given that a copy should be made for the block-cutter. This was ready in the 10th moon (Nov.–Dec.) of 1409; but the expense of printing was found to be so enormous that the idea was abandoned; and when the capital was shifted to Peking in 1421, the volumes were stored in the 文樓, afterwards called the 宏義閣, Hung-i Pavilion, attached to

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(1) T. 子璵. The younger brother of Ch'in 嗚夏, Ming-hsia. In 1544 he came out first on the list for the degree of *Chin-shih*, and was awarded the post of 修撰. Afterwards he became President of the Board of Rites at Nanking.

(2) T. 逸甫. He took the degree of *Chin-shih* in 1541, and held many high offices, becoming President of the Board of Rites in 1567, the year when the copying of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* was completed. He died at the age of 76, and was canonized as 文端.

(3) Ch. 137, fol. 24 *seq.*

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the Palace.[1] In 1562, a commission of 100 scholars, headed by 程道南, Ch'êng Tao-nan, was appointed to make two complete copies, and the practical supervision entrusted to Kao Kung and 張居正, Chang Chü-chêng (*Biog. Dict.*, No. 41). In 1567, the original was returned to Nanking, while the first copy was kept in the 文淵閣, Wên-yüan Pavilion, and the second in the 皇史宬, Library of Imperial Historiography. At the downfall of the dynasty (明祚旣傾) the original and the second copy both perished by fire; and the first copy, wanting 2422 *chüan*, was removed at an unspecified date to the Han-lin College.

So far the Imperial Catalogue.[2] Another account, which brings down the history of the work to the present day, and is in several points at variance with the above, is given in the 辭源, *T'zŭ Yüan*, 巳 p. 14:

"In 1562, the Forbidden City caught fire, but the encyclopædia [then lying, as we have seen, in the 文樓] luckily escaped destruction. 世宗, Shih Tsung, however, now ordered Kao Kung, Chang Chü-chêng and others to select a body of scribes and prepare two copies of the work. The original was subsequently kept at Nanking, while the first copy was housed in the Wên-yüan Pavilion and the second copy in the Imperial Historiographers' Library [at Peking]. In the middle of the Ming period (明之中葉) the original work at Nanking was destroyed by fire; and the first copy, in Peking being defective by 2422 *chüan*, was transferred by 世祖, Shih Tsu [1644–1661] of the Ch'ing dynasty to the 乾清宮, Ch'ien-ch'ing Palace. The latter was burned down in 1797, and the first copy shared its fate. The second copy, which was stored in the Han-lin College, survived the perils of 1860, but was gradually diminished by losses [doubtless due to pilfering officials]. When examined in 1875, it

(1) Wylie, "Notes," p. 186, refers this statement to the copy prepared for printing; but in that case nothing is said as to the location of the original. It is more likely that the copy was left behind at Nanking.

(2) See *China Review*, VI, p. 215; also an article by Professor H. A. Giles, entitled "Encyclopædia Maxima," which was published in the *Nineteenth Century and After*, 1901, p. 659.

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comprised fewer than 5,000 volumes [that is, less than half the original number], and in the following year the number had fallen to not much over 3,000. In 1893 only 600 or so remained, and after 1900 there were only 300 odd. In the Revolution of 1911, many of these again were dispersed, and those that have now been transferred to the Ministry of Education and the 圖書館, *T'u Shu Kuan* (a public library), amount to no more than 60 volumes."[1]

The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* is, of course, quite a recent publication; and it is hard to believe that its authors would have thus discarded the authority of the Imperial Catalogue unless they had some fresh evidence to support their assertions. Another curious discrepancy in the two accounts is the number of works which were recovered for the *Ssŭ K'u Ch'üan Shu* from the pages of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*. The *Tz'u Yüan* says 492, although the Catalogue is quite explicit on the point: 經 66, 史 41, 子 103, 集 175; total 385.

The information concerning the Han-lin copy, if it can be relied upon, is extremely interesting. For it appears that the work suffered far more from the stealthy depredations of generations of officials than at the hands of the Boxers, who have generally been condemned for an act of supreme vandalism. Those who tried gallantly, but in vain, to save the Encyclopædia on June 23rd, 1900, will be relieved to learn that only a few hundred volumes (the merest fraction of the whole) were still sheltered by the walls of the Han-lin College when the building was burned down.[2]

The volumes that I have personally inspected are 26 in number: 11 forming part of the Backhouse collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 6 in the Oriental Department of

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(1) According to M. Aurousseau, there are 60 vols. in the *T'u Shu Kuan*, and 4 in the library of the Ministry of Education.

(2) 繆荃孫, Miao Ch'üan-sun, remarks at the end of his edition of the 奉天錄, *Feng t'ien lu*, that, when employed in the 史館, office of Historiography, he read over 600 volumes of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien*, and adds that "the original work comprised 10,000 and some tens of volumes, whereas now only a few over 900 remain." See B.E.F.E.O., IX, 828.

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the British Museum, 1 in the London Library, 1 in the School of Oriental Studies, London, and 7 formerly in the possession of Messrs. Luzac & Co., Great Russell Street, London, which I understand were purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啓超), on his visit to England in the summer of 1919. These seven volumes had left the country before I had leisure to examine them thoroughly. A few notes on five volumes, containing ch. 13344–5, 16343–4, 19742–3, 19789–90 (this volume is now in the British Museum) and 19792, will be found in the "Nineteenth Century" article referred to above.

CHÜAN 6641. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 陽 (18th of 1st tone-group).

Contents: 鄉, Village. Beginning with a series of phrases, (鄉儀, 鄉約, 鄉勸, 鄉校, 鄉飲, 鄉射), and ending with first part of 詩文. Extracts chiefly from a number of literary collections, most of them now lost, but not of any great interest.

26 fols.

Labels on cover missing, also list of copyists at end of volume.

CHÜAN 7515–6. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 陽.

Contents: 倉, Granary. The names of various granaries, beginning with 上供倉. Extracts from topographical works.

13+21 fols.

Wrong label on cover, giving the *chüan* as 18203–6, which deal with 將 and 醬, according to the Index. This shows, incidentally, that a volume sometimes contained as many as 4 *chüan*.

CHÜAN 7677. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 庚 (19th of 1st tone-group).

Contents: 庚, 5th section of 盤庚, *P'an Kêng*, the 7th book of 商書, in the *Shu Ching*. Text and commentaries given.

30 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

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CHÜAN 8021. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 庚.

Contents: 烝, 3rd part of 骨蒸證治, *Ku chêng chêng chih*, a medical work on the treatment of a bone disease. This takes up the greater part of the volume. The following characters are then dealt with: 烝, 脊, 脞, 浈, 隕, 征, 怔, 眐, 蓋, 篜, 郎, 損, 征, 於, 祉, 妊, 炡, 証, 帋, 耳, 媜, 寘, 諴, 拼, 敕, 承, 冂, 遳, 鉦, 庭, 恟, 瘇.

26 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 10135–6. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 紙 (2nd of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 史, sections 7 and 8 of 歷代諸史, dynastic histories. Ch. 10135 deals with 南史, 北史, 後周書, and 隋書; ch. 10136 with 唐書. A full table of contents for each work is included.

20+17 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 10460. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 濟 (4th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 禮, first section dealing with 周禮, *Chou li*.

36 fols.

Wrong label on cover, indicating *chüan* 20428, which deals with 稷, 3rd part of 益稷篇, *I chi p'ien*.

CHÜAN 11368–9. London Library. Presented by Mr. C. W. Campbell.

Rhyme 產 (11th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 簡, sections 16 and 17 of 書簡. These are short letters taken from the collected literary works (集) of various authors. The greater portion of ch. 11368 is taken up with letters of 蘇東坡, Su Tung-p'o, while the whole of ch. 11369 is extracted from 宋李端叔姑溪集, *Sung li tuan shu ku ch'i chi*, "Collected works of the Sung writer Li Tuan-shu, whose appellation was Ku-ch'i."

20+24 fols.

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Labels on cover missing, This volume is in rather a damaged condition.

CHÜAN 11887–8. British Museum, Or. 6814. Bought from Messrs. Luzac & Co., April, 1907.

Rhyme 養 (18th of 2nd tone-group).

Contents: 黨, sections 1 and 2 dealing with 慶元黨. Ch. 11887 contains the whole of the 慶元黨禁, *Ch'ing yüan tan ching*, "Prohibition of the Ch'ing-yüan Party," an historical work of considerable interest which ought to be reprinted. *Ch'ing-yüan* was the year-title for 1195–1201 A.D., and the political party referred to, which included the famous 朱熹, Chu Hsi, as well as 蔡元定, Ts'ai Yüan-ting, was accused of propagating false doctrines and placed under an Imperial interdict in September, 1196. Ch. 11888 continues on the same subject, with an extract from 四朝聞見錄, *Ssŭ ch'ao wên chien lu*. Afterwards come a large number of phrases: 酒黨, 阿黨, 私黨, etc., 黨正, with text from the *Chou li*, and literary (文) pieces, take up several pages, and the volume ends with 上黨, 黨州, and 黨氏.

17+19 fols.

Small label missing from cover.

CHÜAN 11903–4. British Museum, Or. 7616. Presented by Mr. G. M. H. Playfair, November, 1911.

Rhyme 養 (37th vol. under this rhyme).

Contents: 廣. Ch. 11903 begins with extracts from *Hung wu chêng yün* and other dictionaries, giving pronunciation, definitions, and various modes of writing the character in 篆, 隸, 眞, 行 and 草書. Under 漢廣 is quoted the Ode of that name (*Shih Ching*, I. i. 9), with long commentaries extending over 16 fols. 4 fols. are similarly devoted to 河廣 (*Shih Ching*, I. v. 7). Three loose slips indicates that the passages taken from 李恕音訓, *Li shu yin hsün*, and 詩傳纂註, *Shih chuan ts'uan chu* (fol. 13 r.°), and 李簡學詩備忘, *Li chien hsüeh shih pei wang* (fol. 15 v.°), were copied for the Imperial Catalogue of Ch'ien Lung. Ch. 11904 is mostly occupied with 百丈廣錄, a

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phrase illustrated from the Buddhist work 古尊宿語錄, *Ku tsun su yü lu.* [百丈, Po-chang, was a famous priest of the latter part of the 8th century.] Under 湖廣, Hu-kuang, there is a list of provincial officials, 郡邑 (that is, *fu* and *hsien*), census records,[1] military garrisons, etc., from 國朝諸司職掌, *Kuo ch'ao chu ssŭ chih chang.*

Kwangsi and Kwangtung, on the other hand, are only accorded very meagre notices.

29 + 17 fols.

CHÜAN 13494–5. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 寘 (2nd of 3rd tone-group).

Contents of ch. 13494: 智, 2nd part of 詩文; 智州, Chih-chou; and biographies. Ch. 13495: 緻, 致 (with 詩文), and 置.

CHÜAN 13498–9. Deposited in the British Museum by the Rev. A. C. Moule, after having passed through the hands of Messrs. B. G. Tours, A. J. Sundius, and G. E. Moule.

Rhyme 寘 (125th vol.).

Contents: 制. Both *chüan* are devoted to 除官制, "Regulations for the appointment of officials, parts 1 and 2." [除官 is practically equivalent to 拜 or 授官. Cf. 夢溪筆談, *Mêng Ch'i pi t'an:* 除拜官職謂除其舊籍, 不然也, 除猶易也, 以新易舊曰除. "The idea that *Ch'u pai kuan chih* means dismissal from a previous sphere of jurisdiction is incorrect. *Ch'u* is similar in sense to *i*, and means exchanging an old post for a new."]

Passages are drawn from various 集, many of which are quoted more than once, *e.g.*, 宋劉攽彭城集, "Literary remains of the Sung writer Liu Pan, whose appellation was P'êng-ch'êng."

28 + 21 fols.

CHÜAN 13506–7. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 寘.

(1) The 戶, households, number 775,851 and the 口, individuals, 4,702,660. But the returns of population under the Ming dynasty are notoriously unreliable.

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Contents of ch. 13506: 制, part 9 of 除官制 (see preceding entry).

Ch. 13507: 彙官制, "Regulations for the Holding of Plural Appointments," part 1.

CHÜAN 13629, School of Oriental Studies, London.

Rhyme 寘 (199th vol.).

Contents: 世. The main heading is 皇極經世書, part 30 (out of 45), but there is much sub-division: 觀物篇, 47, under which we have 辰日聲入之一闢 and 石水音閉之一清. The actual contents of the volume consist of 閉音清和律, 工 (1–12) and 入聲闢唱呂, 工 (1–10). These are apparently tables of musical notation, but I cannot make top or tail of them.

31 fols.

CHÜAN 13876–8. British Museum, Or. 6814.

Bought from Messrs. Luzac & Co., April, 1907.

Rhyme 未 (3rd of 3rd tone-group; 13th vol.).

Contents of ch. 13876: 賁, 5th section dealing with 賁卦, the *pi* diagram in the 易經, *I Ching*. Extracts from 鬼谷卦影, *Kuei ku kua ying*, and other works. On the last fol., three other characters are dealt with: 郯, 貶, and 柒. Pasted inside the front cover is a printed form, dated the 18th day of the 11th moon of the 38th year of Ch'ien Lung [31st Dec., 1773], showing that the extracts from 澹齋文集, *T'an chai wên chi*, on fol. 7, and 忘筌書, *Wang ch'üan shu*, on fol. 11, were copied for the Imperial Catalogue. There is also a slip with the names of the copyists.

Ch. 13877–8; 痹; 諸痹證治, "Treatment of Various Forms of Paralysis." Prescriptions excerpted from a large number of medical works. [痹, *pi*, is explained in 新字典, *Hsin Tzŭ Tien*, as "a disease of the nervous system (神經病), characterised by loss of sensation in the limbs, which become heavy and unable to move. There is 麻痹 and 痿痹; the former term is used for superficial numbness, the latter for want of power in the muscles and sinews. In olden times, the disease was believed to be caused by wind, cold, and damp; hence the expressions 風痹, etc." Correct

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Giles' Dictionary, 8985, which gives "rheumatism" as the first meaning.]

13+25+24 fols.

CHÜAN 13991. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 未.

Contents: 戲, 27th section of 戲文, Dramatic literature. The plays included in this volume are 小孫屠彈協狀元, *Hsiao sun t'u chang hsieh chuang yüan*, and 宦門子弟錯立身, *Huan mên tz'ŭ ti t'so li shên*.

CHÜAN 14385. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 霽 (4th of 3rd tone-group).

Centents: 冀, 2nd section dealing with 冀州, Chi-chou, one of the nine provinces of Yü the Great, corresponding roughly to Chihli and Shansi. There is a long quotation from a work, now lost, entitled 宋薛季宣地理叢考, "Collected Geographical Researches, by Hsieh Chi-hsüan of the Sung dynasty," which might be worth reprinting. Further entries are 冀縣, 冀氏, 冀備, 冀禹錫, and 赤冀.

27 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 14622. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 暮 (6th of 3rd tone-group).

Contents: 部, 9th section dealing with 吏部. The whole volume is taken up with 吏部條法, "Regulations of the Board of Civil Office."

33 fols.

Labels on cover missing.

CHÜAN 14627. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 暮.

Contents: 部, 14th section dealing with 吏部. Again the "Regulations of the Board of Civil Office" occupy the whole volume.

37 fols.

Labels on cover missing, also list of copyists.

CHÜAN 19735. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 屋 (1st of 4th tone-group; 76th vol.).

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Contents: 錄, 8th section (out of 9) of 曾公遺錄, "Notes left by Mr. Tsêng."

30 fols.

CHÜAN 19781–2. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 屋 (105th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19781: 局, 4th section of 諸局沿革, followed by 事韻, (part 1). Ch. 19782: 局; 事韻 (part 2), 詩文, and 道書法局式. The following characters are also dealt with: 跼, 芻, 騶, 鞠, 匊, 耟, 軠, 傒, 鵴, 鼿, 侷, 蹜, 拱, 斢, 鬻, 菉, 裘, 趜, 踘, 鶵, 鵴, 雛, 鯞, 蜘, 瑒, 局, 舌, 棗, 耟, 缸, 冐, 胸, 胸, 哥, 琛, 趜, 綢, 梂, 屐, 麼.

CHÜAN 19783–4. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 屋 (106th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19783: 伏 (with 事韻).

Ch. 19784: 伏 (with biographies), 虙, and 宓 (with biographies).

CHÜAN 19789–90. British Museum, Or. 5982.

Presented, April 2, 1901, by Mr. Lancelot Giles.

Rhyme 屋 (109th vol.).

Contents of ch. 19789: 服, 2nd section on 元服, Ceremonial Caps. [The *Tz'ŭ Yüan* says: 元首也, 冠者首之所著, 故曰元服, "*Yüan* means 'head.' Caps are what are worn on the head; hence they are called head-dress."]

The work quoted is entitled 皇太子加元服, "Donning of the Ceremonial Cap by the Heir to the Throne."

Ch. 19790: 朝服, "Court Dress."

19+18 fols.

The volume has been rebound in half morocco.

CHÜAN 20139. Bodleian Library.

Rhyme 質 (2nd of 4th tone-group; 40th vol.).

Contents: 日, 25th section dealing with 諸家選日, "Lucky days, as selected by various schools of divination."

30 fols.

Large label missing on cover.

CHÜAN 20478–9. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 質.

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Contents of both *chüan*: 職, Official Duties, parts 1 and 2 of 事韻.

CHÜAN 20648–9. Purchased by Mr. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

Rhyme 質.

Contents: 易, sections 92 and 93 of 易書, "Books Dealing with the System of Changes," which occupy ch. 20557–20719 inclusive.

CHÜAN 20850–1. British Museum, Or. 8159.

Presented, January, 1917, by Mr. E. Gordon Lowder.

Rhyme 質.

Contents of ch. 20850: 檄, Inscribed wooden tablets anciently used for official despatches. General definitions of the word, followed by phrases: 文檄, 羽檄, etc. The bulk of the *chüan* consists of 詩文, under which sub-heading there is a long extract from 册府元龜, *Ts'ê fu yüan kuei*.

Ch. 20851: Continuation of 檄, under the sub-heading 文, most of which is extracted from 文選, *Wên hsüan*.

26+24 fols.

Labels on cover missing. The volume has been rebound in buckram, with the original yellow silk covering pasted on the boards.

Just as I was about to send off the above article, I received a letter from Professor Pelliot calling my attention to yet another account of the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* which appeared in B. E. F. E. O., XII (1912), No. 9, pp. 79 *seq*. The author, M. Aurousseau, traverses somewhat the same ground as myself, and concludes by giving some details of the 64 vols. preserved at Peking, and also of 10 others belonging to Dr. Morrison. His account is unfortunately marred by the fact that he has misunderstood the term 正本, in the Imperial Catalogue, taking it to be the equivalent of 元本. Hence he translates: "En 1562, l'Empereur Kia-tsing fit faire une copie complète. . . . L'exemplaire original fut déposé au Wen-yuan ko, pavillon de la bibliothèque impériale, et la copie au Houang-che tch'eng. . . . Sous les Ts'ing on déposa au Han-lin

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yuan l'original," etc. The following points also stand in need of correction: (1) 'Kiai Tsin' for 解緒. The surname is read not 'Chieh' but 'Hsieh.' (2) 'Le mot Song 宋 occupait, dans le Yong-lo ta-tien, 1257 chapitres.' The number, as we have seen, is really 798 (ch. 12256–13053). (3) As regards the volumes belonging to the E'cole Française d'Extrême-Orient at Hanoi, 'ch. 20404–5' must be a misprint for ch. 2404–5, as the rhyme is 模 (6th of 1st tone-group). On the other hand, M. Aurousseau is able to correct the statement in the Imperial Catalogue, which I had accepted, that the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* adopted the rhyme-system of the *Hung wu chêng yün* (故此書以洪武正韻爲綱, 全如韻府之體). He points out that the latter work contains only 76 rhymes, whereas the *Yung Lo Ta Tien* has the following four in addition: 微, 尾, 未, and 術.

Comparative Table of Rhymes

in *Yung Lo Ta Tien* and *P'ei Wên Yün Fu*

Y.L.T.T. I (平)	P.W.Y.F. I (上平)	P.W.Y.F. II (下平)	Y.L.T.T. II (上)	P.W.Y.F. III (上)	P.W.Y.F. III (上)
1. 東	1. 東	1. 先	1. 董	1. 董	24. 迥有寢感琰豏
2. 支微齊魚模皆厎眞寒刪先蕭爻歌麻遮陽庚尤侵覃鹽	2. 冬江	2. 蕭肴豪歌麻陽庚青蒸尤侵覃鹽咸	2. 紙尾濟語姥解賄軫罕產銑篠巧皓馬者養梗有寢感琰	2. 腫講紙尾語麌薺蟹賄軫吻阮旱潸銑篠巧晧哿馬養梗	25.
	3. 支微魚虞齊佳厎眞文元寒刪	3.	3.	3.	26.
	4.	4.	4.	4.	27.
	5.	5.	5.	5.	28.
	6.	6.	6.	6.	29.
	7.	7.	7.	7.	
	8.	8.	8.	8.	
	9.	9.	9.	9.	
	10.	10.	10.	10.	
	11.	11.	11.	11.	
	12.	12.	12.	12.	
	13.	13.	13.	13.	
	14.	14.	14.	14.	
	15. 刪	15. 咸	15. 儼	15. 篠	
			16.	16.	
			17.	17.	
			18	18.	
			19	19.	
			20.	20.	
			21.	21.	
			22.	22.	
			23. 琰	23. 梗	

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Y.L.T.T. III (去)	P.W.Y.F. IV (去)	P.W.Y.F. IV (去)	Y.L.T.T. IV (入)	P.W.Y.F. V (入)
1. 送	1. 送	24. 敬	1. 屋	1. 屋
2. 寘	2. 宋	25. 徑	2. 寘	2. 沃
3. 未	3. 絳	26. 宥	3. 術	3. 覺
4. 御	4. 寘	27. 沁	4. 昌	4. 物
5. 暮	5. 未	28. 勘	5. 韓	5. 月
6. 裕	6. 御	29. 豔	6. 屑	6. 曷
7. 泰	7. 過	30. 陷	7. 薛	7. 黠
8. 隊	8. 霽		8. 陌	8. 屑
9. 霽	9. 泰		9. 緝	9. 薬
10. 輸	10. 卦		10. 合	10. 陌
11. 諫	11. 隊		11. 葉	11. 錫
12. 祭	12. 霽			12. 職
13. 噛	13. 問			13. 緝
14. 效	14. 願			14. 合
15. 箇	15. 輸			15. 葉
16. 禡	16. 諫			16. 洽
17. 漾	17. 祭			17.
18.	18. 噛			
19. 敬	19. 效			
20. 宥	20. 號			
21. 沁	21. 箇			
22. 勘	22. 禡			
23. 豔	23. 漾			

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. T. HUTSON

BOOK III—POLITICAL

CHAPTER I

PUNISHMENTS (刑 法), *hsing fa*

I. *Punishments not involving death* (活 刑), *huo hsing.*

Ch'ih (笞), to beat with the small bamboo rod. This rod is about three feet long, and one inch wide, and is applied to the thighs over a space of about six inches. A few thousands of strokes may be given till the thigh bone is made bare. This punishment is inflicted mostly upon the thief. Scholars or dignitaries are exempt from this humiliation. A permanent scar is made which officials make a point of examining when investigating a case. The runners are sometimes bribed by friends to lay on lightly, or reduce the number of blows, or beat the ground. This is a parental form of correction and the prisoner has to thank the magistrate for inflicting it. Tartars, as the conquering race, were exempt from this punishment.

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The heavy bamboo, *chang* (杖), is about 4 feet long and about 4 inches wide, sometimes made of wood and at other times of bamboo. The punishment meted out varies from 80 to 200 blows. This chastisement is generally to the disobedient and unfilial. The prisoner is bound and held down while being beaten. Another kind of beating is called *t'ou hsing* (頭刑) or *mao pan* (茅板). The instrument used is a large bamboo split in two halves and not polished in the least; a pile of bricks is made, over which the prisoner is bent and this instrument of correction applied to the buttocks. A few tens of blows may be sufficient to cause death. *Li pi chang hsia* (立斃杖下) means to die under the bamboo.

There are three kinds of banishment: one is *liu* (流), transportation for a few hundreds of miles; this punishment is frequently inflicted on persons guilty of adultery, manslaughter, or incendiarism. *T'u* (徒) or *liu t'u* (流徒), is also transportation; but the punishment is often to be confined by night and free by day; this is called *tso t'u* (坐徒). The individual thus punished is neither reckoned worthy of death nor of life; a useless wastrel.

Ch'ung chûn (充軍) is banishment beyond the Great Wall, or to the frontier military posts without any hope of a return. This is a heavy military punishment and mostly imposed upon officials and soldiers.

Penal servitude (監禁), *chien chin*, may be for three, eight or for twenty years, or for life. The life sentence is called *lao fan* (牢犯) or *lao chien*, and also *yung yüan* (永遠) *chien chin*. Prisoners on entering jail have their heads shaved, the hair afterwards being left to grow long. No barber is allowed in jail except at New Year times when some favored few may have their beards shaved. The only knife allowed in jail is a piece of broken crockery.

Criminals just taken into custody and awaiting trial, whose offences are slight, and who await the payment of fines or a surety to bail them out, are confined in a guardhouse, *ch'ia chin* (卡禁). A place of confinement better than the guardhouse, into which gentry and scholars are put while

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waiting for judgment or bail, is called in some cities *tai-chih so* (待質所); in others, *tzŭ-hsin so* (自新所), a penitentiary.

One of the most painful of beatings is termed *t'iao-tzŭ* (條子) or *niu chin* (牛筋), ox sinew stripes. It is inflicted mostly for indecent behaviour. Women are stripped of their upper garments and beaten across the shoulders and back, while men are stripped and suspended by the arms and beaten.

Sometimes a man is kept in custody in the inn, *ya pao tien* (押保店) till the matter is settled. The prisoner in this case has to feed the yamen underlings and give them sufficient opium; if he does not bribe them his chains will not be taken off at night.

A form of punishment meted out to scholars and gentry is beating on the hands with a piece of polished board, such as is used in schools.

To beat on the cheek with a thong of leather fixed to a wooden handle is called *ta tsui pa* (打嘴巴). The instrument is shaped something like the sole of a Chinese shoe. By this punishment the teeth are not infrequently knocked out and the face swells to a great size.

The punishment called *yang pan* (仰板), to beat on the front of the thigh, is reserved for priests, nuns and loose women, and is administered in the public courtyard.

Cages in which prisoners are kept, *lung chin* (籠[illegible]), are of several kinds. *Chan lung* (站籠) is a standing cage, the height of a man. The top is composed of two boards fitting exactly together, in the centre of which a round hole is cut, the size of a man's neck. The prisoner is put in, and this cover put on and nailed down. The prisoner can just manage to put his hand round and convey some food to his mouth. If he bribes the yamen runners he may get release at night, if not he may be left to stand all the night through.

The *tso* (坐) *lung* or *ai* (矮) *lung* is a kind of cage in which the prisoner may sit on a cross bar or put his legs through the bottom or walk slowly; the neck part is the same as the former.

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The cat cage, *mao* (貓) *lung* is too low for the prisoner either to straighten his back or stretch his limbs. A month or two in this and he is turned into a deformed, useless creature. If food is stopped, as is frequently the case, the man dies very quickly. *Chia chin* (枷禁), the cangue, is a heavy wooden frame which divides in the centre into two halves, where a round hole is made to fit the neck. It is carried as a collar by the criminal. If food is allowed it is very difficult to convey it to the mouth. When food is forbidden the prisoner cannot survive more than a few days. The weight of the cangue varies from 20 to 100 catties.

There is also a double cangue for two people. This punishment is for brothers who quarrel, or in cases of adultery. These criminals are exposed to the public gaze with their offence written on the pillory.

There is even a three-hole cangue into which three people are fixed This is generally inflicted on gamblers and the smart-fingered gentry.

The boy's cangue is used for boys addicted to gambling or who have entered the boys' secret society known as the 棒棒會.

The *chüeh p'ên* (脚盆) *chia* or *pan t'ou* (蟠頭) *chia*, foot tub or dish cangue, is light, and can easily be carried about the streets. Such is sometimes put on the tax gatherer when he fails to collect the taxes; and he carries it from market to market.

A chain is fastened to a heavy stone and the criminal is chained all day and released at night to sleep in the guard-house. This is *t'ieh lien shih têng* (鐵鍊石磴).

The hand cangue, *shoü chia* (手枷), confines the hands as well as the head; the foot cangue, *chüeh* (脚) *chia*, is a wooden block round the two ankles; the wearer can move about slowly. The *yüan yang* (鴛鴦) *chia* confines one foot and one hand of each of two persons. The *yüan* and the *yang* are the mandarin drake and duck which never leave their mates.

Cutting off the ears, *hsüeh êrh to* (削耳朵), was a punishment in use up to the present year.

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Branding on the forehead, *mei hsing* (墨刑), or *tz'ŭ tzŭ* (朿字), is an ancient punishment and was still in use until the revolution. A needle is used to prick the characters on the skin, then indigo is rubbed into the wound, and when healed the blue characters are seen. The punishment is generally inflicted on pickpockets and swindlers.

Ko chüeh chin (割脚筋), to cut the tendons at the back of the foot is also a very ancient punishment and is still practised. It is generally inflicted upon robbers only, as the man is lamed for life.

Another punishment is to carry an iron bar of from 30 to 40 catties in weight, *pei t'ieh kan* (背鐵杆). An iron ring is welded round the neck and the bar is attached to this with a chain. If the criminal bribes the blacksmith and runners he may get released from it at night. The man who has suffered this penalty often bears the nick-name of *t'ieh kan* for life.

Other punishments are *ch'a êrh chien* (插耳箭), to double the ears and put a bamboo needle through the cartilage; *ts'o ching* (剉脛), breaking the ankle bone, and the *t'ieh ch'ien* (鐵鉗), or iron tongs. This is an iron frame-work into which the hands and feet are fastened, and the whole is suspended from the neck; the part at the back of the neck being sharp, immediately the hands let go, or the feet move, it cuts the flesh. This is a punishment for the gambler.

II. *Fei hsing* (匪刑), or *k'o hsing* (酷刑), illegal punishments.

Ta chia kuan (打加官), putting on the mask, that is, to suffocate the criminal by putting several layers of paper soaked in lime water over the face. This is done by yamen runners at the wink of the official owing to the case being one of danger to himself and to the district.

Chêng cha pao (蒸鮓包). The unfortunate is put into a cage or pit, and covered up with quick-lime, water is then poured in and the man is roasted or boiled alive. In some cases fire crackers are wound round the body and set alight.

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To light the candle; the criminal is chained to a heavy frame, his body is then wound with cotton wool, which is soaked with oil and lighted at the crown of the head.

III. *Death penalty.* (死 刑) *Ssŭ hsing.*

Tiao kao lung (吊 高 櫳), is to hang up in a cage by the neck. The cage has no bottom and stands about ten feet high. The neck is encircled by the top cover of the cage, the head being outside. Death comes very soon, and it is reckoned a light penalty because the body is not mutilated. Any district magistrate may use this method of execution and also *Yung k'ou chia* (擁 口 枷), or the clasp-throat cangue. This is a heavy oak pillory and is over 100 catties in weight. The neck is clasped tight and the frame is so large that food cannot be conveyed to the mouth; the criminal soon collapses and, with the fall, the neck is generally broken.

Death by strangling is called *chiao hsing* (絞 刑). Three posts are fixed into the ground. To the centre one the criminal is tied, a rope with a running noose is put round his neck, and then one man pulls at each end of the rope, two strong pulls; the rope is then fastened to the side posts; then the doomed man gets a heavy kick in the abdomen and the breath is driven from his body by the rectum. This is most frequently administered to soldiers for breach of military laws.

To cut off the head of a person worthy of death after death has come from other causes, or to cut the corpse limb from limb, is called, *chua shih* (抓 屍).

In the punishment called *ch'êng kan ch'êng jen* (秤 桿 秤 人), to weigh a man on the scales, huge iron clamps are driven into the ribs on both sides of the backbone and a rope is attached. The unfortunate man is then raised over a cross beam to the height of about 8 or 10 feet from the ground, where he hangs suspended face downwards, and may live for two or three days.

The family of a rebel, whether official or civilian, is exterminated and his goods are confiscated. This is called *wa kên tuan miao* (挖 根 斷 苗), or *chu tsu* (誅 族).

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Another punishment is to nail the living door god. *ting huo mên-shên* (釘 活 門 神), that is, crucifixion. The criminal's hands and feet are nailed to a door or cross. The nails are made red-hot and driven through the palms of the hands and the front of the foot. Hot nails are used to staunch the bleeding. A hole is made through the back of the cross through which the queue is put to keep up the head. Sometimes the head is held up by nailing the skin on either side of the neck. The wretch may live two or three days unless he can bribe the yamen runners, through his friends, to give him a dose of opium. He is raised so high that a large crowd of people can stare at him. This punishment can be inflicted without reference to a superior officer, as it does not mutilate the body.

Ling ch'ih sui kua (凌 遲 碎 剮), to hack in pieces. This punishment was, prior to the Revolution, inflicted on both men and women, usually for the murder of a parent or a husband. The criminal was tied to a stake at the crossing of two streets or on the execution ground; first the skin of the brow was cut and pulled over the eyes; then the nose, lips, ears, hands, arms, were taken from the body, then the sword pierced through the heart and the body was hewn in pieces. Formerly the flesh was roasted and the fat used to light the four gates of the city, the flesh and the bones cremated and the ashes scattered to the four winds. This punishment required the sanction of a senior officer, as it mutilated the body.

Beheading, *ta p'i* (大 辟), is the utmost penalty of the law and the one most dreaded by the Chinese, who all shrink from the idea of becoming a headless ghost. To such an extent is this feared that a head is often sewn on immediately after execution unless it has to be exposed in the person's native village, *hsiao shou* (梟 首). The executioner is sometimes bribed to leave a part of the neck unsevered. All such punishments must be sanctioned by the superior officers before they can be carried out. Therefore the whole case has to go through a great many different phases before the execution can take place. Such are as follows:

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K'ao wên (考 問), to investigate the case and obtain the person's own confession of guilt. Unfortunately this is very often got by torture. After the magistrate has obtained what he thinks sufficient evidence he must notify his superior officer, *hsiang ping* (詳 稟), by an official dispatch, giving all details, after which the superior officer sends a deputy to investigate the confession, *ch'ing k'ou kung* (清口供). Much depends upon this man; if not well treated by the district magistrate he might get him into trouble by reporting unfavourably of his judgment. After the criminal has acknowledged his guilt (落 供), *lo kung*, he has to dip his thumb in ink and make an impression on the official document.

The criminals hold a feast, *fên li chiu* (分 離 酒), just before midwinter, which is the general time for executions as at this season the death principle reigns throughout nature. This is a farewell feast to those about to die.

Shang chüeh liao shou chou (上 脚 鐐 手 肘) is to put in fetters, hands and feet. As soon as the deputy has confirmed the district magistrate's sentence of death the criminal is chained, hands and feet.

The warrant of death is an official dispatch through which a nail is driven and bent, *ting fêng* (釘 封), and sealed. There is also a black tablet sent along with the warrant, which is carried into the gaol when the prisoners are taken out. This is called the *hei p'ai* (黑 牌). Whenever the warrant arrives the yamen runners make a raid on the rope-makers for ropes to bind the prisoners, paying nothing; for days before an execution the rope-dealers display few, if any ropes, for fear they will be seized.

When the warrant arrives the official orders wine and food to be set before the doomed men. Sometimes abundance of wine and pork is supplied, at others, only a limited amount. Some drink themselves quite drunk and others only reach the tipsy stage.

Then the hands are bound behind the back and ropes put on the neck, and the tallies are stuck in the band of the criminal's lower garment at the back. These tallies are strips of bamboo a few feet in length and a few inches wide, on which are

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written the doomed man's name and crime. The characters are written with ink which has been mixed with tea. No teacher likes to use tea in mixing his ink as it is reckoned unlucky.

The fetters are knocked from the hands and feet. This is done by a blacksmith in the roughest way.

The assistant executioner, *t'i shou* (替手), holds the sword in front of the doomed man's face while the real executioner stands at the back to do his work.

The *kuei tzŭ shou* (劊子手), or executioner, belongs to the military yamen. His pay used to be 800 cash per head.

It is the duty of the military official, whose men do the work of execution, to witness it, *chien chan* (監斬).

The district magistrate goes to the temple, burns incense and makes a declaration to the city god that he has not had these men beheaded for any personal spite or selfish ends, but simply because of their own evil deeds. Returning to his yamen, a heap of straw with crackers is set fire to at the entrance, through which he is carried at a furious pace, *kuo huo yen shan* (過火焰山) (passing the flame-hill), for fear any of the disembodied spirits of the men should have followed him. Many of these men vow before death that after death their chief work will be to kill the official. Hence these past months, during the rebellion, it was said that the soldiers of Hades were moving to help them, *yin ping tung liao* (陰兵動了). The people burned straw sandals by the thousand as an offering to these spirits.

After the executions are over the yamen runners arm themselves with clubs and go round and round the yamen, *p'an ya* (盤衙), and enter the official's private quarters, flourishing these clubs to drive away the evil spirits. They make their obeisance to the official, who in turn gives them a present.

Those remaining in gaol after the midwinter executions, as most probably they may live another year, have a feast together, *t'uan yüan chiu* (團圓酒).

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If only one person should be left in the government prison, he may be strangled in prison, *chien hou chiao* (監侯絞).

IV. *Torture, K'ao ta hsing* (拷打刑).

The following are a few of the methods used to extort confession, etc.:

Kuei t'ai ho (跪抬盒), to kneel in the carrying box. This instrument of torture takes its name from the box frame in which presents are carried from one place to another with one pole between two men. The prisoner is made to kneel in this box, sometimes on ashes, sometimes on broken glass or iron chains. A heavy weight is then placed upon the legs, pressing the knees down into the ashes. The hands are passed through the holes on either side and wedged in tightly. A string is then attached to one finger of each hand and pulled tightly outward. The back is covered with incense, which is lighted. This burning incense is often fanned till sometimes the fat drops on the ground. I have known the ribs and backbone to be exposed as the result of this burning. Sometimes long cuts in the flesh are made in the shape of a Chinese waistcoat, these are filled with incense and set fire to; this is called *ch'uan ling chia* (穿領架). The prisoner may stay for hours in this position while the magistrate does other business. When he has promised to confess, he is let down, but if his confessions are not enough he may be put in a second time. Many die as the result of this cruel treatment.

"The monkey moving the log." A high bench is placed in court. The criminal is stretched on it and his thumbs and toes tied to the bench; he is then swung underneath the bench, suspended by his thumbs and toes and a heavy weight is attached to the body. A candle is lit, the flame of which just touches the buttocks—*tso la* (坐蠟), or sitting on the candle.

Tso lan pan têng (坐懶板凳), to sit on the lazy stool. The criminal is made to sit on a stool with his back against a pillar. The legs are tied tightly at the knees and ankles and

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weights are attached; the hands are tied behind the back and to the pillar; a strong string or oftener a chain is tied round the head tightened with wedges—the *hua ku ku mao* (花箍箍帽), the flowery hat.

Tsan chih (拶指). Needles are stuck in, five under each nail, beginning with the second finger, then the forefinger and finally the other fingers. Both hands are done and this sometimes when the poor creature is kneeling in the *t'ai ho* as described above.

P'ao lo (炮烙) is to brand with hot irons or to place red-hot coins direct on the body.

Tien chih la (點指蠟), to roll the fingers in oil paper and set them on fire. This is what is called burning finger-candles.

To wear iron clothing—garments made of tin are made hot and put on the body.

Pao t'ung chu (抱銅柱), to hug the brass pillar. This is a very ancient custom and iron has now taken the place of the brass. The iron pillar is heated red-hot and the individual made to sit on it, or the poker heated and the back singed.

Punishment of prisoners upon prisoners. San ch'ia ssŭ hsing (三卡私刑). These are illegal punishments meted out by resident criminals upon those who are put in for the first time or have no money to satisfy the claims of the little world within the four walls.

T'uan ts'ang (圍倉) is to extort the entrance fee on entering gaol. The newcomer pays for a feast or else he will have to suffer unspeakable indignities and will not be allowed his turn in the receiving of pawned goods in the government gaol.

No one who has not paid up, or got someone to promise to pay for him, will be allowed to worship the gaol god, *pai yü shen*. On worshipping he has to give wine, pork and money all round according to his ability. The gaol god has an interesting history; he is declared to have been a district magistrate, who, out of pity, allowed all the gaol-birds to go home for the new year festivities on the condition that they

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all returned within three days; but on the expiry of the time, as no one turned up, he himself went into gaol and died of grief, and was afterwards deified as the gaol god.

The beginning of trouble, for one who has not paid the gaol fine, is to be beaten with a straw mat to the front of the gaol god, and if the money or the promise of it is not given, he is beaten unmercifully with a club. Next, the poor novice is tied up in an attitude like the *ling kuan* idol, a fierce, overawing attitude; his naked body is then wound round with paper which is tied on with string; this is set fire to and his whole body blistered more or less. This is termed melting the *ling kuan*.

He is also lifted high in the air and beaten on the bare body with bamboo strips or stinging nettles, *yün tuan hsien shêng* (雲端顯聖), exalting his holiness.

Again, all the lice, bugs, fleas, and other vermin that can be caught are let loose on his person and every other kind of filth which can be collected is all thrown on him. The unfortunate prisoner is bound with his nose over the manure bucket for a whole night.

A hollow bamboo or old sleeve of a garment is filled with filth from the manure pit, the novice is laid on his back and bound, while the other prisoners occupy themselves with blowing this on to the eyes, nostrils, and mouth of the helpless wretch, *ch'ui wu tu wu* (吹唔嘟唔). In the morning he is bound in the outer court of the prison and the filth of the prison cells poured over him.

Again, his hands and feet are tied to a pillar and the hair fastened to a cross beam in the roof; in this position he has to stand the whole night. This is *ying ko chia* (鸚鵡架), the parrot's perch.

He is stripped naked and hung up by a rope under the arms with the tips of the toes just touching the ground; he is then whipped by the company and his body swings from side to side like the wind bending the willow, *ta fêng pai liu* (打風擺柳). Or he is stripped and suspended by a rope round the waist, about three feet from the ground, and beaten; the body thus suspended resembles and is called a

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duck swimming in water, *tang hu ch'uan* (蕩湖船), to rock the lake boat. The novice is suspended from the roof by the four limbs in a small cell ; he is then rocked from one side of the cell to the other, when different parts of the body get driven against the walls.

He is bound hand and foot and blindfolded, a red-hot goblet is then placed on the head ; this is called wearing the iron hat.

He is put in a butt of dirty water with his hands and feet tied, with his nose and mouth above water. This is called soaking the water-gourd, *p'ao shui hu-lu* (泡水葫蘆).

To tie up the novice at the door for the night and forbid sleep or rest is called sticking up scrolls, *t'ieh tui-tzŭ* (貼對子), and to be hung up by the hair for the night with hands and feet bound is to be the guardian door god, *pa mên shên* (把門神).

To bend one leg at the knee and bind it in that position with one arm stretched over the head and the other straight out, and then to tie the hair to a beam overhead is hanging up the military god of wealth, *tiao wu ts'ai shên* (吊武財神). Hanging up by the armpits and flogging represents the civil god of wealth (文財神).

In all there are said to be seventy-two kinds of these punishments, the inventions of a degraded humanity. Many of these cannot be learned by enquiry, while others are unfit for publication.

Duties of a District Magistrate

Ta Ch'ing chou hsien kung shih (大青州縣公事)

A new appointment is announced in the Provincial Treasurer's Yamen by a notice hung up. A notification on red paper is sent to the present official, giving his successor's name and other particulars; this is also posted in the yamen.

Those managing public business in the yamens collect money for the new magistrate's outfit—a thousand or perhaps several thousand taels, *ti hsü chih* (遞須知). If the money

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is accepted these men will afterwards attend to affairs according to their own wills; otherwise the magistrate will be more free.

On the proper day men and horses are sent off to bring the new official. On arrival at the city gates he enters a pavilion put up for the purpose where a pig's head, feet and tail, *san shêng* (三牲), are prepared with candles and incense already burning, and he kneels and worships the city gates. Some officials are very superstitious as to the point at which they enter the city.

One of his first duties is to inspect the city walls, *yüeh ch'êng* (閱城), and he also worships in the Confucian temple. Both old and new incumbents worship the seals of office when these change hands. There is álso a ceremony of kneeling and bowing toward Peking.

On a lucky day at a lucky hour the seals are handed over in the yamen inner court in the presence of the official underlings and public men. After this the yamen runners march round the outer court, jumping as they go, and then go in and *ko t'ou* to the new official. This is to welcome him and to acknowledge his authority.

He sends cards to the important men and offices in the city, after which people call to pay their respects.

Then the roll of underlings is called, including the writers, yamen runners and country headmen. This is afterwards done monthly.

The grain in the government granaries has to be measured, *yüeh ts'ang* (閱倉), before the former official leaves; but sometimes an estimate is made and a sum of money paid over to cover deficiency.

The retiring magistrate must receive an acknowledgment that all has been duly handed over. Unless he produces this to his superior officer in the capital he will not get a new post.

The new man puts out a proclamation, *kuan fang* (關防), telling the public he has brought no relatives or friends with him and that they are not to be deceived by any professing to be such.

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The former official is escorted out of the city, and the guilds and shopkeepers cover his sedan chair with red silk or cloth. If he has been popular a big umbrella, embellished with many people's names, may be given to him; tables are set out in the street with wine and sweets.

An examination is held for candidates for the attorneys' or copyists' places, *k'ao tai shu* (考代書). Successful candidates, about eight in each district, have to pay thirty taels before receiving their seals. They may have associates who pay part of the money and use the same seals. All lawsuits pass through these men's hands. An indictment is not received unless written on the official paper and stamped by the official attorney.

On certain fixed days, usually the 3rd and 8th of each moon, the large doors of the yamen are thrown open and the indictments by poor people are received without fees, *fang kao* (放告). Such are not received on other days unless on the 1st and 15th as the magistrate returns from worshipping at the temple.

A table hung in the yamen gives a list of cases and dates of trial.

There are three courts in a yamen. The outer, *ta t'ang* (大堂), is the imperial court; the second, or *êrh t'ang*, is the district court and the inner, *hua t'ing* (花廳), is the magistrate's private court. Both when he takes his seat in the imperial court and when he adjourns the court, three guns are fired.

When a "coroners' inquest" is held a pavilion is put up for the magistrate and his retinue; his nose is filled with assafœtida, *o wei* (阿魏), and underlings carry incense. If the body is fresh the *wu tso* (仵作) simply calls out to the recorder the wounds, etc., on the body. In an important case, the magistrate himself examines what is said to be the fatal wound, *chih ming shang* (致命傷). If the body is decayed it is boiled in big pots, the bones are rubbed clean with cotton wool and the wounds show up on them! For such a case the *wu tso* has to call in experienced assistants. Some seventy or eighty different kinds of knives or instruments are brought

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into use ; the bones of the body are counted and expected to number 360 ; the water-carriers are put on oath, since salt mixed with the water obliterates bruises on the bones.

If murder is suspected in a house and no traces can be seen, the room is shut up and thoroughly fumigated with mulberry leaves and the walls and floor are soaked with vinegar ; then the blood will show up on the walls and even the position of the body may be clearly seen. This kind of inquest involves the expenditure of some thousands of taels and only the rich can indulge.

On returning from an inquest the magistrate in his chair goes through burning straw at his yamen entrance, to drive off noxious smells and evil spirits.

When there is a conflagration the magistrate must get up any hour of the night to assist. Underlings carry a *huo kou* (火鈎), a long pole with a hook on it for pulling down houses, and a *ma ta* (麻搭), or hemp mop on a pole, which is dipped in water aud dabbled on freshly ignited places. In recent years force pumps have been introduced. The official orders the pulling down of houses to prevent the fire spreading, and he enquires when and how the fire originated. If a resident started it he will be beaten to expel the fire demon, and if it is not his first offence he may be expelled from the neighbourhood. An incendiary if caught will be put to death, as the crime is of equal gravity with murder and grave-robbing.

For the official duty of praying for rain, etc., see under Fasts. On the 1st and 15th of each month incense is burned, *chiang hsiang* (降香), in the temple of the city-god *ch'êng huang* (城皇), the god of War, the god of Literature, the god of Fire and perhaps elsewhere. The official may go himself or by deputy. A Mohammedan official will only act by deputy.

In spring and autumn, at fixed times, sacrifices of five pigs, five sheep and an ox are made to the Sage in the Confucian temple.

Sacrifices to the god of Agriculture are offered in March and September. The god is said to be Shên-Nung (神農)

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(B.C. 2700). He is also called Hou t'u (后土), and Ti shên (地神). These sacrifices are generally made in a field kept for the purpose, but used for farming between times. The offerings are pigs and sheep.

At the feast in the 7th moon and at Ch'ing ming offerings are made at the *li t'an* (厲壇), or altar of the discontented dead. Piles of paper money are burned in a roofless stone structure usually in the public burying ground. Sometimes the magistrate does this public duty by proxy.

The official does not attend on the execution ground, but he must see the prisoners bound and the heads must be brought back to him. He whips the executioner lest evil influences should be brought by him. (See under *Punishments.*)

The collection of the land tax, *ti ting* (地丁), or *chêng liang* (正糧), is often managed by a semi-official dealer in taxes. He advances the money when necessary, at a high interest.

The tax is said to be two fen or candareens per *mou*, but it will often be two mace. In times of great distress it is remitted, *yu mien* (憂免), and also where land is silted up or washed away, *yung mien* (永免).

Besides the land tax there are the military expenses tax, *chün hsü* (軍需), and the willing contributions to government, *chüan shu* (捐輸). There is further a *pourboire*, or squeeze, called *chin tieh* (津貼), and also *li chin* (厘金), or assessment on certain articles, etc.; thus the pig tax, which rose to 1,500 cash per pig; oil so much per *ts'ao* (槽) (120 catties); inns, so much per bed, etc.

Of late years a tax office, called *chin chüan* (津捐), has been opened in each county. A tax collector's position was reckoned much more lucrative than an ordinary district magistrate's.

Taxes in refined silver are sent to the capital under armed escort, all expenses being deducted.

Travelling expenses must be given to underlings of high officials passing through the district, and when a deputy official goes through he receives Tls. 50 besides travelling expenses.

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Fuel and bedding must also be provided out of taxes to passing troops.

The train bands must present themselves, in uniform and with weapons, to answer the roll call.

Some headmen of "parishes" etc., must also appear. These are the *tsung pao* (總保), or head of a district; *t'uan shou* (團首), or head of 1,000 families; *chia chang* (甲長), head of 100 families; *p'ai shou* (牌首), head of 10 families; and *hua hu* (花戶), or head of each family. Only the first three need appear at review.

Each family is registered and is given a door-tablet with name and number in the family written on it; this costs about 40 cash. The *tsung pao* is nominated by the people and appointed by the magistrate. The *t'uan shou* is elected by the "parish" and the *p'ai shou* by those concerned. Each reports to his superior, the *tsung pao* often having free access to the yamen. The *tsung pao* settles many local troubles and in lawsuits his word goes a long way; but bribery and injustice are very common.

The title deeds of newly purchased property have to be stamped, *yin ch'i* (印契), at the yamen; and the rate has risen to 2 per cent with 1,000 cash for the *ch'i wei* (契尾), a document sent to be kept in the provincial treasurer's yamen. Formerly an official about to leave office used to reduce the stamp fees, because all the money from this source went into his private purse; but latterly the tax-office has controlled this business.

The office of *lao tien* (老典) is sold for a term of five years. The price varies, of course, in different places, but in some places 3,000 taels are paid down with an annual payment of 1,000 taels: this belongs to the magistrate. In many places the gentry pay the incumbent 300 taels per annum, whether they have lawsuits or not, but if a guarantee against lawsuits is required much more is paid. These bureaus are where litigation is hatched and fostered, mismanaged and traded on, and the purchase money is very quickly recovered.

Hereditary pensions are paid to families of men who have done important service to the state, *fa yin hsi* (發蔭襲).

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The hereditary barons among the tribesmen, *t'u ssŭ* (土司), receive taxes from their people and pay tribute to the court.

There are four spring officials, *ch'un kuan* (春官), one for each city gate, whose duties are to superintend the making of the spring ox and driver, *mang shên* (芒神). On the coming in of spring, these men don Ming dynasty clothes and a high hat called *t'ieh sha mao* (鐵紗帽). They enter the magistrate's office, give congratulations, and receive food and wine, with silver medals for the year, then they leave the city, the magistrate following. In a selected field an old farmer and his wife await them. The magistrate ploughs his seven furrows, the farmer sows some grain, the wife bears a basket of food for him, and the couple receive a silver medal.

The post of *ch'un kuan* is bought for a fixed sum and may be held for life. It gets an annual payment from the magistrate. (See under *Four Seasons.*)

At the end of the year the official seals are sealed up and are brought into use again at the middle of the first moon. (See under *New Year.*)

The literary examinations, *k'ao k'o* (考課), have been much changed lately and much chaos has resulted; hence a few notes on the old system must suffice.

Chi (季) *k'o* examinations were held in the Academy at the four seasons, the subjects being penmanship and composition.

Monthly examinations, *yüeh* (月) *k'o*, were held to select students for the Academy. The Academy head master had great power and could degrade unworthy scholars after examinations, *shih k'o.*

The local gentry also held examinations in the country *hui* (會) *k'o.* Twice in three years an examination, *k'ao shih* (考試), was held to pick out the students fit to proceed to the prefectural examinations. The magistrate had to be shut in with the students in the examination hall, control the examination of the essays and publication of lists of passes.

No public business is done on the anniversaries of the deaths of former emperors, *shou chi ai* (守忌哀).

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On the anniversaries of the accession of former emperors the magistrate wore court dress, worshipped the *wan sui p'ai*, but did not stop work. The birthdays of emperor, of empress, of empress-dowager and heir-apparent were similarly observed. At an emperor's death the magistrate had to sit in straw, *tso ts'ao* (坐草), for a certain period.

At the proper time a tablet is hung in the yamen announcing "No litigation in harvest time," *nung mang t'ing sung* (農忙停訟). Another informs the public that corporal punishment is lightened on account of hot weather, *k'u jê chien hsing* (酷熱減刑).

Notices are also hung up when the official is busy with examination or has gone out on public business.

When sitting in court the three characters, 清慎勤 "pure, careful, diligent," are hung over the magistrate's head; and over the entrance to the imperial court in the yamen is inscribed 天理國法民情, Heaven's rectitude, the country's laws, the people's rights.

A common saying is, "The yamen opens like the character 八; if you've right but no money, don't enter." Yet the Chinese are keen litigants and go to court on very slight grounds.

A magistrate must give up office for three years on his father's or mother's death, *ting yu* (丁憂) and *ting chien* (丁艱). Not to notify such death is *ch'i chün* (欺君), to deceive the emperor; to try to re-enter the official service before the three years are ended is *man ch'in* (慢親), cheating kindred.

Followers of the Yamen

There is a clear distinction between those who belong to the yamen and those who follow the official.

The bureau of civil affairs, *li fang* (吏房), attends to salaries and scholars' appointments, and keeps a list of graduates in the district and of those eligible for higher examinations.

It notifies the Imperial court when a scholar has attended all examinations till he is sixty years old; a degree is then

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given him, and if he goes on till he is eighty, he will receive a yellow riding-jacket and a dragon-headed walking-stick.

The bureau of revenue and population, *hu fang* (戶 房), gathers taxes, counts the families and registers headmen. It gets a commission on the sale of property.

The bureau of rites, *li fang* (禮 房). All cases of broken contracts, divorces, seduction, kidnapping, etc., come to this office. It also keeps a list of scholars without degrees.

The military bureau, *ping fang* (兵 房), attends to enlistment, drilling and feeding of soldiers, the housing of troops on the march, the arming and conduct of militia and the quarrels and lawsuits of the soldiery.

The bureau of works, *kung fang* (工 房), looks after the city wall and gates and all public buildings and attends to disputes about boundaries and graveyards.

The granary bureau, *ts'ang fang* (倉 房), is responsible for the public granaries, the buying and selling of rice and its distribution in time of famine or siege.

The tea and salt bureau, *yen ch'a fang* (鹽 茶 房). The trade is a monopoly in each city and the bureau looks after the revenue from this source.

The punishments bureau, *hsing fang* (刑 房), attends to litigation about deaths by violence; the *wu tso* (仵 作) is officially attached to it.

The litigation registry bureau, *ch'êng fa fang* (承 發 房), records all the indictments, etc., and is responsible for indictments passing up into the magistrate's hands.

The interpretation bureau, *i ch'ing fang* (夷 情 房), only exists in frontier districts, where the aboriginal tribes make it necessary.

Yamen Runners.

In Ch'ung ch'ing chou districts there are some 3,000, with 300 *ling pan* (領 班), or superiors: there they control the literati. In Kuan hsien the case is reversed, because that district has produced two or three Han-lin scholars, thus raising the status of the literati. Ch'ung ch'ing has only produced *chin shih* (進 士). The result is that the yamen

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runners' oppression is intolerable in one place while it may be mitigated in another.

Warrants may be given to a *ling pan* to call up an accused person, *huan p'iao* (喚 票), or to apprehend him, *chü p'iao* (拘 票), or for an immediate arrest, *ch'u ch'ien* (出 籤), or to summon a man in public service to answer a charge of corruption, *ch'ien ch'uan* (籤 傳), or to assemble gentry and public men for consultation, *ch'uan tan* (傳 單).

A tax-gatherer, *liang pan* (糧 班), or his sons, may enter the literary examinations, but not the other yamen underlings.

The *hu pan* (戶 班), or local runner, knows every person in his district and is used in making arrests.

The *p'u pan* (捕 班) are the chief jailor's runners, for catching robbers, and the *tsao pan* (皁 班), or *hou pan* (吼 班), are the "black band" with tall hats, who run shouting before the magistrate's chair, when he goes out on public business.

There are various other bands, messengers, door-keepers, etc., etc.

There is an apprenticeship to this work and often the apprentice suffers for his master's mistakes. If he is beaten, the *ling pan* gives him 400 cash; if he is condemned to the cage he gets 100 per day and 300 cash on release; if he suffers capital punishment, the *ling pan* supports his widow. Many become yamen runners to escape the result of crime, thus eluding the law a little longer. An official can put runners to death and thinks very lightly of doing it.

In some districts there are women thus employed.

Judicial Cases.

A black clothes case, *ch'ing i an* (青 衣 案), is one where execution is certain as soon as the evidence has been given; generally robbery with violence.

A red clothes case, *hung i an* (紅 衣 案), is a difficult case, perhaps of murder; if the accused is clever he may, after years of imprisonment, gain his liberty. If the knife used in a murder cannot be produced the accused cannot be condemned.

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Disputes about estates or marriages are called *chêng an* (正案). Petty quarrels are often pursued in the courts till a family is ruined in seeking justice or revenge.

Cases of rebellion or where human relationships are violated; a wife killing a husband, son killing a father, etc., are seldom dealt with in an open, regular way; they are settled in private, the criminal being done to death by the family clan.

If a thief is killed while entering a house the householder is guiltless; but should he be killed after escaping a hundred yards or so, the killer may suffer for it, Sometimes a thief is killed first and the hole to enter the house is made afterwards. Sometimes a corpse is carried on to another man's land to get him into trouble. One who lends a knife for a murder may be convicted of murder.

Presenting petitions or indictments.

There are official, appointed copyists who prepare and stamp nearly all documents going to the official.

The *hung ping* (紅稟) red petition, is a statement of public business, used in government circles only and costing only the price of the paper, since the government employees may write their own statements.

The *pai ping* (白稟) petition on white paper, is used by headmen or heads of bureaus in notifying business to the official.

The *hung pai ping*, red and white petition; if the official keeps the red and returns the white it means approval, the reverse means that trouble may be looked for.

A petition has to pass through the hands of eighteen persons before reaching the magistrate, and as many more afterwards before it reaches the archives.

There are men who live by stirring up strife and lawsuits; they are called *sung kun* (訟棍), pettifoggers, *ch'ien kou chiang* (牽狗匠), dogleaders, and other names.

The *yüan kao* (原告), plaintiff, formerly paid some 3,200 cash official fees and the *pei kao* (被告) an indefinite amount to the runners.

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Eyewitnesses, *kan chêng* (干證), are named in the indictment, but only after getting their consent.

An indictment or petition must be written on special, lined paper, *ta kê shih* (大格式), holding some 120 characters; it costs from 100 to 300 cash according to the official. A smaller sheet may be used by the poor. The magistrate keeps a copy, *fu chuang* (付狀), for reference, if necessary, after he has left the district.

A suit may often be stopped, *lan liu* (攔留), by payment of money even after the indictment has been written. In family quarrels this is common, even in life and death cases, as a mother-in-law beating to death her daughter-in-law.

Sometimes one goes straight to the magistrate and calls for redress of a grievance; he must come out or send a deputy; but the usual result is an order to present an indictment.

A first petition being rejected the litigant may try again, altering what the magistrate has objected to, adding necessary witnesses, etc.

Before going to a higher court there are eight ways in which a litigant may appeal to an official against his decision. Sending up documents to a higher court costs a great deal of money, both to the official and to the yamen bureaus.

Tzŭ kao (自稿) is a plea written by the petitioner himself; the language is generally forcible and the copyist adds these two characters.

Tzŭ ch'o (自戳) means stamped by himself. Sometimes a hand or a foot, but usually only the thumb, is put in the ink. The magistrate dreads such cases, for the petitioner will only be satisfied with a decision in his favor, and an appeal to a higher court is probable.

Sometimes litigants are requested to put thumbmarks to a document declaring each side will accept the magistrate's decision and end the case.

When a magistrate is about to leave, cases are sometimes withdrawn, *ch'ou an* (抽案), for fear he should unduly hasten a decision or should leave them undecided to a successor who may shelve them.

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Signs of Authority, Followers, etc.

When the magistrate is judging a case a duplicate of the seal box is hung behind him. A jar of bamboos stands on the table; if he throws down one tally, it means a hundred blows; if he tumbles out all the tallies it means unlimited beating. There are other tallies for other uses; aud there is a box of vermilion ink for signing official documents. These things are called the official's life (性命), *hsing ming*, life, or his 衣, 飯, 碗 *i*, *fan*, *wan*, clothes, rice, and bowl.

On going out his sedan chair is carried by four men, he wears official garments, beads and hat; criers go before and men with boards on which are written his literary degrees and former offices; assistants follow on horseback, and every one, whether riding or on foot, must get out of the way as he passes.

The district magistrate is really the strongest official in a province and has life and death in his hands. He is called the father and mother official, *fu-mu kuan*, and *chêng t'ang* (正堂).

His first class confidential secretary is called *hsing min shih yeh* (刑民師爺) by the official and *hei pi* (黑筆) *shih yeh* by the people. He is also called *mu p'in* (幕賓), or district steward.

The tutor in the magistrate's family ranks with him; at a feast only one of them can be present as he must have the chief seat; the other has a table sent to his own quarters.

The *shu chi* (書記), or *t'ieh hsieh* (帖寫), letter-writer and indictment maker for the official, is usually a student for the secretariat.

There is an apprentice to the secretary, *mao kai tzŭ shih yeh* (毛蓋子師爺).

Between the official and people is a middleman called *ta yeh* (大爺) *mên kao* (門稿) and other names. He is said to be the magistrate's throat since all business passes through him. His assistant is the *kuan an san yeh*, manager of law-suit documents.

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The clerk who puts the red ink finishing touches on official papers is called *ch'ien ya* (簽押). When the seals are used the magistrate or his wife sits by to prevent their unauthorized use.

The *shui ch'i* (稅契) receives taxes on sales of property.

The yamen food is in three grades; the official and secretaries have the first class, the *ta yeh* the second, the watchmen and other menials the third.

There are a few other employees in a yamen besides those above named.

[To be continued]

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THE ROMANCE OF AN EMPEROR

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E., M.A.

(Continued)

I have already stated that Wu-t'ai is not the only place that claims the honour of having been the home of the emperor Shun-chih after his alleged abdication. The rival claimant is a temple known as T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, which is situated among the Western Hills (西山), a few miles to the west of Peking. It is to this temple that Messrs. Backhouse and Bland allude when they tell the story (in which they seem more than half inclined to believe) of the emperor's entry into the monkhood. Having stated that "there appears to be good reason for doubting the dynastic annals" in the matter of the death of Shun-chih, they proceed to give us some interesting details which are well worthy of close attention. "It is certainly the common belief amongst Chinese students of history[1] that the emperor Shun-chih did not die in 1661, as the annals have it, but that he arranged with his ministers that he should vacate the throne and conceal his identity in that of the abbot of the T'ien-t'ai temple, which lies amongst the hills, fourteen miles to the west of Peking. It was said by contemporary

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(1) I venture to question this.

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writers that the abbot bore an extraordinary resemblance to the emperor, and to this day the temple contains a life-sized gilt mummy statue of a priest, some thirty years of age, whose features are unmistakably of the Manchu type."[1] A photograph of the image or "mummy statue" appears as frontispiece to the book and also on the cover. The authors seem to doubt whether the image in question is actually a "mummy," for they proceed as follows: "Finally, tradition declares that the emperor K'ang-hsi visited the temple on three occasions, and paid his respects to the abbot, who did not kneel to the sovereign as custom would have required in the case of an ordinary priest. When, in 1670, the abbot passed away, K'ang-hsi had a life-sized presentment of him cast in bronze, and sent presents of pearls and jewels to be buried in his tomb. The stone dagoba under which he is said to lie is still standing, and every year the temple is opened to the faithful, who come to prostrate themselves at the shrine in the full belief that here a Lord of Heaven lies buried."[2] With regard to this paragraph I may remark, in passing, that if the abbot of T'ien-t'ai died in 1670, it seems unlikely that the emperor K'ang-hsi can have personally visited him three times, for at that date the emperor was only a boy of about fifteen. Moreover, the Wu-t'ai story also tells us that K'ang-hsi visited his father three times, but as a matter of fact K'ang-hsi's first visit to Wu-t'ai did not take place till 1683.

I have paid several visits to the T'ien-t'ai temple and have therefore seen the image to which Messrs. Backhouse and Bland refer. My first visit took place on August 29, 1913, on which occasion the photograph which appears in *Annals and Memoirs* was taken by my friend Dr. (now Colonel) W. Perceval Yetts. At that time, though we were aware of the legend that associated the image and temple

(1) *Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking*, p. 237.

(2) *Loc. cit.* "Lord of Heaven" is presumably a slip for "Son of Heaven" (天子). I may add that the date of the annual pilgrimage is the 15th of the third month (lunar calendar).

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with the first emperor of the Manchu dynasty, neither of us was in a position to elucidate the real facts. Only a very superficial examination of the image was possible, and I think we both came away without any very definite opinion as to whether it was or was not a real human body. That the actual mummied bodies (肉身) of monks are sometimes set up like images in Chinese temples is a well-known fact, concerning which Colonel Yetts has himself supplied some interesting and valuable information.[1] However, it matters little, as I hope to show, whether the figure in the T'ien-t'ai temple is really a mummy or is merely the image, in wax or bronze, of a monk whose body lies buried under a neighbouring dagoba.

Before giving the results of my later visits to T'ien-t'ai, I will deal with the legend as it appears in a publication entitled "Secret Court Annals, Old and New" (古今宮闈秘記). It begins by saying that after the funeral of Tung Kuei-fei the emperor was overwhelmed with grief, took to hating the world, and resolved to seek peace in a monastery. The temple chosen by him was one called T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, fifty *li* to the west of the capital. In this temple there is still to be seen a life-size *wax image of a monk* (蠟製之僧像). There must be some good reason for the fact that this image has been so carefully preserved for over three hundred years. (Here it may be pointed out that our author is shaky in his dates. Only 259 years have elapsed since the reign of Shun-chih came to an end, and only 250 years since the death of the abbot of the T'ien-t'ai temple, if the date given by Messrs. Backhouse and Bland is correct.) The emperor Shêng-tsu (K'ang-hsi) paid several visits to the temple and also presented honorific tablets and money. There can be no doubt that this is the temple to which the emperor Shih-tsu (Shun-chih) retired (則該寺爲世祖遜迹處殆無疑義).

(1) See "Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China," in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, July, 1911. The reader may also be referred to my *Buddhist China*, pp. 230–2, 239–240.

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The writer go on to mention the rival claims of Wu-t'ai, but rejects them. He gives no particular reason for his preference, but seems to regard the wax image as so important a piece of evidence that nothing more is necessary.

In his narrative he makes two amusing blunders which may well make us hesitate before we accept him as a trustworthy guide. In the first place the name he gives to the temple is incorrect. He alludes to it as the 天台寺, whereas the second Chinese character should be 太. The characters 台 and 太 are both written *t'ai* in the usual English transliteration of Pekingese (Wade's system), but, as every beginner in Chinese should be aware, they have different "tones." No educated Chinese would be likely to confuse the one character with the other, especially if he actually visited the temple and saw the name over the gateway. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that our legend-monger merely wrote from hearsay and not after a personal investigation of the facts.[1] In the second place he makes a foolish reference to a seventeenth-century poem to which I have already had occasion to refer, Mei-ts'un's *Ch'ing-liang Shan Tsan Fo Shih*—"A Poem about the Ch'ing-liang Mountain in praise of Buddha." I have already pointed out that *Ch'ing-liang* (清涼) is a well-known alternative name of the Wu-t'ai Mountain. Now the writer I am at present criticizing wishes to show that it was T'ien-t'ai, not Wu-t'ai, to which the emperor retired, but at the same time he knows that the poem in question is supposed to contain hidden allusions to the emperor's retirement, and he is therefore unwilling to dispense with it as a valuable piece of evidence against the official annalists. He tries to meet the difficulty with the suggestion that in this poem Mei-ts'un applied the name Ch'ing-liang not to Wu-t'ai but to T'ien-t'ai (吳梅村詩之清涼山卽天台山矣). The nonsensical nature of this statement will be clear to anyone who knows something

(1) He possibly assumed that the name was the same as that of the famous T'ien-t'ai hills (天台山) in the province of Chekiang.

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of the religious traditions of Wu-t'ai and will consult the first few words of Mai-ts'un's poem. The poem begins thus :

西　北　有　高　山
云　是　文　殊　臺
臺　上　明　月　池
千　葉　金　蓮　開

The mention in this stanza of Wên-shu (the Chinese name for the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī) is sufficient in itself to prove that Mei-ts'un's Ch'ing-liang shan can only have been Wu-t'ai. Wu-t'ai is one of the "Four Famous Mountains" (四大名山) of the Chinese Buddhists, each of which is devoted to the cult of one of the four great bodhisattvas—Kuan-yin, Ti-tsang, P'u-hsien and Wên-shu ; and we have already seen that Wên-shu is the patron-saint of Wu-t'ai.[1] The small temple of T'ien-t'ai has no special associations with Wên-shu, and it is impossible that Mei-ts'un can have had this temple in view when he wrote his poem. It is doubtful, indeed, whether at that date the T'ien-t'ai temple existed.

If the image in this temple is not that of the emperor Shun-chih, whom does it represent? This is a question on which I hope to be able to throw some light.

My second visit to T'ien-t'ai took place in 1915, and on this occasion I spent a considerable time in examining the temple and its monuments. Though commonly called T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ (天太寺), its full name is *T'ien-t'ai-shan Fo Tz'ŭ Shan Ssŭ* (天太山佛慈善寺). The principal hall or *tien* is occupied by an image of Kuan-yin, of the type known as "thousand-armed and thousand-eyed" (千手千眼). Behind this hall is the building which contains the famous image. It is important to note that this building bears the curious name of *Mo-wang Tien* (魔王殿), which implies that the

(1) See *Buddhist China*, p. 147.

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person to whom it is dedicated and whose image it contains is a *Mo-wang*—"Demon-king." This term can be interpreted in different ways. It sometimes means a demon whose function it is to thwart well-intentioned people in their efforts to do good. A commentator on the *Lotus Sūtra* (法華經) slightly varies this by saying that a "mo-wang" is one who makes a parasitic use of others to further his own interests (假他所作以成己業). But the term may also be applied to one who rules demons but is not himself a demon; he is, in fact, a *demon-queller*, and is therefore active in good works. It is reasonable to suppose that the Mo-wang of T'ien-t'ai Ssŭ, whoever he was, belonged to the beneficent category. This is confirmed by the numerous scrolls and honorific tablets inside and outside the *tien*, which testify to the spiritual and other benefits procurable through Mo-wang's benign agency. Besides these laudatory inscriptions, which were the gifts of grateful or hopeful worshippers, there are a large number of inscribed tablets within the precincts of this temple. As the priests seemed unable or unwilling to give me any information regarding the identity of Mo-wang, I turned to these tablets in the hope that they would be more communicative. My search did not go unrewarded. Within the grounds of the temple, but outside the main buildings, there is a cluster of small shrines or chapels, both Taoist and Buddhist. Against the side wall of one of these shrines there stands a tablet bearing an inscription showing that it was erected by pious pilgrims in the tenth year of Ch'ien-lung (1745). This inscription states that the T'ien-t'ai hill has no great celebrity and possesses no ancient temples (天太山...並非名山亦非古刹). It was not till after the accession of the Ch'ing dynasty that it became famous. It was then that *a mad monk* made a retreat for himself on this barren hill (始有癲僧隱居荒山) and devoted himself to strict ascetic exercises (坐臥苦修). His fame spread in all directions, owing to the fact that the prayers of those who made supplication to him were promptly answered (有求即應). By imperial patent he received the title of "The Demon-king Monk" (勅賜魔王和尙). This was the origin of the fame of T'ien-t'ai (此天太之由也).

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It will be noticed that the inscription does not give the mad monk's own name, though it mentions the honorific title conferred upon him by the Court. It is possible that the name is supplied by another inscription. On one of the stone tablets standing outside the Mo-wang Tien, I found an inscription dated the forty-seventh year of Ch'ien-lung (1782) which states that a monk named Fo-yüan-wu (佛圓悟) lived here and passed peacefully away (蠕坐而化) in the forty-ninth year of K'ang-hsi (namely 1710). After his death his disciples dressed and adorned his "flesh-body" in a decorous manner, etc. (諸大弟子卽肉身裝嚴之聖因...).

A more thorough examination of the numerous monuments of this temple might either confirm or modify my provisional conclusion, which is that a crazy hermit-monk lived on this hill in the reign of K'ang-hsi and acquired great local celebrity; that his religious name was Fo-yüan-wu; that he died in 1710; that after his death his disciples—as often happened in such cases—made a mummy of his body and set it up in a shrine;[1] that representations regarding the holy man's exceptional merits were made through the proper authorities to the imperial Court; and that the emperor Ch'ien-lung, in accordance with numerous precedents, conferred upon the saint the title of *Mo-wang*.

With regard to the name Fo-yüan-wu, which may be interpreted "the Completely Enlightened Buddha," it seems at least possible that the saint was regarded as the incarnation of one of the Buddhas who—according to the well-known myth—preached the true faith ages before the coming of Śākyamuni. This would explain the phraseology of some of the inscriptions and scrolls with which Mo-wang's hall is adorned: as, for example:

靈感名山顯聖僧
道登彼岸成古佛

(1) I do not mean to imply that the existing figure is a mummy. The mummy (as often happens in such cases) may have shown signs of decay and an image may have been substituted.

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The same belief would account for a stone which is preserved inside the Mo-wang Tien and is said to be marked with the footprint of Jan-têng Buddha (燃燈古佛). This mythical Buddha (whose Sanskrit name is Dipaṁkara) is also known in China as Ting-kuang Fo (定光佛).[1]

Having discovered the inscriptions referred to, I immediately brought them to the notice of the prior, and pointed out the obvious inferences. With a rather bad grace he admitted that the enthroned image (which he still maintained was a real human body) was no other than the Mo-wang of the inscription, and that Mo-wang was only a monk or hermit who had acquired local fame as a wonder-working saint. When I asked why he encouraged people to suppose that the body was that of the emperor Shun-chih, he merely remarked that it was not his business to correct people's erroneous ideas. Had candour prompted him to make a further confession, he would probably have said that he did not see his way to destroy a legend which was a useful source of revenue to the temple; for there is no doubt that numbers of the illiterate pilgrims who visit T'ien-t'ai at the present time do so in the sincere belief that the saint they come to worship once occupied the throne of China.

Apart from the foolish identification of Mo-wang with a Chinese emperor (which I am inclined to regard as of comparatively recent origin) there is nothing very remarkable in the story of the saint of T'ien-t'ai, who was probably a harmless lunatic. Dryden may have been wrong when he said that a thin partition divides madness from genius, but he would have given expression to a widespread belief, not confined to China, if he had said that madness is closely allied to sanctity. "It is well known," says Yrjö-Hirn, "that on the lower stages of culture lunatics are generally considered as possessed by some divinity, and are consistently treated

(1) Relics of this mythical Buddha are said to be preserved in a pagoda in the T'ung-chou district, east of Peking. See 順天府志, Part 71, page 4.

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with a kind of religious respect."[1] Even Confucius, according to a canonical story, is said to have regarded a certain madman as capable of giving wise counsel.[2] Buddhist hagiology contains many stories of sainted lunatics. The life of one of these holy persons is preserved in the official annals of the Peking Prefecture. His eccentricities gained for him the name of Ch'ih Ho-shang (痴和尚)—The Idiot Monk. One of his peculiarities was that he went bare-footed in winter and summer, because the wearing of shoes made it very difficult to avoid treading on insects and thereby infringing the Buddhist commandment against the taking of life. When spoken to, he would either refrain from making any reply at all, or would utter some remark which startled people by its profound sagacity. But if they followed this up by further questions, his talk drifted off into vague foolishness.

My third visit to the temple took place last summer (17th August, 1919). The prior, Yü Tsung (玉宗), whose acquaintance I had made on the two previous occasions, was still in residence, but he had forgotten his former confession or regretted having made it; for he again stoutly maintained that the image was in truth the "flesh-body" (肉身) of the emperor Shun-chih. When I reminded him of the embarrassing inscriptions he showed a good deal of ill-temper, and insisted that tradition was more trustworthy than any inscription.

Shortly after this incident I mentioned the story of Mo-wang to one of the uncles of the present boy-emperor—Prince Tsai-t'ao (濤貝勒). This prince paid a special visit to the temple on September 15th last. On his return he informed me that he had inspected the figure with some care and was of opinion that it was merely an image and not a mummy; that it bore no resemblance to any authentic portrait

(1) Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. i, p. 818.

(2) See *Lun Yü* (論語), Bk. xviii, ch. 5. It must be admitted, however, that in the opinion of some commentators the "madman" with whom Confucius wished to converse only feigned madness.

See 順天府志, Part 113, page 44 (b).

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of the emperor Shun-chih; that Yü Tsung (the prior) had made no attempt to connect the image with the emperor, and had admitted to him without any hesitation that it was merely a sainted monk who had lived and died there. It should be added that the prior was doubtless aware of the name of his distinguished visitor; in which case he would realise the impossibility of persuading the prince that the figure before him was the actual body, or even a mere representation, of one of his imperial ancestors.

The general results of our examination of the current legends concerning the emperor Shun-chih may be summed up in a very few words. Firstly, the imperial concubine Tung Kuei-fei was a Manchu lady, and therefore cannot be identified with Tung Hsiao-yüan, the Chinese concubine of the scholar Mao Hsiang; and secondly, the emperor Shun-chih did not become a monk and never went into cloistered retirement either at Wu-t'ai or in the T'ien-t'ai temple. Are we then justified in trusting the official annals in the matter of the death of Shun-chih? Personally I see no adequate reason for doubting them. I believe the emperor died of a wasting disease early in 1661 at the age of twenty-three, and that the end was hastened, though certainly not caused, by the death of the lady Tung Kuei-fei.

It seems hardly necessary to say that we are not wholly dependent on the dynastic records for our information regarding the life and death of the emperor Shun-chih. Corroborative testimony can readily be obtained from contemporary writers who were in a position to know the facts. One of the most trustworthy of these witnesses is a very distinguished Chinese (not Manchu) official whose duties brought him into personal contact with the emperor during the closing days of the reign. This official (whose name, curiously enough, does not seem to be mentioned by Messrs. Backhouse and Bland in their *Annals and Memoirs*) was Wang Hsi (王熙). He was a mere boy when the Ming dynasty was overthrown, and therefore found it less difficult

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than other upright officials older than himself to devote his life to the loyal service of the new dynasty. His knowledge of Manchu seems to have been partly responsible for his advancement, and he translated classical commentaries into that language. He sometimes attended the emperor on hunting excursions, and among his other honours he received the privileges of riding horses belonging to the imperial stable (賜乘御馬) and sitting in the emperor's presence (賜坐). When he retired from official life at the age of seventy, the emperor K'ang-hsi bestowed various new honours upon him and wrote to him saying, "You have been a loyal servant for many years, and since you retired last year not a day has passed that I have not thought of my old minister" (自去歲告病在家無日不念老臣也). He died in 1703, and was subsequently admitted to the Temple of Worthies (奉持旨入祀賢良祠) under the name of Wang Wên-ching (王文靖).[1]

We have Wang Wên-ching's own authority for the statement that in the winter of 1660–1 the emperor's illness took a turn for the worse (大漸), and that the emperor summoned him to the palace to compose his majesty's Valedictory Edict (遺詔). He tells us that he was present among other high officials when the dying emperor gave his last instructions to those who were to act as regents during the minority of his successor. The emperor's death took place in the Yang-hsin-tien (養心殿)—that palace in the Forbidden City which was long afterwards the residence of the late emperor Kuang-hsü and which is at present the dwelling-place of the boy-emperor Hsüan-t'ung. I may add that in the palace-library I have been shown an unpublished document in which Wang Wên-ching describes in detail the events of the last days of the reign and his own share in them. His narrative of those last days concludes with a description of how, one morning in the spring of 1661, he entered the palace as usual and was met

(1) For accounts of Wang Wên-ching, see 王文靖公事略, the 王文公傳 by 朱錫鬯, and the 順天府志, Part 99, pp. 31 ff. His works have been collected under the title of 文靖公集二十四卷.

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with the news that the struggle was over and that the young emperor had "gone to be a guest on high" (上賓).

Messrs. Backhouse and Bland remark that "the emperor became imbued in his early youth with strong leanings towards the Buddhist ideal of renunciation," and they quote certain couplets written by him in which these leanings are clearly indicated.[1] It is very questionable, however, whether the emperor was actually the author of all the verses and other writings on this subject which are attributed to him. He is credited with the authorship of one such poem which is sometimes published as an appendix to a little Buddhist sutra called *Fo-shuo Ch'u-chia Kung-te Ching* ("On the merits of entering the monkhood)."[2] The last stanza of this poem, if it could be proved to be from the emperor's own pen, would go far to show that he had resolved to become a recluse :

十 八 年 來 不 自 遊
征 南 戰 北 幾 時 休
吾 今 撒 手 歸 山 去
那 管 千 秋 與 萬 秋

But the whole poem is very mediocre in style and phraseology, and competent Chinese scholars ridicule the idea that it can have been written by Shun-chih, who had refined literary tastes and a skilful pen. The poem is full of "tags" which are the common property of monkish versifiers, and I have little doubt it was written by some pious monk who had heard and believed the legend of the emperor's abdication, or who thought he was justified in giving utterance, in the emperor's name, to sentiments which his majesty was commonly believed to have entertained.

Shun-chih, indeed, was under no delusions as to the pomp and glory of kingship. Had he been a contemporary of that brilliant Chinese essayist, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, he would

(1) Op. cit., p. 236.
(2) 佛說出家功德經.

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probably have assented to every word of that writer's melancholy description[1] of the sorrows and disadvantages of royalty—a description which might serve as a commentary on the moralisings of Shakespeare's Henry VI,[2] or as the Chinese equivalent of the "sad stories" asked for by the unhappy Richard II—

> "For God's sake let us sit upon the ground,
> And tell sad stories of the death of kings."

That Shun-chih had grown weary of the burden of empire long before his reign came to an end, I am fully prepared to believe. Quite apart from the delicacy of his constitution, which probably had its share in creating in him a distaste for the wearisome formalities and futilities of a monarch's life, he seems to have been intended by nature to be a pensive student, perhaps even a religious recluse. He would have sympathized not a little, perhaps, with the longings attributed by our dramatist to Richard of England, though in Shun-chih such longings sprang from the depths of his own nature and were not, as in Richard's case, the result of political failures and disasters.

> "I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
> My gorgeous palace for a hermitage;
> My gay apparel for an almsman's gown,
> My figured goblets for a dish of wood;
> My sceptre for a palmer's walking staff,
> My subjects for a pair of carved saints;
> And my large kingdom for a little grave."

I contend, however, that it was the grave, and not the hermit's cell, that released the spirit of Shun-chih from its bondage.

It is clear that the emperor was religious, and that he took his religion very seriously. Like his ancestors, he was a Buddhist; and though it is hardly likely that his life was long

(1) 論專制政體有百害於君主而無一利.

(2) See *Third Part of Henry VI, ii, 5.* "O God, methinks it were a happy life," etc.

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enough to enable him to become so profound a Buddhist scholar as was his grandson the emperor Yung-chêng, who is said to have been able to hold his own in disputation with the most learned monks in the empire, Shun-chih was not only well-read in the Mahāyāna scriptures but had imbibed the spirit as well as the mere letter of the sacred books and was probably no stranger to that culminating spiritual experience—mystical illumination. That he was no fanatic, and was deeply interested in religion as such, irrespective of this or that particular manifestation of the religious impulse, is shown by his friendly attitude towards the Catholic missionaries (among whom P. Schall was chiefly distinguished) who lived in his capital and attended his Court.[1] We have it on their authority that he listened with patience and interest to the story of Christ, and wept at the recital of the tragedy of Gethsemane and Calvary. That he himself possessed something of the missionary spirit is shown by his own charming account of how he converted his beloved Tung Kuei-fei from scepticism or indifference to a religious faith as deep and fervent as his own.

With a nature such as his, it would not have been surprising if Shun-chih had actually exchanged his throne for a hermit's cell, especially when the death of Tung Kuei-fei had destroyed the strongest of the bonds that kept him in touch with the world. But I believe that Shun-chih, like the emperor Marcus Aurelius long before him, resisted the impulse to seek among the mountains or desert-places the peace and solitude that cannot be found in royal palaces.

The second emperor of the Ming dynasty is said to have declared that one's first prayer for one's descendants should be that they may be saved from the disaster of being born as members of a royal family (願世世子孫勿生帝王家).

(1) He allowed the Catholic Church in Peking to be rebuilt and presented to it an autograph scroll bearing the characters 欽崇天道. He treated the Catholic missionaries kindly to the end of his life. I may point out incidentally that the complete silence of the missionaries on the subject of the emperor's alleged abdication is additional evidence, though of a negative kind, that no such abdication took place.

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If Shun-chih had been able to gaze into futurity, would he, too, have craved this blessing for his descendants? As to the child who succeeded him upon the throne, he need have had no serious misgivings, for that boy became one of the best and wisest monarchs that ever ruled a great empire, and his reign was at least prosperous if not uniformly happy. But what would the feelings of Shun-chih have been if he, the first of the new dynasty, had been able to see what the future had in store for those unhappy descendants of his under whom the dynasty was to come to its ignoble end? There is a Buddhist story which tells us how the Græco-Bactrian king Milinda was converted by the monk Nāgasena. When the monk had convinced him of the vanity of all earthly glory, the king expressed himself thus: "Now that I have been enlightened, I feel, in my palace, as though I were a captive lion imprisoned in a gorgeous cage. Could I but have my way, I would abandon everything and live as you do, in freedom." If ever there was a palace that deserved the name of a prison, it is that palace in the Forbidden City of Peking, in which the emperor Shun-chih pined for freedom, and in which the last but one of his successors, the emperor Kuang-hsü, ended his dismal days nearly twelve years ago. That ill-omened pile of buildings was an emperor's prison two hundred and sixty years ago, and an emperor's prison it remains to this day.

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COMFORTABLE WORDS IN SICKNESS

BY

YÜAN CHÊN

Translation by SIR E. TRELAWNY BACKHOUSE

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(1) When that day comes that comes to all, we pass and are forgotten.

In the city of Loyang a pestilence is raging and sweeps away young and old.

My friend, Secretary Yü, was just forty; alone in the world, he stood on the threshold of a brilliant future.

Censor Li Ku was thirty-nine and was honored at Court for his character.

Chao Ch'ang had attained the age of eighty-three and had thrice been Viceroy.

In their lives they were separated by variety of circumstance;

To-day all three are denizens of the dark country.

Over each alike loving tears have been shed and their associates mourn equally for their loss.

The same fate awaits the tortoise of immemorial years and the fungus of one morning's span.

For death is impartial and levels all distinctions.

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(2) So be it! I am to-day stricken by sickness, but why should sickness vex me?

If death comes to me to-day, I shall have completed my cycle in this existence:

Though I live to be a hundred, what shall it advantage me?

I follow Buddha and know that this body is but a temporary home.

I only leave this room for the next; why should I be disquieted over my destiny?

My previous existences are of the dead past, but my career still lies ahead of me.

Let me remember that the iourney never ceases; let me doubt not that a road will be found.

(3) The dragon sloughs his coil and lives again: the cicada sheds his scales and renews his song.

How does the soul free itself from the body? Ah! the answer is hidden from our ken.

But let dear friends take comfort and let those of my acquaintance accept this message;

The thought will surely be their inspiration, let the world say what it will.

NOTE.—Yüan Chên (Vide Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* No. 2543) was one of the great poets of the T'ang dynasty and his works are usually published with the poems of his brilliant contemporary, Po Chü-yi.—*E. Trelawny Backhouse.*

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SAINT FRANÇOIS-XAVIER ET LA CHINE

PAR

LE RÉV. PÈRE JOSEPH DE LA SERVIÈRE, S.J.

Nos lecteurs aimeront peut-être à trouver ici rassemblés les principaux textes qui nous décrivent les relations de l'apôtre de l'Extrême-Orient avec la Chine. Ils sont empruntés à la superbe publication des pères espagnols *Monumenta Xaveriana.*[1] Les deux biographies françaises les plus récentes de Saint François-Xavier, celle du P. Cros[2] et celle du P. Brou[3] ont été aussi largement mises à contribution.

C'est pendant son séjour au Japon que Xavier semble avoir conçu la première idée d'évangéliser la Chine. Dans ses discussions avec les Japonais instruits, et spécialement avec les bonzes, il avait été frappé de l'estime dans laquelle ils tenaient la littérature et la philosophie du grand empire voisin d'où était venue au Japon toute sa civilisation. "Si votre religion est la seule vraie, comment se fait-il que la Chine l'ait ignorée?"[4] lui avaient plus d'une fois répondu ses adversaires. L'apôtre en vint à se demander si la meilleure

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(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, Madrid, 1899 sqq. (Dans la collection Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu.)

(2) Paris, 1900.

(3) Paris, 1912.

(4) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, 663.

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manière de convertir le Japon n'était pas de porter l'Evangile en Chine. "La Chine, écrivait-il en 1552, est un pays où peut grandement s'étendre la Loi de Jésus-Christ; et si le christianisme y est reçu, ce sera un grand point pour la destruction des sectes japonaises."[1] Les renseignements que Xavier avait recueillis sur la Chine et ses habitants leur étaient très favorables. "Les Portugais qui sont là nous disent que c'est le pays de la justice, supérieure à ce qu'on voit dans toute la chrétienté. Les chinois que j'ai rencontrés au Japon ou ailleurs, sont très fins, très industrieux, beaucoup plus que les Japonais, et hommes de travail.[2]" D'autres lui avaient vanté l'unité de l'empire chinois sous un monarque qui savait se faire obéir. Que ce souverain se convertisse, ses immenses domaines ne suivraient-ils pas son exemple?[3] Comme, par ailleurs, l'état des missions fondées aux Indes par Xavier nécessitait sa présence, l'apôtre se résolut à profiter d'un navire portugais qui quittait le Bungo en novembre 1551. En décembre de cette année, il était à Sanchoan, où il devait revenir mourir l'année suivante; là il trouvait le vaisseau portugais Santa Croce, qui appartenait à un de ses amis les plus dévoués, Diogo Pereira; il y prit passage jusqu'à Malacca.

Durant la traversée, Xavier fit part à son ami de ses projets sur le céleste Empire. Le plus sûr moyen d'y pénétrer était l'envoi d'une ambassade du vice-roi des Indes à l'empereur de Chine. Pereira en serait chargé; Xavier en ferait partie, et tenterait d'obtenir la permission de prêcher l'Evangile. Le généreux marchand était digne de recevoir les confidences de l'apôtre; il s'offrit à revenir en Chine

(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, 695. Trad. du P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 222.

(2) Ibid., p. 694 sq. Trad. du P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 221.

(3) P. Brou, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 222. Il est, du reste, à noter, que Xavier, dans son voyage de Malacca au Japon, à bord d'une jonque chinoise, avait fait une dure expérience des défauts des célestes; le patron et l'équipage de la jonque avaient constamment essayé de se dérober aux obligations de leur contrat, et la vue de leurs puériles superstitions avait été pour Xavier une vraie souffrance. (*Monumenta Xavier*. T. I, p. 573. P. Brou, ibid., T. II, p. 119 sqq.)

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l'année suivante, sur le même navire, et à prendre à sa charge tous les frais de l'ambassade.—Le vice-roi des Indes, don Alphonse de Noronha, et l'évêque de Goa, don Jean d'Albuquerque, firent bon accueil au projet, et Pereira reçut du vice-roi des patentes en règle d'ambassadeur.

La jalousie du gouverneur de Malacca, don Alvaro de Ataïde, fit échouer tous ces plans. Furieux de voir un simple marchand recueillir l'honneur et les profits d'une ambassade qui s'annonçait brillante, il retint Pereira à Malacca, et n'autorisa le départ de la Santa Croce pour la Chine qu'après avoir placé à la tête de l'équipage des gens dont il était sûr. La crainte des censures que Xavier, en qualité de nonce apostolique, fit signifier au gouverneur, n'avait pas été capable d'arrêter Ataïde; il se vengea en faisant insulter le Saint par ses gens.[1]

Xavier devait renoncer à entrer en Chine à la suite de l'ambassadeur du roi de Portugal; il ne lui restait qu'à tenter de s'y introduire secrètement, et en risquant les pires dangers. Quoi que pussent lui dire à l'encontre ses amis, il se résolut à ce parti.—En août 1552, la Santa Croce sur laquelle il avait pris passage arrivait au mouillage de Sanchoan;[2] plusieurs navires portugais s'y trouvaient déjà; Xavier rencontrait là quelques amis dévoués qui lui firent fête.—Exclus de l'empire de Chine, les portugais ne pouvaient trafiquer avec les indigénes que par une contrebande sur laquelle les mandarins du Koang-tong, qui en profitaient, fermaient les yeux; des jonques chinoises venaient à Sanchoan apporter les produits locaux, et repartaient chargées des marchandises contenues dans les cales des navires européens.

A peine débarqué, Xavier, tout en exerçant un apostolat actif parmi les portugais, se mit en rapports avec les marchands chinois que le commerce avec les européens avait attirés, et

(1) P. Brou, *St. François-Xavier*, T. II, p. 325 sqq.

(2) San-tchao, les trois iles (三 洲), ou Chang-tch'oan (上 川) au dessus du bras de mer. L'orthographe San-choan est celle des Portugais; l'orthographe Sancian, derivée du latin Sancianum, a passé dans les lettres des missionnaires. (Garaix. *A Sancian; la tombe de St. François-Xavier*, p. I, Hokienfou, 1907.

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s'efforça d'en trouver un qui consentit à le jeter sur la côte cantonaise ; presque tous déclarèrent franchement qu'ils ne tenaient pas à risquer leurs têtes en introduisant un étranger dans leur patrie ; un seul se montra prêt à tenter l'entreprise ; pour 200 cruzados, il consentait à conduire Xavier sur la côte, à le cacher dans sa maison, puis à le déposer devant une porte de Canton. " J'irai immédiatement chez le gouverneur, écrivait Xavier. Je lui dirai que nous sommes venus pour aller voir le roi de Chine. Je lui montrerai la lettre du seigneur évêque (de Goa) adressée au roi, et par laquelle il déclare que Son Altesse m'envoie prêcher la loi de Dieu. Au dire des indigénes, nous courons deux dangers. D'abord il se peut que l'homme qui nous porte, après avoir touché les 200 cruzados, nous abandonne en quelque île déserte, ou nous jette à la mer, par crainte du gouverneur. Ensuite, s'il nous méne à Canton, et que nous paraissions devant le gouverneur, celui-ci nous fera mettre à la torture, ou jeter en prison ; car notre démarche est chose inouie."[1] L'apôtre acceptait joyeusement cette perspective, rappelant la parole du Maitre : " Qui aime son âme la perdrer ; qui le hait en ce monde la sauve pour l'éternité."[2]

Cette lettre était du 22 octobre. La jonque qui l'emporta remmenait le seul compagnon européen que Xavier eut gardé près de lui, le Frère Alvaro Ferreira, de trop faible santé pour affronter les labeurs et les périls de l'entreprise ; le missionnaire n'avait plus avec lui que deux serviteurs, le malabar Christophe, et le jeune chinois Antoine élève du collège de Goa. Les navires portugais, leurs affaires terminés, quittaient Sanchoan l'un après l'autre ; seule la Santa-Croce y restait à la fin de novembre.—A la date fixée, le marchand chinois ne parut pas, et il fallut perdre tout espoir de débarquer sur la côte cantonaise.[3] " On dirait qu'alors les espérances qui donnaient au pauvre corps usé une vigueur factice faisant

(1) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, p. 783, 784. Trad. du P. Brou.
(2) *Joan*, 12, 25.—*Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. I, p. 785.
(3) Récit du chinois Antoine dans Cros. *St. François-Xavier*, T. II, p. 346.

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défaut tout-d'un-coup, l'organisme retomba sur lui-même, à jamais impuissant."[1] François, pris de terribles fièvres, et peut-être d'ure pleurésie, manquant de tout, souffrant du froid et de la faim dans la pauvre paillotte qu'il occupait, essaya le 22 novembre de chercher asile à bord de la Santa Croce; le roulis qui secouait le vaisseau lui était intolérable, il revint à terre le lendemain; un Portugais plus charitable que les autres le transporta dans sa cabane et le fit soigner; le saint s'évanouit à la suite de l'opération, sans doute maladroitement pratiquée. La fièvre augmentait; le père était incapable de prendre aucun aliment. Le 24, il eut quelques accès de délire, pendant lesquels il proféra des paroles dans une langue qu'Antoine ne comprenait pas—peut-être le basque, la langue de son enfance;[2] d'autres souvent répétées, furent retenues par son fidèle compagnon. "Tu autem meorum peccatorum et delictorum miserere. Jesu Fili David miserere mei." Le lundi 28 novembre le Saint perdit la parole pendant trois jours, ne reconnaissant personne et ne mangeant rien. Le jeudi Ier décembre, la parole et la connaissance lui revinrent, et Antoine l'entendait répéter: "Très Sainte Trinité, Père, Fils, et Saint Esprit." Le chinois continue: "Avec ces paroles et d'autres semblables, il demeura jusqu'au vendredi à la nuit. Et un peu avant qu'il ne fit jour, comme il allait baissant, je lui mis un cierge à la main; et le nom de Jésus sur les lèvres, il rendit l'âme. C'était un Samedi, avant l'aube, le 3 décembre de l'année 1552."[3]

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(1) *Monumentum Xavier*, T. II, p. 895 sqq.—cf. P. Cros, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 348 (note).

(2) *Monumenta Xaveriana*, T. II, p. 895 sqq.—cf. P. Cros, *St. Fr.-Xavier*, T. II, p. 348 (note).

(3) *Monumenta Xaveriana*. La question de la date de la mort de Saint François-Xavier a été, on le sait, l'objet d'ardentes discussions. Celle du 2 décembre, insérée au Bréviaire romain, était, on peut le dire, malgré quelques divergences, classique jusqu'à la fin du 19° siècle. Le R. P. Cros découvrit alors, et publia dans son tome II, un récit du chinois Antoine, qui lui paraissait authentique, et amenait à la date du 27 novembre pour la mort. Le R. P. Brou admit ses conclusions (T. II, p. 442). Elles furent attaquées par les PP. Astrain et Michel. La publication, au tome II des *Monumenta Xaveriana*, d'uu texte du chinois Antoine, plus complet que celui du P. Cros, semblant offrir de meilleures garanties

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A part un ou deux, les Portugais de la Santa Croce avaient montré une indifférence affligeante pour la maladie de Xavier. L'apôtre mort, ils ne surent même pas lui faire de dignes funérailles. Un seul d'entre eux vint aider le chinois Antoine et deux mulâtres à ensevelir le corps; les autres étaient restés à bord du navire "à cause du froid qui était grand."

Au moment de déposer le cercueil dans la fosse, un des mulâtres eut l'idée qu'il serait bon de répandre dans le coffre, au dessous et au dessus du corps, quelques sacs de chaux; elle consumerait les chairs, et ne laisserait que le squelette, qu'on pourrait plus façilement rapporter aux Indes. Ainsi fut fait, après quoi le cercueil fut descendu et recouvert de terre.

Deux mois et demi se passèrent; vers le milieu de février, la Santa Croce allait reprendre la mer. Le fidèle Antoine vint trouver le capitaine. "Eh donc Senhor, lui dit-il, il demeurerait ici le corps du Père Maitre François qui était un saint?—Je sais, Antoine, répondit l'officier, qu'il était ce que vous dites. . . . Mais que voulez-vous que nous fassions, car je ne sais si le corps est tel que nous le puissions emporter. J'enverrai voir, et s'il peut être pris, nous le prendrons." Un Portugais de confiance se rendit immédiatement au lieu de la sépulture, déterra le coffre et l'ouvrit, et trouva le corps du père tout-entier, tel qu'on l'avait enterré, "sans puanteur ni mauvaise odeur autre que celle de le chaux qui se trouvait là." Le saint corps fut apporté, dans son cercueil, à bord de la Santa Croce, qui fit voile le 17 février vers les Indes; le 22 mars, elle était en vue de Malacca, et le triomphe commençait pour François.[1]

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d'authenticité, tranché la débat, en faveur de la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre. (T. II p. 787, 792).

La controversé a été très clairement resumée par le P. Brou dans un article des *Recherches de science religieuse*. Mai–septembre, 1916, p. 328. L'auteur se rallie à l'opinion qui donne la nuit du 2 au 3 décembre comme celle de la mort de François.

(1) Dans tout cet exposé je n'ai fait que résumer le récit du Chinois Antoine (*Monumenta Xaveriana, l. c.*—Traduction du P. Brou, *l. c.*, p. 368 sqq.) Plus tard les Portugais qui avaient délaissé Xavier mourant publièrent pour se disculper d'autres récits; ils ne méritent pas la même créance.

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La fosse dans laquelle avait reposé deux mois et demi le corps de l'apôtre devait devenir pour ses frères un lieu de pélerinage. Dès l'année suivante, le Fr. Pierre de Alcazova, revenant du Japon, s'arrêtait à Sanchoan, et allait prier près du "trou dans lequel on avait enseveli le corps" du Père Maitre François.[1]

En 1565, treize ans après la mort de François, huit pères jésuites, avec le P. François Perez pour supérieur, s'établissaient à Macao; ils y fondaient une résidence qui devait servir de sanatorium aux missionnaires du Japon; le fidèle Antoine, témoin des dernières heures de François, et qui avait marqué de pierres l'emplacement de la fosse où le corps du saint avait reposé deux mois, résida dans la maison des pères de Macao pendant les dernières années de sa vie; il est à croire qu'il revint plus d'une fois à Sanchoan, et y conduisit peut-être quelques religieux.

Le fait est qu'en 1639 les pères de Macao élevèrent sur la tombe du Saint la pierre qui existe encore aujourd'hui. Une des inscriptions qui y furent gravées est concue en ces termes. "Aqui foi sepultado S. Francisco Xavier da Companhia de Jesus, Apostolo di Oriente." "Ici fut enseveli S. François-Xavier, de la Compagnie de Jésus, apôtre de l'Orient." Les pères se considéraient donc comme certains de l'emplacement exact de la tombe.

La pierre tombale fut renversée par les indigènes, qui croyaient trouver dessous des trésors. En 1688, le P. Philippe Carossi, S.J., passant à Sanchoan, la fit relever.

En 1698, l'Amphitrite, qui amenait en Chine onze missionnaires français, abordait à Sanchoan le 6 octobre, et les pères faisaient au tombeau du saint un pélerinage dont le P. de Prémare a laissé, dans une lettre au P. de la Chaise, le touchant récit.[2] L'équipage de l'Amphitrite, sauvé par l'intercession de Xavier d'une grave tempête, avait voulu contribuer, par de généreuses aumomes, à l'édification d'une chapelle sur le saint tombeau.

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(1) P. Cros, *l. c.*, T. 2, p. 362.
(2) Canton, 1699. Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, T. 3, p. 13 sqq.

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En 1700, les PP. Turcotti et Laureati fondaient à Sanchoan, avec la permission du vice-roi de Canton, une résidence, à une lieue de la sépulture, et élevaient un édicule au dessus de celle-ci; la chapelle en pierre, formait un carré de 3m. 54 de côté; elle était surmontée d'une croix.[1]

En 1701, l'Amphitrite, amenant de nouveaux missionnaires français, reparaissait à Sanchoan, et le P. de Chavagnac, dans une lettre du 30 décembre 1701, nous a décrit la piété de l'équipage français envers l'apôtre des Indes, qui venait une seconde fois de sauver l'Amphitrite du naufrage. "D'abord, après avoir fait une décharge de canon, l'on entonna solennellement les litanies de ce grand saint. On continua ensuite, pendant plus de quinze jours que nous fumes arrêtés là, à honorer en diverses façons l'Apôtre des Indes. Nous allions presque tous les jours dire la Messe sur son tombeau, et tout l'équipage y fit ses dévotions, avec une piété qui nous donna beaucoup de joie et de consolation."[2]

Sans doute les pères de Macao firent d'autres pélerinages à Sanchoan, pendant ce début du dix-huitiéme siècle, où la faveur de Kang-hi leur rendait faciles les courses apostoliques; aucune trace ne nous est restée de ces voyages. Les persécutions qui marquèrent si tristement les trois derniers quarts du dix-huitième siècle durent en rendre la continuation impossible.

En 1813, un peu de paix étant revenue, l'évêque de Macao, Mgr. Francisco Chacim, put faire un pélerinage au tombeau, en compagnie de nombreux notables de la colonie portugaise; il en fit rédiger le récit par son secrétaire;[3] la pierre érigée en 1639 subsistait encore, mais la chapelle était en ruines.

En 1862, les jésuites rentrent à Macao, dont ils avaient été expulsés par ordre de Pombal en 1759. Deux ans après, le R. P. Rondina, supérieur, corduisait à Sanchoan un

(1) Lettre du P. Castuer, l'architecte, au R. P. Thyrse Gonzalez, général. Daus le Weltbott N° 309.
(2) *Lettres édifiantes*, T. 3, p. 51 sqq.
(3) Citée par le P. Garaix, *A Sancian*, p. 16 sqq.

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pélerinage de plus de cent personnes.[1] Dès lors, les catholiques de Hongkong, Canton, et Macao, aimèrent à venir prier à Sanchoan.

Le plus zélé promoteur du culte de l'apôtre des Indes au lieu témoin de ses dernières souffrances fut Monseigneur Guillemin, des Missions Etrangères, préfet Apostolique du Koangtong, dont relevait Sanchoan. Par ses soins, et grâce à l'appui que lui prêta le comte de Lallemand, Ministre de France à Péking, les difficultés qui s'opposaient à la construction d'une église (mauvais vouloir des autorités chinoises, pénible transport des matériaux, gêne pécuniaire) furent surmontées; deux chapelles s'élevèrent dans l'île, l'une au dessus de la tombe de S. François-Xavier, l'autre entre deux villages, qui devait servir d'église à la mission. La bénédiction de la chapelle de la tombe eut lieu le 25 avril 1869, en présence du chancelier du consulat de France à Canton, de missionnaires français, italiens, portugais et de pélerins venus de Canton, Hongkong et Macao. La chapelle de 20 mètres de long sur 10 de large, avec un clocher de 23 à 24 mètres de haut, est de style gothique. Une belle cloche, offerte par l'impératrice Eugénie, toujours si généreuse pour les missions, réjouit les pélerins de ses sons joyeux.[2] Plus tard une grande croix de granit, et une belle statue de bronze de l'apôtre des Indes, s'élevèrent sur deux sommets de l'ile.

En 1884, les deux chapelles de Sanchoan furent odieusement saccagées et pillées lors de la rupture entre la France et la Chine. Jusqu'en 1904, l'apostolat végéta dans l'ile; aucun prêtre n'y résidait.

Alors le Père E. Thomas, des Missions Etrangères fut envoyé par Monseigneur Mérel pour reprendre possession du poste. L'église paroissiale et la chapelle du tombeau furent réparées; les catéchumènes commoncèrent à affluer.[3]

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(1) Récit envoyé aux *Etudes* de Paris, et publié par elles en 1866; T. XI, p. 549.

(2) Lettres de Monseigneur Guillemin et du P. Osouf dans les *Annales de la propagation de la foi* septembre et novembre 1869, p. 397, 411.

(3) Sur tous ces faits je me suis contenté de résumer l'ouvrage cité plus haut du R. P. Garaix.

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Un événement récent a rendu plus actif le mouvement des conversions. En 1910 et 1911, des brigands venus de Canton envahirent l'ile à plusieurs reprises et saccagèrent les villages. Les notables, à bout d'expédients, vinrent supplier le missionnaire catholique, auquel ils avaient jusque-là fait une opposition acharnée, de venir à leur aide. Monseigneur Mérel, sur la demande du Père Thomas, obtint du gouverneur de Canton l'envoi à Sanchoan de deux canonnières chargées de soldats qui eurent vite fait de remettre l'ordre. Les brigands massacrés ou en fuite, la population ne se montra pas ingrate envers celui qui seul avait pu la sauver de la ruine.

Des milliers de catéchumènes se présentèrent ; plusieurs centaines de baptisés sont déjà groupés autour des sanctuaires,[1] et l'on peut prévoir le jour où l'ile sanctifiée par la mort de Xavier sera une terre chrétienne.

[N. B. Cette notice est la première d'un recueil de Notices biographiques et bibliographiques sur les Missionnaires jésuites del' ancienne Mission de Chine qui paraitra prochainement à T'ou-se-wé dans la collection des *Varietés Sinologiques*. Ces notices, dues au R. S. al. Pfister, S.J., n'avàient pu être encore éditées, la mort de l'auteur, et les occupations de ses successeurs à Zikawei, n'ayant pas permit de les mettre au point. Bien des sinoloques les ont déjà consultées dans l'édition autographiée.]

(1) Lettres du P. E. Thomas dans *Relations de Chine*, avril 1914, p. 359 sqq.

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THE FIRE-PROOF WAREHOUSES OF LIN-AN

It may be worth while to record a word, or rather a use; which seems to have escaped the notice of the lexicographers; that is to say of the *P'ei wên yün ju*, *Chêng tzŭ t'ung*, *K'ang-hsi tzŭ tien*, *Tz'ŭ yüan*, Couvreur (1904), Giles (1912), Wieger-Davrout (1915), etc. The use in question is the use of 塌, *t'a*, in combination with 坊, *fang*, or 房, *fang*, to designate some sort of *warehouse*. In the 都城紀勝, *tu ch'êng chi shêng*, a little pamphlet about 杭州, Hang-chou, written A.D. 1235 (reprinted in the 武林掌故叢編, *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*), fol. 15, is the following paragraph, headed, 坊院, Fang Yüan: 柳永詠錢塘詞云參差一萬人家此元豐以前語也今中興行都已百餘年其戶口蕃息近萬餘家城之南西北三廂各數十里人烟生聚市井坊陌數日經行不盡各可比外路一小州郡足見行都繁盛而城中北關水門內有水數十里曰白洋湖其富家於水次起迭塌坊十數所爲屋千餘間小者亦有數百餘間以寄藏都城店鋪及客旅物貨四維皆水亦可以防避風燭又可免盜賊甚爲都城富室之便其他州郡無此雖荆南沙市太平州黃池皆客商所聚亦無此等坊院.

This may be roughly rendered: "Liu Yung's *Poem in praise of Ch'ien-t'ang* says, 'Ten thousand families huddled together.' This was written before Yüan-fêng (A.D. 1078–1086). Now that prosperity has been restored and the place

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has been the provisional capital for more than a century, the population has increased until it approaches about a million families. For many miles to the south, west and north of the city wall, the smoking hearths of human habitations are crowded together, with markets, stores and streets of shops, so that you may walk through them for several days without having traversed the whole; each suburb being comparable to a small town in a country department or district—proof enough of the importance and prosperity of the provisional capital. And inside the walls, inside the Pei-kuan water-gate, there are several tens of *li* of water called the Pai yang lake; and wealthy houses have built in the water a series of *t'a fang*, between ten and twenty of which form buildings of over a thousand divisions, while even the smaller ones have several hundred divisions or more;—in which to store the goods of the shops in the metropolis and of the merchants from other places. They are surrounded with water which both serves as a protection against storm and fire and saves them from burglars. These are a great convenience to the rich houses of the metropolis, not found in other places. Even Sha-shih in Ching-nan and Huang-ch'ih in T'ai-p'ing chou have no such warehouses, though they are both places where merchants congregate."

The same passage in an amplified form comes in the 夢粱錄 *Mêng liang lu*, 1274 (reprint in *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien)*, c. xix, fol. 7, 8, under the heading 塌房, T'a fang. The sentence in question reads: 且城郭內北關水門裏有水路週迴數里自梅家橋至白洋湖方家橋直到法物庫市舶前有慈元殿及富豪內侍諸司等人家於水次起造塌房數十所爲屋數千間專以假賃與市郭間鋪席宅舍及客旅寄藏物貨幷動具等物四面皆水不惟可避風燭亦可免偷盜極爲利便蓋置塌房家月月取索假賃者管巡廊錢會顧養人力遇夜巡警不致疏虞其他州郡... 亦恐無此等穩當房屋矣. 淳祐臨安志 *Shun-yu Lin-an chih*, c. 1250 (reprint in *Wu-lin chang ku ts'ung pien*), c. vii, fol. 8v°. 塌方橋, T'a-fang ch'iao comes after, or to the north of 東橋, Tung ch'iao, in the list of bridges; and in the same place in

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the 咸淳臨安志, *Hsien-shun Lin-an chih*, c. 1275, c. xxi, fol. 2r°. In these works this bridge is described as in front of (前) or to the east of (東) the 御酒庫, *Yü chiu k'u*, and in the later edition it is named 塌方橋 on the map of the city (府城圖), near the north-east corner of what was later and until recently the Examination Hall (貢院), quite near, that is to say, to the large pond which is still called 白洋池, Pai yang ch'ih. And the name occurs in the same position (曰東曰塌方) in the 萬曆杭州府志, 1579, c. xlv, fol. 1v°, showing that this name of the bridge at least had not been forgotten at the end of the sixteenth century.

To kill two birds with one stone, it may be pointed out how exact an illustration the passage quoted is of a part of Odoric's account of Hang-chou. He says: "And there be also great suburbs which contain a greater population than even the city itself. For the city hath twelve chief gates, and from each of them cities extend to a distance of some eight miles, each one greater than Venice is or Padua. So that you may for six or seven days travel continually about one of these suburbs, and yet shall you seem to have gone but a very little way. This city is situated on lagoons of standing water with canals like the city of Venice."—*Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, pp. 194–5. And, lastly, the *t'a fang* themselves, these "substantial buildings," may be the "lofty towers of stone" which have puzzled readers of Marco Polo, who says: "The houses of the city are provided with lofty towers of stone in which articles of value are stored for fear of fire; for most of the houses themselves are of timber, and fires are very frequent in the city."—*Marco Polo* (Yule-Cordier), vol. II, p. 187—or in the old French: "Il hi a maintes lieles maisonz en la ville et por toute la cité a et ça, et la grant tore de pieres là où les jens portent toutes lor couses guant por la cité se prent feu; et sachiés qe mout sovent sa prent le feu en la ville por ce qe il hi a plosors maisonz de leign."—*Recueil de Voyages*, I, p. 169. The Ramusian version is: "There is in the same way a very broad canal which runs parallel to the said street along the back of the said squares, and on the near bank of this there are built great houses of stone where all

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the merchants who come from India, and from other parts, deposit their goods and merchandise."—*Ramusio*, vol. II, 1583, fol. 45 D; and again (fol. 47 A): "In this city there are built in each street stone towers to which, in case any house catches fire (as often happens since many are built of timber), the people take their goods for safety."

Comparatively lofty walls of rammed earth, standing on solid stone bases which are sometimes eight or ten feet high, with their whitewash reflecting in the summer sunshine all the colors of the gay scenes that pass below them, are the most notable and dignified architectural feature of modern Hang-chou, and they are built round the larger shops and stores and houses (notably on the canal-sides, but not confined to any one part of the city) for the very purpose of protecting them from fire.

I have said that the *t'a fang* may be Marco Polo's lofty towers, but it must be confessed that 塌, *t'a*, gives no suggestion of height, but indicates rather a *cellar* or *subterranean vault*. Morrison and Williams alone of the six foreign dictionaries at my disposal give this meaning of *t'a*—"below the surface of the ground," although it stands first (地底下也) in *K'ang-hsi*, *Hsin tzŭ tien*, and *Ts'ŭ yüan*. The subsoil of the northern and eastern parts of Hang-chou, being, I believe, principally sand, and well below the level of both Lake and River, hardly seem suitable for cellars, and the only such excavation of which I have heard, the treasury beneath the pond where the big turtles were in front of the old Provincial Treasurer's *ya mên*, was at the foot of the City Hill (城隍山) and may be supposed to have been cut in solid rock.

Professors Giles and Pelliot, who have very kindly read over the above notes, suggest that 迭, *tieh*, in the *Tu ch'êng chi shêng* should be corrected to 造, *tsao*, as in the later text; and agree in thinking the *t'a fang* less likely to have been vaults than towers.

A photograph and a brief account of the modern towers, called simply 樓, *lou*, which are common in Shantung, will be found in *J.N.C.B.R.A.S.*, vol. XLIII, p. 21. C. M.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

FURTHER NOTE ON FOOT-BINDING

BY

L. C. Arlington

A reviewer in the Times *Literary Supplement* for May 1919 says that I "refer the custom of foot-binding to an ancient date on grounds which seem to be inadequate." Because an article depicted two ladies with sharp-pointed shoes, it does not follow that he conceived of their feet as being of "unnatural shape." Quite true! I was, however, only quoting Yüan Mei. Since reading the above criticism, I have looked up a few other authorities, including Yüan Mei, who appears to have given the subject considerable attention. According to the 宋書禮志 we find that in olden times the "shape of men's clogs were round, and that of women's square" (男子履圓女子履方). This probably only means that the shoes or clogs worn by men and women were of a different style, as they are at the present day. It is also stated in the above work that in ancient times women wore their dresses very long purposely to hide their feet. To prove this, he cites two cases: that of 愼夫人, the concubine of Han Wên Ti (179 B.C.) and that of the wife of Wang Mang (33 B.C.–23 A.D.) who it is said wore their dresses exceedingly *short* with

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a view of setting an example in economy, which action was extolled as being virtuous. From this we may gather tha' the women in olden times wore long skirts in order to h' their big(?) feet.

Foot-binding was also practised by men. The Shih Ching sentence 赤芾金舄 "red knee-caps and golden shoes," is said by Pu Tzŭ-hsia (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, No. 1667) in his 小傳 to refer to foot-binding.[1] He says that 幅 means to bind the feet by oneself (幅偪也所以自偪束也). And Chêng Hsüan (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 274), in a note on the Shih Ching says that 行縢 is the modern foot-bandage (如今行縢也行而緘足故曰行縢).[2] Also that 邪幅 means to bind them in a twisted manner, overlapped in layers. In those days the Chinese only used mats; there were no chairs or tables. This is evident from the following passage taken from the above authority: 衛禆師聲子襪而登席出公怒其無禮. "In the feudal state of Wei of the Chou dynasty, when the Controller of Markets, Shêng Tzŭ, appeared before his chief on the mat with his *socks* on, the latter reprimanded him for disrespect." As they were not permitted to wear shoes or socks when appearing in polite society, they were, perforce, obliged to bandage their feet. This custom referred to both men and women. Yüan Mei in a note here says: 蓋雖脫履解襪而足上自有邪幅裹之故也想婦人亦當如男子矣.

It is therefore possible that in this way the bandages of the women were drawn tighter and tighter ending in the compression in vogue at present. Giles hits the mark when he says "It may be that moderate compression of the feet, in order to make them look small, may gradually have led up to the cruel practice of to-day."[3] It is considered the height of fashion for a woman to walk gracefully (月出皎兮佼人了

(1) Pu Tzŭ-hsia was born in 507 B.C.

(2) Chêng Hsüan lived between A.D. 127-200, yet he says that the 行縢 are the *modern* foot-bandages. This in itself shows that the custom of using foot-cloths is very ancient. The term is now unknown. Giles translates it "cords bound round the legs—of soldiers."

(3) *Adversaria Sinica*, I, No. 9.

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兮舒窈糾兮). Cf. Allen's *Shih Ching*, "The dove in the magpie's nest" and Note on p. 22. Here 舒 has the meaning of "softly" while 窈 and 糾 refer to style or a graceful swaying gait in walking. Chang Hêng[1] (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 55) in a poem on the Southern Capital (南都賦) has the stanza: 羅襪躡蹀而容與, "the ladies in their silken hose following walk along slowly and gracefully." And the following lines were written by one 焦仲卿: 足下躡絲履纖纖作細步.

From the above excerpts it is obvious that in very early times women walked somewhat after the fashion of the small-footed women of the present day, with a slow and slightly swaying motion, the result of having bound feet.

Yüan Mei in a note here says: 既以緩行爲貴則纏束使小在古容或有之.

Yen Shih-ku (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, 2472), in a note commenting on a passage in the 急就章 to the following effect 鞮鞮邛角褐襪巾, says that 鞮 is a shoe with turned-up toes and flat soles (now mostly worn by children) and colloquially called 跣子. He defines 鞮 as a "small shoe made of thin hide"—probably a sandal or buskin.

The 邛角 are clogs with tooth-edged soles to prevent the wearer from slipping during rainy weather. The 褐襪 are, of course, cotton socks. 巾 here has the meaning of foot-cloth or wrapper. The passage quoted follows: 鞮韋履也頭深而銳平底俗名跣子鞮薄革小履也巾者裹足巾若今褎足布.

Yen Shih-ku has also a note on a passage taken from the 漢書地理志 as under: 趙女彈絃跕躧. Yen says that 躧 is interchanged with 屣 and 跕 is defined as a small slipper. That is, "she played the lute and kept time with her slipper." The implication here is surely that of praising her small feet, rather than that of playing the lute.

There is also a poem by Po Chü-i (Giles *Biographical Dictionary*, 1654), as follows: 小頭鞋履窄衣裳天寶末年時世妝. Also a poem by Han Chih-jao (韓致堯), also of the T'ang, as follows: 六寸膚圓光緩緩.

(1) Chang Hêng was born in A.D. 78.

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The above quotations all refer to small-sized feet and not to bow-shaped shoes. To quote Yüan Mei again: 皆極言其小而終不言其弓可見潘妃之步金蓮花亦非弓也.

There are many passages scattered through Chinese literature which particularly dwell upon the smallness of women's feet, but we will give only one more passage from the Shih Chi, 史記 chap. 貨殖列傳: 今夫趙女鄭姬設形容揳鳴琴撫長袂躡利屣.

The last three characters refer to sharp-pointed shoes—used in posturing during the Chou dynasty. 屣 is interchanged with 屣. Although there is nothing specially mentioned in all this about "unnatural" feet, and indeed the Chinese apparently do not think them so, the inferences are obviously so intended, otherwise it is difficult to understand all these allusions to "small-feet," stockings, shoes, foot-bandages, and slow and graceful movements in walking, the natural result of having bound feet.

We think the following will interest English readers, whose ideas on the subject are vague.

The "Institut de France" includes five sections, as follows:—

(1) Académie francaise.
(2) Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
(3) Académie des Sciences.
(4) Académie des Sciences morales et politiques.
(5) Académie de Beaux-Arts.

The Collège de France and the "Ecole des Langues Orientales vivantes" are two quite distinct and independent institutions. The names of Chavannes and Pelliot are connected with the former, while Cordier and Vissière belong to the latter. Chavannes has been succeeded by Henri Maspero, not by Pelliot as we announced in error in our July number last year. Professor Cordier is attached to the Académie des Inscriptions also. We are indebted to him for the above information, and are glad to be able to present our readers with the portrait of this old Shanghai resident and former Librarian of our Royal Asiatic Branch Society.

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RECENT LITERATURE

English-Chinese Dictionary of the Standard Chinese Spoken Language (官 話), by K. HEMELING, PH.D., Commissioner of Chinese Maritime Customs; Shanghai: Statistical Department of the Inspectorate General of Customs, IV + 1726 pp., 1916, $25.

This invaluable work has now been long enough before the public for its merits to be well known and appreciated, and not much more is necessary than to remind students, especially newcomers, that such a helpful book has been prepared for them. The completeness and accuracy of the work are quite surprising. In a few cases only where we have tested or used the dictionary we have been dubious as to the translation given; but then we have remembered that the particular expression we have always used in that example may not reckon as pure *Kuan hua* at all; so difficult is it to decide what is the "Standard Spoken Language." But where there is no doubt of terms being standard we have found that the translations or equivalents are very satisfactory, full and clear. As to "new terms," an annual supplement would be required to keep pace with them, but the great majority of them up to date, together with scientific or technical expressions, are to be found here. Such scientific terms, selected for use in Chinese Universities by a Commission of the Ministry of Education, are distinguished by the addition of the characters

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部定 (*pu ting*); others are marked where advisable by 俗, 文 and 新. All characters are followed by the romanization, which is of course strictly Wade's system.

We are grateful to the compiler for the excessive care with which he has done this mass of work, though it should never have been undertaken single-handed, and also to the Maritime Customs for the liberal views it takes of its opportunities and duties. We owe the Service a good deal for its encouragement of such literature in the past: the present work, for example, is based on an earlier dictionary by Stent of the Customs.

While we can give praise without stint to the compilation we have serious fault to find with the *format* of the volume. The printing is done excellently, but the book is a thick, dumpy one, which cannot be grasped by one hand while the other turns the leaves, and which cannot lie fairly open and flat on the table; it should have been half the thickness with twice the surface.

We strongly advise all who are engaged in translation work and moreover all who wish for more than mediocrity in the knowledge of Chinese to get this work and consult it constantly.

Peking: A historical and intimate description of its chief places of interest, by JULIET BREDON. Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1920, $10.

This is so good a book that we wish it had been a little better, as it might easily have been. It is a nondescript work as the subtitle indicates, not exact and detailed enough for a guide-book, but still not a very literary work; it is an "intimate" description by one who knows the subject well, loves it perhaps too well, and writes of it in a pleasant style of somewhat monotonous mild brilliance.

To many readers the excess of the authoress' enthusiasm will be an irritation. No doubt Peking is one of the great cities with a charm or even a fascination for every intelligent visitor; but when we read on the first page the opinion that "Peking has the richest and most attractive personality of

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any city in the world, not excepting Moscow or Constantinople" we feel the key of the book is pitched too high and we are prepared for a screech here and there on the top notes. At the risk of seeming ungracious we quote a few examples of useless exaggeration. On p. 13 we are told "nowhere can we read more dramatic sermons in stones." Surely Rome runs it close, especially as the stones are there, while in Peking, as the authoress admits, there is little that is really ancient. On page 16 we read that "none can compare with Peking," and this seems to refer to the "noble battlements." But the walls of Peking are certainly not the highest or the most striking in China. The new police force is "the most reasonable and courteous in the world" (p. 48); note the recurring "in the world"; those of London and Florence must take second places. A statue is spoken of as "one of the most famous in the world" (p. 187), though this *may* mean only among images of Buddha, in which case the Venus de Milo does not compete. On p. 254 we are asked why the blossoms on fruit trees "should be lovelier here than anywhere else in the world." And of a fountain we are told "the colour of the water is not like anything else in the world" (p. 261). In both cases it is an illusion, due to that "ideal soul haze" through which the writer says nature and men must be looked at (p. 307). But unless this haziness of vision is not carefully allowed for a ludicrous result may follow. Thus we are invited to note a great bell, "how gracefully it hangs" (p. 204). Now as we are told it is the largest hanging bell in the world and weighs from twenty to eighty thousand pounds, we feel sure it simply hangs straightly vertical like all great bells, not "tip-tilted like the petal of a flower." Another false note occurs on p. 220 where we learn that at the Po Yün Kuan "butterflies and birds, the flowers and foliage, the sweet summer itself, only play at dying. They seem to go, but they all come back again when the snow has melted." We have noticed this phenomenon in many other localities.

There is too much of this pretty writing and too careless a use of English as where "infinitely older" occurs several

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times to denote an earlier date of three or four centuries. The fact is that while to the historical student or the tripper from Fifth Avenue Peking has a charm and an interest that is unique, to the coldly observant eye it is full of mouldy or reeking squalor (right up to the palace gates, the authoress tells us, as bad till recently as Seoul or Baghdad), with few fine buildings except the palaces, no promenades, no Rue de Rivoli or Regent Street, and apparently inhabited wholly by coolies or men in coolie dress. Will it ever attract Asia as the glories of Rome attract Europe?

If space permitted we could point out places where the history is either incorrect or inadequate, but we hasten to say that the book is indispensable henceforth to all who would know Peking. Favier's work was cumbersome and had many errors. This new book is far more exact, though without many references to authorities; it is very readable, and it covers the whole ground both inside and immediately around the city. Not only the buildings but the street life, curio-hunting, the Western Hills, missionary work, are all treated of quite fully. As we have said, all geese are regarded as swans—we doubt till we see it whether that temple in the Hills is fairer than the Taj Mahal—but allowing for this little weakness we appreciate the book to the full and are sincerely grateful to the writer.

The publishers give an incomplete list of errata; in the next edition more corrections must be seen to, such as *striken*, *smilling*, *irristible*, *Boldget*, etc. K'uai tzŭ (chop-sticks) should not be translated "nimble lads," and we shall assume that "an addenda" is a printer's error.

The romanization is supposed to be Wade's, but alas! it is anything and anyhow, with and without accents, aspirates, etc.

The book is very daintily produced, and the publishers are to be heartily congratulated on its attractive appearance. It is suited to a drawing-room table, and we would suggest that some copies be bound in more substantial style for the student's shelf.

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The Training of Mind and Will, by W. TUDOR JONES, M.A. PH.D. London, Williams & Norgate, 1919. 2/6 net.

This little book gives the substance of many lectures on Civics delivered to the lads of Great Britain during the Great War—both at home and in France—under the auspices of the Y. M. C. A. It is published at the request of the young men themselves; and it is to be noted that the lectures were enriched by very many examples of self-helpful and useful citizens—which examples are not included in the present text.

Two points struck us as we read. The first was, that if the ideas here given were hailed as so *fresh*, as well as inspiring, by these young folk, Dr. Jones must be entirely right when he says, "Something had been wrong with their education in the past." Many of the things he told them of the joys of the mind, and of the rich reward awaiting honest endeavour to improve oneself, ought to have been common-places to them, and would (we think) have been so, had they been Americans. Matthew Arnold spoke scornfully of the United States as "the paradise of the average man"; but nevertheless a country where the ordinary man is constantly encouraged and expected to "make good" is a country which utilizes its human material to an extent that England has never yet dreamed of doing.

The second point we noticed was that the initial appeal made to these youths was frankly a pagan one. We seem to be breathing Attic rather than English air. It is a pregnant sign of the times that in a Christian land, a religious organization speaking to young men most of whom were risking, or were about to risk their lives for their country, laid the emphasis on self-realization rather than on self-sacrifice.

The two are doubtless complementary not contradictory, but the denial of self for others is *the* Christian appeal: and the lecturer did not find much patience shown towards any appeal backed by religious authority, however long-established or august. He had to begin much further back, and only at

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the end is religion referred to, and Christianity only in one sentence. Which again makes one think that "something must have been wrong with their education." The religion of their land had been so presented to them as to seem irrelevant to them when they needed it most.

The book might usefully be translated into Chinese by the Ministry of Education, and scattered among the young people of this great Republic; and might get a hearing where more specifically Christian books would be unwelcome; which perhaps is the reason that it was sent to us for review.

China of the Chinese, by E. T. C. WERNER.
London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, Ltd., 1919.

The author of "Descriptive Sociology—Chinese" has provided us with a handbook more convenient to use than the ponderous tome from which most of his facts are repeated, and for which we should thank him. The relation of this work to the other is somewhat the same as the relation of De Groot's smaller work on Chinese religions to his large one. It is a sociological description of the development of the Chinese nation. A brief geographical and historical survey precedes the main part; and is followed by a description of institutions,—domestic, ceremonial, political, ecclesiastical; and after this in turn comes a review of "sentiments," and "ideas"; finally language and products are treated. There need be no quarrel about this classification if the purpose of the author be kept in mind. One suggestion only we venture to make; namely, that in distinguishing sentiments from ideas, it would have been better to be more deferential to the psychologists and their use of these terms. There can be only praise for the exhaustiveness of the survey; it is a book for reference, as a result, rather than for the general reader; and if the array of facts and facts and facts gets to be dismal, only the most skilful of the writers on sociology have ever avoided that fault.

Mr. Werner's master, Herbert Spencer, has often been accused of attempting to cover so much ground as to admit

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errors that should have been avoided. A few of these we have observed in the present work. The description of the marriage ceremony (p. 45) is given as though it were true for the whole of China, including the details, which is not the case. It is incorrect to say of foot-binding that "comparatively few new cases occur" (p. 65). Can the failure of the leader of the Taipings to pass his examinations be the determining cause of the rebellion (p. 125)? The figures for Mohammedans are probably overstated (p. 204). The references to Buddhism are far too brief to give the right impression of the real effect of this religion on China. And opium smoking is not ended (p. 228). Nor has the use of wine (p. 281) been "practically abolished."

On the other hand we are glad to note some special excellencies of the work. The discussion of infanticide is temperate and just, and so full as to be almost an excursus. Religious toleration (p. 93) does indeed not exist in the Western sense, *pace* numerous writers on China. In no other work that we know are religion and church in China treated separately as they ought to be. The section on moral sentiments (pp. 221 ff.) rises above the dead level of a recital of facts, to which the plan of the book has largely condemned it, and becomes real history, glowing with the colours of a people's life. It is not easy to do justice in words to all the virtues of the book. The reader will best appreciate its worth if he will compare and contrast it with other works which attempt to deal with China as a whole and to put a value on her civilization. Mr. Werner is not an auctioneer, crying up his goods, nor a cynic, cheapening them, but a responsible judge, delivering a carefully thought-out opinion.

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

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THE NEW
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REFORM IN CHINESE MOURNING RITES

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW (Retired)

Many Chinese of the present day on the death of a relative (especially if a parent) find themselves in a dilemma as to whether to perform the mourning and funeral rites according to the old elaborate system or so far to break away from their traditions as to adopt simpler modern methods. The result is that in most cases the rites are at present hybrid, composed of ceremonies and accessories having their origin both in the East and the West, the main cause of the change being the influence of foreign ideas and foreign education. In the marriage procession, the bridal chair is now often supplanted by a foreign four-wheeled carriage, the roof of which is decorated with woollen pompoms of many colours; and though in the funeral procession the foreign type of bier

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and coffin has, fortunately, not taken the place of the Chinese type, yet many things not originally belonging to these rites have been introduced. Anyone who, in the streets of Peking for example, meets a funeral procession observes in it models, made of paper, cardboard, or other materials, of articles unknown to the ancient rites. I have seen models of foreign horse-drawn carriages (the feet of the horses running on small wheels), of motor cars, of gramophones, etc.—things which would surely cause Ti Tsang Wang to "change countenance," and make the term pandemonium still more appropriate to the regions over which he is king. The rule is, of course, that the models shall include the things beloved by the deceased, and so when he or she was possessed of these modern articles introduced from the West, it is presumed that they will be required, or at least desired, in the next life as much as those of more archaic pattern. In cases of this sort the solution of the problem is comparatively simple, for apparently the wishes or convenience of the gods, etc., are not consulted ; but when it is a question, for example, whether a man shall wear mourning for his parents for three years or for three months, whether he shall wear white or black mourning garments, or none at all, whether he shall resign office or not, whether he shall surrender his possessions to the dead, whether he shall leave his house and dwell in a mourning shed, whether he shall abstain from sexual relation, etc., the solution is not so simple. Here the elements of "filiality" and public opinion (the opinion very often of over-officious or snobbish neighbors) come in and are not to be ignored. In the primitive small-minded type of society, to be found, for example, in an English village, where the squire and the parson between them exercise a tyranny like in kind, if not in degree, yet often as oppressive (and as pitiable) as that of the Romanoffs or the Hohenzollerns, the question in the mind of the man in the street (or the pew) whether he shall continue to attend religious services to which his conscience forbids him any longer to subscribe, is of the same type as that which is exercising the minds of many Chinese confronted with the problem of conformity or non-conformity to the old elaborate

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funeral and mourning ceremonial of their ancestors, involving as it does, if completely carried out, much physical suffering, vast expense, often ruin. In these matters a revolution is now taking place which is none the less far-reaching and important because (as is often the case in matters of this kind) it is moving silently, unaccompanied by flag-wagging or stump-oratory, and is not often brought to public notice in newspapers or other printed publications.

In order to obtain a ruling on the point of how mourning rites should be performed in the light of modern education and civilization some Chinese scholars recently addressed a request to Mr. Hu Shih, a learned Chinese scholar and author of works on psychology and other matters. Having before me a copy of the document in which he embodied his opinions, it seemed to me that it would be of interest to foreign scholars, both because Mr. Hu has had the courage not only to publish but also to act up to his unorthodox beliefs, and also because the system followed by him will, in all probability, be that generally adopted in the present transition period of Chinese thought, until finally the "inward and spiritual grace" of the mourning systems of the most advanced nations of the West, consisting of things of the heart and not of the broadening of phylacteries or enlarging of the borders of garments, shall supplant the vicarious emulation of primitive societies, in which quantity, noise, display of wealth, etc., are so conspicuous that one wonders if there is any room left at all for real heart-feelings,—for the psychologist knows that the deepest feelings are silent.

I give below my translation of Mr. Hu's document. It is clearly expressed, and calls for no further comment except the references I have added in foot-notes. In one case (dealt with in a foot-note) Mr. Hu has blundered somewhat badly in his interpretation and application of the law of evolution, but this does not impair his general argument. His courage and example cannot but do good in helping to free China from the trammels of superstition, much as the student of sociology regrets, from the academical standpoint, the passing of many

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interesting archaic forms pregnant with valuable material for the history of civilization.

"Last year," writes Mr. Hu, "the Peking Popular Lecture Society requested me to give an address on 'Reform in Mourning Rites.' The date for the address was fixed for the 27th day of the 11th month. Unexpectedly, on the 24th day of that month I received a telegram from my home informing me of the death of my mother. Thus, before I had even begun my address it had become a question of myself actually taking a practical part in the 'reform of mourning rites!' On the 25th I made haste to return to the South; and when I was about to set out on my journey two scholars came to see me, and said: 'We have come to-day, first, to bid you godspeed on your journey; secondly, you, sir, have in times past referred to the subject of introducing reform into the mourning ceremonial. Now that, unfortunately, this great grief has befallen you, we very much hope that you will change the old forms of ceremonial.' I thanked them for their kind thought, and then, entering my carriage, took my departure.

"Before leaving the capital, it occurred to me that it might not be convenient to have printing done in my home village, so before starting I had the announcement of death printed ready for use. It was in the following form:

> "'We reverently announce that our mother, Fêng *T'ai fu jên*[1] died of sickness on the 23rd day of the 11th month of the 7th year of the Republic at her home at Shang Ch'uan in Chi Ch'i, Anhui.
>
> "'Respectfully announced by
>
> Hu Chio,
> Hu Shih.'

"This announcement of death omits three vulgar conventionalities. The first is:—'The crimes and sins of the unfilial So-and-So and his fellow mourners were deep and heavy, but instead of killing and annihilating the perpetrators thereof the disaster engendered by them has reached our deceased

(1) 太夫人—term used to denote the mother of an official.

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ancestor,'—all a string of devil-talk. This kind of devil-talk involves the idea that the punishment for the sons' sins is visited upon the parents. This is an argument which cannot be sustained at the present day. Moreover, people of the present day do not believe in this savage view of merit and punishment. They only adopt it because they have become habituated to it. But that is meaningless conduct. The second is:—the conventional phrase, 'The mourning orphans So-and-So and others with tears of blood and clothed in mourning garments prostrate themselves, knocking their heads on the ground.' Under the Republican régime we have abolished the kowtow, much less do we weep tears of blood. Why, then, by deceiving ourselves should we deceive others also? The third is:—'The mourning orphans' behind whom is arrayed that great crowd of 'mourning adopted sons'[1] 'grandsons wearing the even-edged mourning garments,'[2] and those 'wearing the one year's mourning,' relatives wearing the 'one year's mourning,' the 'coarse fabric,'[3] and 'fine fabric'[4] mourning garments, etc., etc., and so through all the related clan; together with 'wiping their eyes prostrate themselves,' and 'wiping their tears knock their heads,' with all their 'genealogical' formality! Why should this great crowd appear in all their ranks in the announcement of death? Merely because it is a custom handed down with the clan system of the early dynasties. Nowadays, since we no longer acknowledge the evil clan system, we naturally have no use for the insertion of this long list of names. There is also that long graduated category from 'prostrate themselves weeping tears of blood' to 'wiping their tears knock their heads.' Again, what is the derivation of all this? It is the poison of the Confucian school working the 'kindred' idea to death. Because there are graduated series of near and far relations, even when they write down a 'weep' they must put it in

(1) 降服子, sons given to be adopted as heirs by other relatives.
(2) 齊衰, mourning of the second degree.
(3) 大功, mourning of the third degree.
(4) 小功, mourning of the fourth degree.

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accordance with the different genealogical gradations! But since we nowadays certainly do not admit that weeping and mourning are to be arranged in genealogical order we erase the whole of this empty 'genealogical' phraseology.

"Whilst I was in Peking, my family telegraphed asking, 'Ought we to enshroud the corpse?' I replied: 'Yes; enshroud it.' When I reached home the corpse had been enshrouded for seven days; the grave-clothes and coffin had all been prepared; there could not then be any alteration with regard to these. Our custom at Hui Chou is, when a death occurs in a family, the related clan and one's own family must all present tin-foil, white paper, and incense; and especially fastidious people send as well 'winding satin,'[1] paper clothes and hats, paper furniture, and other things. The tin-foil and white paper sent by all the various families is often in superabundance; so much, in fact, that it cannot all be burned. Accordingly, when the funeral is over, the mourning family often strike a bargain with the storekeeper to sell it back to him at a discount! Extravagant expenditure of this sort is certainly unreasonable. So when I reached my native place I issued a notice to all those with whom we had social relations to the following effect:

> "'With regard to the mourning in which this family is placed, it has been decided to change somewhat the evil customs of olden times. If we are honored with your condolences, one stick of incense or things belonging to the class of funeral scrolls will be accepted. Beyond this any tin-foil, white paper, paper articles for burning, winding satin, etc.—none will be received. Please do not send any. We humbly entreat that you will pardon us [for refusing them.]'
>
> "This notice was sent with the announcement of death. It had the desired effect. Not a single family sent any of the above-mentioned articles.

(1) 盤緞, bedding for the corpse, put with it in the coffin.

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"Priests, Buddhist and Taoist, naturally were not employed, That they resented this, goes without saying. There was also a set of speculators who, estimating that my family relations were very numerous and that I should be sure to order no small quantity of paper funeral gifts and bedding for the corpse, opened a new paper-articles shop in our village specially to supply our family, but I having unexpectedly excluded all these things the new paper shop had no alternative but to close its doors.

"After my arrival at my home I made inquiries regarding the true state of things from my relatives of an elder generation, because having been long away from my native land I had become uncertain about the facts. And I compiled a biography of my late mother. Now, since we do not 'sleep on straw' nor 'use a clod for a pillow' we also do not employ the 'mat-clod-unconscious-incoherent speech,' etc., all that mad phraseology. The two words *chi jên*,[1] 'thorn man,' or 'bramble man,' the careful observer of the prescribed forms of mourning, are meaningless. (The 'White Cap,' in the *Kuei Ballads* of the *Book of Poetry*, did not originally refer to three years' mourning, but was a poem of feeling; so it contains the phrases 'I should be inclined to go and live with the wearer [of the white lower dress]' and 'I should almost feel as of one soul with the wearer.' The 'white cap' and 'white lower dress,' also, are merely of the same kind as the 'robe of hemp like snow' of the *Ts'ao* Odes in the *Shih ching;* it is improbable that they refer specially to mourning garments. As to the two words *chi jên*, 'earnest mourner,' *chi* means 'anxious' or 'worried,' and the phrase does not mean anything more than 'wearying oneself' or being 'busy'; yet this excellent poem of sympathy has been explained by some corrupt Confucianists as a treatise on mourning rites! Truly it is detestable!) Thus I did not use these either. In making my biography I held firmly to the standard of speaking nothing but the literal truth; so I could not avoid offending a good many people. Only by offending them I proved that

(1) 棘人.

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I was speaking the truth. If educated people, when writing memorials of the dead, entertain fears lest on the one hand they should offend the dead and on the other the living, they will not be able to avoid falsehood:—but falsehood is the extreme of irreverence.

"After the announcement of death had been sent out, I received condolences. The ordinary custom at the time of condolence is:—Drums are beaten outside the house, inside the 'spirit curtain'[1] is hung up. The master of the house and the men and women of the establishment wail. The condoling guests having left, the wailing ceases. What absurd behaviour! Men of olden times 'wailed until they wept'; but this weeping was surely not done for the condoling guests! In order to use the weeping as a pretence of 'filiality' people of wealth in whose establishments the condoling guests are numerous invariably spend money on hiring people to come and weep for them. But being only a poor bookman how could I have the necessary funds to hire people to come and do the weeping for me? When I received the condolences, the spirit curtain having been hung up, the master of the house from inside the curtain thanked the condoling visitors; outside, my sons and nephews attended to the guests. When their grief is extreme they weep; but the weepers did not give vent to loud false noises. When they could not weep they did not do so; but on no account did they give vent to any false kind of wailing for the sake of the mourning guests.

"Then with regard to sacrificial ceremonial. In our Hui Chou there are the birthplaces of Chu Tzŭ,[2] Chiang Chên Hsiu,[3] Tai Tung Yüan,[4] and Hu P'ei-hui.[5] Instruction in ceremonial is carried on in their families from generation to

---

(1) 靈帷, the curtain used to screen the corpse, or the tablet if the mourning is performed at another place.

(2) Chu Hsi (A.D. 1130–1200), the famous commentator.

(3) Chiang Yung (A.D. 1680–1762), a recluse and teacher of Confucianism and Taoism. Author of *Li chi kang mu* and various other works.

(4) Tai Chên (A.D. 1722–77), author of commentaries on Mencius opposing the views of Chu Hsi.

(5) A recently-deceased philosopher.

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generation, so they are very particular about the ceremonial worship. When I was a child, I saw I know not how many greater and smaller worships. The ceremonial of the worship was very trying; each kind always required two or three hours; at the greater worships in the hall of ancestors at the vernal equinox and winter solstice it lasted for four to five hours. When I was young, I heard the *hsiu-ts'ai*[1] gentlemen say that at these seasons they had to worship for half the night, kneeling around and studying their ancestral genealogical registers, each man one volume, reading 'So-and-So deceased,' 'So-and-So deceased wife,' etc. The candle-light also was not brilliant, the weather moreover was cold, the stone floors were both icy and hard, yet they had to kneel and recite for fully two hours! And having finished the sacrifices and wrapped up the sacrificial meats[2] they must needs go through some more foolish recitations. This kind of ceremonial forms an essential part of clan-system regulation. It is exceedingly strange that when a death occurs in a family it should be thought necessary to request a lot of *hsiu-ts'ai* graduates to come and act as masters of ceremonies and perform the sacrificial worship in place of the host! When the ceremony is over, each of these masters of ceremonies receives some feet of white cloth, a white waist-belt, and is given a nine-course feast or an 'eight large and eight small.' In wealthy families, burial is delayed for many days, and every day there must be this bustle; so every day there must be a sacrifice of some kind—either one by the members of the family itself or a sacrifice 'given' by relatives. The family sacrifices are to-day that of the elder son, to-morrow that of the younger sons, the day after that of the elder grandsons, and so on. The sacrifices 'given' are those presented by wealthy relatives; if they live far off and cannot come in person they send money, requesting the head of the family to arrange the sacrificial feast and engage the masters of ceremonies on their behalf. In a word, what does the sacrificing consist of?

(1) B.A.'s.
(2) Gifts of remains to those who attend the sacrifices.

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Nothing but bustling, ostentation, arrogance. How can this be called sacrificing?

"At first my intention was to do away with the sacrificial ceremonial altogether—to change it all for condolence. But my maternal grandmother, who is more than seventy years of age and who has seen one son and two daughters die during her lifetime, was really grieved at heart, and so when she heard that I was going to do away with the sacrificing altogether she sent someone to say: 'You may have your wish in the whole affair, but two or three sacrifices are the very least that we can have.' So I thought it over carefully, and decided that it was best to humour her; only as the sacrificial ceremonies could not but be changed to some extent I changed them in two respects :—

"(1) Masters of sacrificial ceremonial to be members of our own clan (*i.e.*, members of our clan to be their own masters of ceremonies). Stand in order. Come to position. Salute the coffin. Three bows. Three presentations.[1] Read the sacrificial address (in this are mentioned the names of all who attend the ceremony, so it cannot be omitted). Take leave of the coffin. Conclusion of ceremony.

"(2) Sacrificial ceremony by relatives. I did not want any relatives to 'give' sacrifices, so I asked all those who had expressed their intention of doing so to come at the same time, selected one as master of ceremonies and two as assistants, the rest being those who attended the ceremony[2] (without any executive duty). No outsiders whatever were asked to be masters of ceremonies. Simultaneously those present made one bow towards the coffin. The 'three presentations'[3] ceremony was not used. Formerly the sacrificial ceremonial would have been spread over seven or eight days; by substituting the new ceremonial it was all finished in fifteen minutes. The programme of the ceremony was as follows :—

Stand in order. Master of ceremonies and his assistants take

(1) 跪, here standing in a respectful attitude.
(2) French *assister*.
(3) Of wine, food, and tea.

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up their positions. Salute the coffin. Three bows. Read the funeral address. Take leave of the coffin. Conclusion of the ceremony. Return thanks to guests.

"This second kind of sacrificial ceremonial of mine I think would very fully meet the requirements of a certain class of people. The basis of sacrificial ceremonial is the belief that the spirit of the deceased is still able to enjoy things. But we who do not hold this belief ought to change the ceremony of presenting food and drink offerings to the dead into the ceremonial offerings of manifestations of respect by the living towards the dead. Whether the dead know or not is another question; but the manifestation of respect by the living towards the dead is reasonable conduct: it is by rights not necessary to inquire whether the dead can or cannot apprehend our expression of respect. Some say: 'The presentation of food and drink according to the old ceremonial was also to manifest respect; and it was not necessary to ask whether the dead can or cannot eat and drink.' But there certainly is a difference between the two cases. People of ancient times firmly believed that the spirit of the dead could really enjoy the meats and drinks; so there was first the 'descent of the spirits,' then the 'three presentations,' ther. the 'inviting them to partake,' and moreover the 'worship of the furnace for burnt offerings' and 'raising the wail':—all this is superstitious conduct embodying the superstitions of the old ancestral doctrines—its object was not solely that of shewing the respect of the living for the dead.

"Now to discuss the funeral. When the funeral procession started, the inscribed banner went first, proclaiming whose family the funeral belonged to. Next came the coffin containing the corpse; next [I] the chief mourner following the coffin; next, those who were attending the funeral; besides the latter there were no other paraphernalia or escort. The chief mourner did not wail. When the wailing stopped he wept; but in weeping did not do so aloud. The chief mourner wore hemp clothes, no hat, did not use a mourning-staff, nor wear a waist-belt of straw, but merely a white cotton waist-band. Why did I wear hemp clothes? Originally I intended to

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follow the Republican mourning regulations and adopt the 'half-dress' mourning clothes, with a black crape band on the sleeve, but later on when I found that those who attended the funeral, both men and women, all wore white garments, the host alone could not wear black, so it seemed better to wear the hemp clothes, with a white waist-band. Why did I not wear a hat? Because since I could not use the high arched cap worn by filial sons in accordance with the ordinary ceremonial, and could not in the time at my disposal find one of suitable pattern, it seemed best to adopt the method of shewing respect by doffing the hat altogether. Why did I not use the mourning-staff? Because men of old, when in mourning for their parents, were prostrated by grief, going so far as to be in a half-dead condition, 'only able to rise if assisted, only to walk with the aid of the staff.' But since we do not now go to such extremes, why should we use the staff merely for purposes of ostentation?

"We dwell together in clans. When a death occurs we must accompany the soul-tablet to the ancestral temple. In the ordinary mourning rites there is the rule about 'writing the tablet' and 'dotting the 主.' Someone was requested to write the inscription on the spirit-tablet all complete, omitting only the dot on the top of the 主. Then someone of good family was asked to dot the 主 on the tablet with a vermilion pencil-brush dipped in the blood from a cock's comb. This was 'dotting the tablet.' In funeral rites this was one of the most important ceremonies, because it was one of the most dignity-conferring and showy proceedings. Think back to the year after Yüan Shih-k'ai died. His sons and grandsons requested Hsü Shih-ch'ang to perform this traditional dotting of the tablet, which shows what great importance is attached to it.

"On the present occasion people of my home came and asked me whom we should request to dot the tablet. I said: 'It is unnecessary to dot the tablet.' And why? Because in the old ceremonial there is only 'request a calligraphist to write the 主.' (Chu Tzŭ's *Chia li* agrees on this with Wên Kung's[1]

(1) Ssŭ-ma Kuang.

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Shu i.) This was due to the fact that the person himself might not be able to write well, so someone who could was requested to write the inscription on the tablet. The idea was to emphasize the dignity of the occasion. People of later times availed themselves of the occasion of a death[1] to make a show, and that is why they requested a wealthy person to dot the tablet; only since these rich people did not necessarily know how to write—it might be that the person asked was a military governor who could not even read—the head mourner's family had the inscription written out beforehand on the tablet, omitting only the dot on the top of the 主, and requested the chief guest to write in his 'honourable handwriting' to[2] dot it. This method enabled some big generalissimo, who might not know how to write, to write the inscription! But as I was averse to taking advantage of my deceased mother to make a show on my behalf, it seemed better to follow the ceremonial rule of antiquity. So I requested my old friend Chin Jên to write out the inscription in full including the dot on the 主, and after the funeral I sent the tablet to the ancestral temple. And that settled the matter.

"Before the funeral, some one came to me and said he had a good burial-ground, and that if the burial took place there he would guarantee that I would become the head of a Ministry! I said: 'I also have read some works on geomancy, but never once did I find in them the words *tsung chang*, Minister or Director.' Let him keep that good bit of land for his own use! I went out myself and found a plot of burial-ground. It adjoined the burial-ground of my late father, Mr. Iron Flower. The village people thought that because I, the 'foreign Han-lin,' had seen about the *fêng-shui* of the site the ground must certainly be the best that could be found; so less than ten days after my mother's burial had taken place a party brought a coffin and interred it in the same field below my mother's grave. People came to me and said: 'The

(1) Literally, "borrowed the deceased."
(2) 大筆.

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coffin in front is interfering with the *ch'i*[1] of the one behind.' I replied: '*Ch'i* can come in from the four quarters and eight sides, nothing can stop it. Let it hinder it as much as it pleases!'

"Here ends the record of my funeral affairs.

"Now I will further discuss my mourning robes. When, at Peking, I received the inauspicious telegram, how could I be in a mood for deliberate thinking? So I stupidly went and did what I had formerly been accustomed to do. I doffed my long fur-lined satin outer garment, changing it for a cotton one, put on a cloth hat, to which I added a white band, and also bought a pair of white shoes. My watch-chain being gold—gold-plated—I left it in Peking. The legs of my spectacles were also of gold, but there was not time to have them changed; also, I could not do without them, so the only thing to do was to take them with me. The lining of my wadded coat was of silk, but there was not time to have it changed for a cloth one, so there was no alternative but to take it and wear it—when it was on people could not see the inside! On the sleeve of my riding-coat I put a band of black crape. All this was on the day before my departure when, being in a state of stupefaction, I did just what I had been accustomed to do. But once *en route* I began to ponder on these things, and felt very much ashamed of myself. Why was I ashamed? Because the formulæ regarding mourning-clothes I had adopted on this occasion were all a mass of unreasonableness. White hat-band, cloth long garment, cloth hat, white clothes belong to the ancient Chinese ceremonial. The wearing of a black crape band on the sleeve was a new regulation instituted in the first year of the Republic, but, having adopted the black crape, why put on white also? Why should I not wear the fur coat? Why did I not dare to wear silk or satin? Why could I not use gold-coloured things? The wearing of black crape on silk and satin clothes, was not this still the mourning-costume of the Republic? And if gold was not to be worn, could it be said that the wearing of silver was more filial?

(1) Vital force.

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"I have asked several 'why's?' But being really unable to answer them myself I naturally bethought me of Confucius' saying: 'If you were, after a year [of mourning] to eat good rice, and wear embroidered clothes, would you feel at ease?' Only I asked further: 'Why should I hearken to the words of Confucius? Since, when we now *shih tao* (mod., *ch'ih fan*), eat rice, we are already at ease, why, when wearing embroidered clothes should we not feel at ease also?' Careful thinking convinced me that I had not yet rid myself of the influence of the supernaturalism of the archaic customs; I was still afraid of what people would say!

"Only at that time, when I was on the journey, it was important to travel as quickly as possible, and I was not in a frame of mind to think of trifles and details. When I reached my native place I was still busier, and did not get time to think of the mourning regulations. As regards the mourning clothes worn during the funeral rites I have already spoken above. After the funeral observances were finished, I still as before had on the cloth garment, cloth cap, white hat-band, white cotton shoes, and a black crape band on my arm. Being accustomed to them, I did not perceive anything strange in these neither Chinese nor Western, half-new half-old, mourning costumes. Truly the influence of habit is terrible!

"This year at the end of the fourth month I went to Shanghai to welcome Professor Dewey. After a few days, on the 7th day of the 5th moon, there took place the mass meeting of Shanghai citizens. As everyone will probably remember, the weather that day was exceedingly hot. When I went to the Public Drill Hall I had on a long-lined cloth garment, my cloth trousers still had the flannel lining. Above I wore a sateen jacket. I wanted to hear some of the speeches of the Shanghai orators, and when I had managed to push my way so as to be near the platform I was already streaming with perspiration. I took off my jacket, and, when the speeches were over, followed the crowd out into the street, and walked all the way from the West to the East Gate. In walking not only my inner but even my double outer

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garments were all saturated with perspiration. So I went back to a shop kept by a fellow-provincial, and requested one of them to take me where I could buy some clothes; for when I left Peking I had not provided for a long stay, so had not brought a change of unlined garments. The influence of custom was still present. I naturally went to a small clothes shop on the side-walk[1] to see if I could find a cotton shirt, crape jacket, calico trousers, etc. But we searched everywhere without finding anything suitable. Being still wet with perspiration, I was anxious for a change of apparel, but cotton clothes cannot be worn until after they have been washed. When we had traversed the side-walk from end to end we were still empty-handed. Then I suddenly asked myself: 'Why should I insist upon buying cotton clothes? Because, being in mourning, if I were to don silk people would wag their tongues. But why should I fear people's idle talk?' To this question I could find no answer, so I made up my mind to go and buy silk clothes. I purchased a long shirt of 'pawned but never worn'[2] palace silk, a real native crape jacket, a pair of crape gauze leggings; and also borrowed [*sic*] a suit of underclothing. Then I changed my clothes. When I began to do so, I remembered that I still had the black crape band on my sleeve. Afterwards I thought again: 'Why must I wear black crape?' Because my period of mourning is not ended. I then thought again: 'Why must I observe these three years' mourning regulations? I am not a disciple of Confucius, and heretofore have not supported the mourning regulations of the Confucian school. Why have I not the courage to observe a short period of mourning?' Again I could not return a satisfactory answer; so took a firm resolve to observe only a short period of mourning and discarded the crape band on my sleeve.

"Reckoning from the 7th day of the 5th moon, when I ceased mourning I had from first to last worn mourning for a space of five months and ten or more days. People asked me

(1) 石路.
(2) 原當的.

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what ceremonial I was following. I replied: 'The old ceremonial.' They then again asked: 'The old ceremonial of what dynasty?' I said it was the ceremonial of the 'indefinite mourning period' of the most ancient dynasties mentioned in the *I ch'uan*.[1] I regard the 'indefinite mourning period' as being the most reasonable. No two people's feelings are alike. The virtues and vices of parents are no two alike; sons' feelings of grief and respect are also no two alike. As it says in the *T'an kung*[2]:—

> "'When Tzŭ Hsia was introduced (to the Master) after he had put off the mourning (for his parents), a lute was given to him. He tried to tune it, but could hardly do so; he touched it, but brought no melody from it. He rose up and said, "I have not yet forgotten my grief. The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I dare not go beyond them." When a lute was given to Tzŭ Kang in the same circumstances, he tried to tune it, and easily did so; he touched it and brought melody from it. He rose up and said, "The ancient kings framed the rules of ceremony, and I do not dare not to come up to them."'

"This shows that the feelings of grief for parents are not the same in every case. Tzŭ Chang and Hsing Wo objected to three years' mourning as too long. Tzŭ Hsia and Min Tzŭ-hsien,[3] again, objected to three years as too short. The best course is the 'undefined mourning period.' A long one might last several years; a short one three months or three days, or there might be no period for wearing mourning clothes at all. Not only should the period be undefined, but it is also necessary to break through the regulations of ancient dynasties regarding the fixed mourning costumes of different grades. My meaning is that the application of mourning regulations should not be limited only to one's own

(1) 易傳.
(2) Book II of the *Li chi*.
(3) Four disciples of Confucius.

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relatives. One's own relatives should be remembered, and the wearing of mourning for that purpose should not be interfered with; friends should be remembered, and there is also no reason to interfere with mourning for them; those who should not be remembered, never mind in what degree of mourning they stand, it is entirely unnecessary to wear mourning for them.

"My mother throughout my life was the most venerated of persons. To keep her in remembrance I therefore naturally would not stop mourning after five or six months. Why then did I adopt the short period of mourning? My reason does not rest on one ground alone. The first is: I felt that the custom of wearing clothes for three years has nowadays no cause to be perpetuated. Ku T'ing-lin[1] says: 'In the matter of the reforms instituted by the great sages of the Three Dynasties, the only ones which have been preserved to the present day are the regulations regarding mourning.' (*Jih chih lu, chüan* 15). This statement is really regrettable! Nowadays people in mourning can drink wine and eat meat, can carry on official business, interfere in politics, and plot for frontiers, can fornicate, gamble, and take to themselves concubines, can in fact do all kinds of 'unfilial' things; only they must rigorously observe these three years of wearing white clothes according to the 'mourning regulations!' They cannot really do three years of 'mourning,' but they must scrupulously wear the 'mourning garments' for three years! This is just what Mencius said: 'To eat immoderately and swill down the soup, and at the same time to inquire about the precept not to tear the meat with the teeth;—such things show what I call ignorance of what is most important.' Second:—to genuinely preserve the memory of one's parents there are many ways; why then only observe the 'three years' mourning' regulations? The present mourning regulations are only the outer skin of the old mourning ceremonial, but are the form under which men now keep up false appearances

(1) A.D. 1612–81. A writer on the classics, poetry, history, topography, etc.

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and by deceiving themselves deceive others. Now because I did not wish to use these self-deceiving-deceiving-others mourning regulations as a means of keeping my mother in remembrance, I of special intent adopted the short-period mourning. Because I do not conform to '*ch'uan hsiao*' (wearing mourning), I must be regarded as '*hsiao*' (filial). Not to conform to *hsiao* is to take it and clothe the body with it. Therefore, again, I purposely adopted the short-period mourning. Third:—people nowadays when observing mourning for their parents refer to themselves as 'observing the regulations'; when writing their names they add a small 制, 'regulations.' I would ask: 'Who was it who established this kind of regulations? Were they regulations handed down from the ancients, or were they fixed by law by the present government?' The laws of the Republic did not fix the length of the mourning-period. If it be said that they are regulations transmitted from the ancient dynasties, then from the putting on the unhemmed (deep) mourning for three years to that of the fourth degree, all are 'regulations.' How can the three years' mourning alone be called 'regulations'? Moreover, the regulations handed down from the ancient dynasties should at the present day be subjected to criticism and investigation to see which transmitted regulations ought or ought not to be preserved, without stupidly submitting to and complying with them merely because they are old regulations. Because I respect liberty of conscience I cannot blindly follow meaningless old regulations. Therefore, once more, I adopted the short-period mourning. Fourth:—the mourning-dress regulations as now carried out contain many impracticable provisions. If it be said that white (or plain) colour is the colour of mourning, the present fashion is to favour plain-coloured clothes; for quite a long time white (or plain) colour has not been a sign of mourning. If it be said that cotton cloth is mourning and silk and satin are not, then, besides materials made of silk, are the various kinds of foreign plain woven materials to be regarded as cotton cloth or not? The plain foreign woven cloth is allowed to be worn, why then should our native silk materials alone be disallowed? And since

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silk and satin made of the silk of the silkworm are not allowed to be worn, how is it that foreign cloth made of sheep's wool may be worn? Also, sheepskin may be worn, then why not foxskin? Silver things may be worn, why not gold and gold-plated things? All these and others of like kind are evidence that the present mourning regulations are fixed anyhow and are entirely dependent upon social custom. There is no principle to be expounded; there is no beacon to be kept in view. All is upside down and confused. Not a single thing is right. The pecuniary waste need not be mentioned; but besides this the vexations are very difficult to bear. I had thought of selecting a set of mourning rules which would meet people's desires, be reasonable, and serve as a standard, but I could not find any. My energies were spent in vain, and I suffered unlimited trouble and exasperation. For this reason I was naturally disposed to bring about the curtailment of the mourning period, and to establish that during this shorter period clothes of no matter what material might be worn—whether cotton, silk, satin, woven, flannel, crape; only a black crape band should be worn to conform to the new ceremonial rules of the Republic. Thus we should have our 'mourning regulations'!

"The above is the record of the origin and explanation of my adopting the short mourning-period.

"I have set forth in detail the changes I have undergone in my views of mourning ceremonial, not with any idea of maintaining that all the changes I have made are right, nor would I venture to exhort all my fellow-nationals to follow my example. My object was only to set forth my experiences and feelings arising from an examination of one of the most dreadfully distressing events of my whole life; to indicate the parts most needing reform in the present mourning ceremonial, and the trend they will most probably assume in the future. And now I will finish by setting down a summary of my general conclusions.

"General conclusions. Progress among people living together in societies may generally be classified as of two chief kinds. One is the simple changing into the complex,

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as, for example, the increase in written characters. The other is the complex changing into the simple, as, for example, the relaxation in ceremonial rites. People of modern times, accepting the formula 'from simple to complex, from chaos to order,' regard the secret of progress as completely contained in it, but though it goes without saying that change from the simple to the complex is unquestionably one kind of progress, from the complex to the simple is also one of the main roads of progress. Thus, for example, written characters gradually increase in number, yet literary construction gradually becomes simple. Compare English with Greek or Latin literature. The progress is in increasing simplicity. Chinese literature also shows traces of gradually becoming simpler. In olden times the synonyms 吾 and 我 were distinct; 爾 and 汝 were distinct; 彼 and 之 were distinct. Now they have changed to 我, 你, 他; 我們, 你們, 他們. The subjective and objective, plural and singular, have become more uniform. Is not this great progress? In the literature of olden times, a two-year old horse was called 馹; a three-year old one 駣; an eight-year old one 駧. Also a horse six 尺 high was called 騋; one seven 尺 high 騏. These are very irregular transmutations. Now they have become simpler.

"I adduce these several distinctions as evidence that change from the complex to the simple is also progress. By further adducing the natural changes in ceremonial usages I shall have still more evidence in support of my argument. Let us try the experiment of asking a believing disciple of the Confucian religion to go through the ceremonial. Could he do it? Why could he not? Because people of olden times lived simply. Those half-ecclesiastical half-imperial gentlemen were well able to enjoy that farce of 'at each presentation guests and host bow one hundred times.' Later, when life became more complicated, no one had time to conform to this bowing-and-scraping, senseless, troublesome text. So, from of old until now, ceremonial rites have daily become simpler. Although there are some extremely conservative reactionaries, circumstances preclude a forcible return to the 'golden age' formality, of the '300 usages of ceremony and the 3,000 modes

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of demeanour.' Thus, while the life of the society has become more complex it has made progress. At the same time the rules of ceremony have become simpler. That is also progress. If, with our present method of living we were to think of returning to the time of wearing skins and drinking blood, of living in caves in the wilderness, we should certainly find it impossible; it is equally impossible for us to return from our present simpler methods to the kowing-and-scraping' and 'guests-and-host-one-hundred-bows' ceremonial of olden times.[1]

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(1) Stated in its briefest, unelaborated form the definition of progress is, undoubtedly, a change from the simple to the complex; but in adding that a change from the complex to the simple is also progress our Chinese scholar shows that he has failed fully to understand the process of evolution. To say that progress is a change from the simple to the complex and also a change from the complex to the simple, is obviously self-contradictory. If, for example, a simple primitive village gradually changes until it becomes the very complex aggregate known as Moscow, that is progress—a process of evolution. But if Moscow is burned, if the complexity of palaces, churches, etc., etc., is reduced to simple ashes—that cannot rightly be called progress or evolution; it is its opposite—it is dissolution.

Wherein, then, lies the fallacy? In saying that increasing simplicity in ceremonial observances is "also progress," our Chinese scholar fails to make an all-important distinction. He does not see that in the one case it is a question of the evolution of the *social aggregate or nation*, in the other of the evolution of the *ceremonial*. In passing from complexity to simplicity the *ceremonial* is undergoing a process not of evolution but of dissolution. Apart from this, the social aggregate or nation (of which the ceremonial is a structural part) may at the same time (or at any other time) be evolving, stagnating, or dissolving.

I need not here go further than this; but to make the point quite clear it may be as well to add that societies which are throwing overboard waste matter in the shape, for example, of useless ceremonial observances may be, and generally are, in a state of progression, of evolution, of change from simplicity to complexity, from indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to definite, coherent heterogeneity. But they are not necessarily so, as, for example, in the case of Bolshevism at the present day, which is abolishing all ceremonial customs whilst dissolving society into its primitive simple elements. But a social aggregate may well be evolving though it is discarding its superfluous ceremonial. England has evolved from the time, say, of the abolition of feudalism until the middle of the nineteenth century, though it abolished most of the elaborate

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"When once we grasp this reasoning we can discuss the reform of ceremonial customs, including that of mourning ceremonial.

"Put simply, my view of the problem of mourning rites is as follows:—

"1. The present ceremonial is much simpler than that of ancient times. This is the natural trend of events; it cannot be called retrogression. In future the life of the society will become more complex; but mourning ceremonial should become simpler.

"2. The defects of the present mourning ceremonial do not consist in not observing the ancient ceremonial usages, but in the fact that many useless rituals handed down from olden times have not been completely eradicated. If we no longer adopt the 'sleep on straw with a clod for a pillow' ceremonial it is not an evil; but to speak of ourselves in

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ceremonial of the middle ages. A social aggregate may become increasingly complex and progressive though parts of its structure are, as they become unnecessary to its evolution, retrogressing or dissolving—changing from complexity to simplicity.

It seems necessary, having regard to the references in the text, to add a word on the much-misunderstood matter of the evolution of language. One of the elements of evolution is integration. Whilst becoming more heterogeneous and definite, language (where it is progressing) is undergoing a process of integration: in the number of subordinate propositions which accompany the principal one; in the various complements to subjects and predicates; and in the numerous qualifying clauses—all of them united into one complex whole—many sentences in modern compositions exhibit a degree of integration not to be found in ancient ones. And the best writers show by the absence of the "florid style" and superfluous phrases often to be seen in earlier literature that they have thrown overboard much useless matter, in the same way that people of modern times have in the matter of ceremonial social intercourse.

Finally, it is not a complete (nor even a partial) truth to say that a return to earlier forms (primitive usages and beliefs) is "impossible." Unfortunately, evolution may be, and often is, undone by dissolution. (Eventually all evolution is so; or rather, the changes seem to be rung eternally on evolution and dissolution.) The student of philosophy (who "looks before and after and sees the end from the beginning," and is consequently more competent than others to interpret the changes going on around him) is regretfully obliged to conclude that humanity as a whole is now retrogressing. But that is a large subject not to be adequately dealt with in a foot-note.

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'straw-clod-unconscious' phraseology embodies the evil of falsity. Again, with regard to the ceremonial by which sons in mourning for their parents adopt all sorts of severe self-oppressive ritual—'nothing must enter their mouths for three days—without a staff they cannot rise:' and so must use the mourning staff: when people of the present time do not follow these barbarous customs it is a great step in progress, it is not an evil of any sort; only for 'filial sons' to continue to use the mourning staff is to act hypocritically.

"3. In the present mourning ceremonial there is still another great defect. It is that, although in some districts the severe ceremonial observances of ancient times have been abolished, in others there have been added a lot of superstitious, useless, or barbarous customs, such as 'hell,' 'heaven,' 'transmigration as a result of actions in a previous state of existence,' etc., and so there have become attached to the mourning ceremonial priests to recite canons, to pray for the lost souls of the dead, at the head of the coffin is placed the 'accompany the body lamp,' Buddhist rites are performed to 'defeat the powers of hell,' to 'drain the lake of blood,' and like superstitious practices.

"4. Now that we are discussing reform in the mourning rites we should begin by taking action in two ways. First we should thoroughly eradicate all useless forms transmitted to us by the old ceremonial. Then we should completely eradicate all the savagery and superstition added during subsequent generations. When these two kinds of reformatory work have been accomplished, then only shall we have a mourning ceremonial nearer to human feelings and more suitable to the conditions of our modern life.

"5. If we wish to carry through the work of accomplishing these two kinds of reform, what kind of standard are we to adopt? After careful thought I have been forced to the conclusion that there is no completely appropriate one. There is only a compromise, and that is the three words 爲什麼, 'Why?' Whenever we undertake anything, whenever we perform any ceremonial, we must always ask ourselves: 'Why

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are we doing this thing?' 'Why should we perform this ceremonial?' (as, for example, the 'dotting of the tablet' mentioned above).

"If we can in every act find the 'Why?' we naturally shall be unwilling to follow the various mean customs for which we cannot assign a reason. If in everything we neglect to ask the reason for our conduct, then our conduct is based on meaningless custom. That is the conduct of the lower animals. It is shameless conduct."

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THE EARLIEST ARTICULATE CHINESE PHILOSOPHER, KWAN-TSZ[1]

(350 *years junior to Solomon, one generation senior to Solon*)

BY

E. H. PARKER

Although this man was in a sense a reformer, and based his system upon the traditional wisdom of the ancient sages and kings, he seems to be the very first of what may be called the articulate Chinese philosophers, as he is certainly the first to apply clear principles to the definite and practical work of organised government. As Confucius himself frequently speaks of Kwan-tsz with respect, and at the same time with reserve—as though certain defects in his character had to be condoned—this fact both tends to prove that our philosopher's lessons had been circulated over the Chinese federation of states for many generations before Confucius' death in 479 B.C., and also partly explains the circumstance that for two thousand years past all succeeding dynasties have ignored Kwan-tsz from an official point of view, whilst at the same time paying ready attention to the rival claims of Confucius, Laocius and Buddha. In the *Manchester University Review*

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for July, 1906, the early rivalry of Confucius and Laocius was discussed, with evidences, in a paper entitled "The Parting of the Ways"; but here it may be added that both of these teachers repeat, sometimes in the original words but oftener in modified phraseology, so much of Kwan-tsz's sermonising that it seems quite plain they must have been a casual twain amongst those numerous officials and scholiasts at the various federal capitals who habitually received documents from other courts, including Kwan-tsz's court, to be stowed away for reference in their own local archives: the reasonableness of this suggestion is vouched for by the fact that both Confucius (specifically) and Laocius (inferentially) declare themselves to be "not originators but transmitters" of thought.

The leading feature in Kwan-tsz as contrasted with Confucius is his insistence upon the supreme rights of the people, and the necessity for the ruling classes to subordinate their personal and family ambitions to popular requirements and approval. For this political reason, apparently, the literary excellences and original expressions only of our philosopher's writings have been transmitted uncensored, so to speak, in thesaurus, dictionary, or encyclopædia; but few if any connected administrative extracts are recorded for reference; few if any compliments are paid by èmperors to the man's genius; it would almost seem as though the Government, age by age, has preferred to keep the book and the interpretation thereof in its own hands, just as the interpretation of the Bible as a connected whole is in some Western lands considered safer in the hands of professed priests than left with its occasional surprises to shock the uninstructed imaginations of the *mobile vulgus*. Before recounting the circumstances under which this remarkable adviser of the seventh century before Christ delivered persistent sermons before his reigning lord and master, I propose to take first one specific subject—to wit, the qualities to be aimed at by a prince who really wishes to govern successfully: the words forming each sentence, as the complete sentences themselves, are as nearly as possible literal translations; but they have been rescued from the scattered positions in which they occur

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and regrouped so as to form an abstract whole, independently of the specific practical matters under discussion or illustration. It is as though one should take a volume of Mr. Gladstone's speeches and excise for regrouping all sentences specifically mentioning parliamentary procedure.

. . . . . .

The exclusive prince, like a woman who recommends herself, does not succeed; he must have friends; words and acts that do not bear repetition are out of place in a ruler. Do things in time, and show good example to those below. Rule depends on other things than killing and punishing, just as security depends upon other things than stone walls and strong positions; so, again, does wealth depend on other things than mere light taxation. It does less harm to keep back a good man than to promote a bad one; it is better to starve a horse than to pamper a tiger. On the other hand, a minister must be kind, as well as able; he should be genial without being obsequious. Good example is the way to attract loyal services. To secure a docile people the fewer demands, ordinances and prohibitions the better—*i. e.*, if you desire to succeed and not to provoke antagonism; at the same time over-tenderness is as much an enemy of the people as system and law are their cherishing parent. A good prince, though above the law, yet lives within his own laws, if only to show a good example; he knows what is needful and what is harmful: on the other hand, a weak prince is certain to have internal strife to deal with. A good prince should begin step by step and develop *tao*[1] (*i. e.*, "the way" of nature) in his own person.

On one occasion the reigning prince confessed to Kwan-tsz his personal weaknesses for hunting, strong drink and women; but the philosopher, whilst, of course, deploring these lapses, distinctly said: Well, well! Anything but a *weak*

(1) *Tao* will be specifically treated of in the final pages; in modern times *tao-têh*—*i. e.*, the right way and its effects—is an expression often used to denote "religion" or "right feeling" of any kind, Christian, Chinese, or other.

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prince! Returning to the main point, he went on to say that it was no duty of a prince to wallow in detail; he should confine himself to general principles, and must in any case always be clear, remembering at the same time that prince and minister are correlative, the one protecting and the other suggesting; when due care is taken to define matters with precision, the people will not go wrong in their *tao*. A prince should never attempt to teach his ministers how to conduct their own departments; it is no business of his to be smart, nor must he allow personal feelings to affect his official judgment. On the other hand, ministers must not meddle with the prince's prerogative: distinctions in status should be carefully observed, and thus a good prince connotes good officials; the true *tao* principle governing such matters is that ministers should ascribe any virtue manifested in their own conduct to their immediate liege, just as the vassal prince credits the King (or, later, Emperor), and the King or Son of Heaven in turn credits Heaven; in each case instead of sounding their own commendation. The same principle applies to son and father, and also to ordinary individuals in their attitude towards seniors and governors; the sacred, the successful, and the illustrious rulers of ancient times, were, in short, precisely those who best perceived and act upon this *tao*.

Eavesdroppers and rogues should be kept at a distance, as should females and discarded parasites; also fussy busybodies sedulously "carrying out orders," and either getting in bad officers in place of good ones or shifting good ones without cause. The prince and his people may be compared with the heart or mind in relation to the body, the latter receiving the impulses communicated by the former. Blame yourself rather than others when misunderstandings occur, and remember that the common people invariably detect hidden worth in the long run: it is not the mere fact that the people *say* you have faults that creates your existing faults, nor need you ask your own family to corroborate what the people say; thus we see how our kings of old always had a wholesome dread of popular opinion: no man who blames himself as

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T'ang[1] did need fear blame by others. There is no such thing as perpetual law and order; it all depends on whether the rulers are good or bad; if they indulge too freely in gambling, hunting, dalliance, and gadding about, the Government goes awry, and punishments become cruel: good ministers advise for the common weal, and say: Accept me or drop me. Wise action and wise words enrich the State and strengthen its military power. Act boldly in times of peril; even if, on the actual spot or in the ruler's presence you interpose objection and feel bound to disapprove, still you can continue to furnish him with your covert assistance in the background: the main point is to advise firmly and yourself accept responsibility for your royal or princely master's error, as the case may be. Be sparing in eating and drinking. The minister without *tao* is obsequious and office-seeking, just as the good one is quite indifferent in respect to these features of conduct. The corrupt minister uses his influence to traffic in favours; he degrades his office in order to secure riches; he allows all blame to settle on the prince, and whilst approving to his face, objects or thwarts behind his back: he winks at evil, but is severe with virtue; he indulges in feasting and deep drinking; delights in innovation at the cost of fixed precedent; he consorts with cliques, and leaves his prince to bear all censure unsupported.

The prince may be compared with the heart or mind, and his ministers with the seven (eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, and two relief) orifices; if the heart goes *tao*, these all mechanically go *tao* too. *Tao* represents the restful heart or the prince, whilst activity of movement is for ministers, just as it is for horses, birds, etc., employed in service: in a word, exactly as the prince is the heart, so are the eyes and ears the *kwan*[2] or "functionaries" of seeing and hearing. But there are many things a good prince must eye warily; for instance, a bad

(1) Founder, 1760 B.C., of the dynasty whose royal names have not only been confirmed, but *corrected*, by the bone inscriptions dug up in A.D. 1898 on the actual site of that dynasty's capital.

(2) This word *kwan*, 官, usually translated "mandarin," also signifies the "senses," the "five *kwan*" meaning sight, hearing, smelling, tasting and thinking; thus the "*kwan* of sight."

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employé thinks more of himself than of the State, and he hangs round the ministers ten times for each single time he seeks the ruler's good graces; this feature of private personal interests takes innumerable forms. There should in State matters be no two supreme masters and no two decisive wills; there should be strict loyalty and no chicanery: a good master should beware of "cunning words and smirking faces."[1] A parasite ruler is in every sense quite opposite in principle to the *tao* of government. The wise prince does not refrain from indulgence in pleasures and gratifications because he is not fond of them, but in order to spare his people; *per contra*, he does not actually like[2] giving his private substance away to the deserving or refusing pardons to the undeserving; he does both out of correct policy; his general attitude should be one of calm expectancy.

The attainments to be aimed at by the ruler of any state are, in the main, wealth and power, the object being to keep the other vassal states in their proper relative places, and to instil into neighbouring governments a wholesome respect; in this way the subordinate states or powers will not venture to trespass on royal prerogative, even though they may be disappointed with the share of favour falling to them. Naturally the aims of an incompetent *dominus* are the reverse of all this: just as the mountain's height and majesty are formed from an aggregate of innumerable lumps of stone and clod, so is the illustrious ruler's prestige constructed out of the individual men working under him. An individual who starves himself never gets fat nor does a man who is too sensitive to reproaches ever get wise. A foolish ruler wishes to show himself off personally and exclusively instead of quietly availing himself of other men's talents. The sovereign should secure both love and fear, and should make sure of the people's sympathy by himself showing sympathy with them; for subject inevitably returns tit-for-tat in kind to ruler, just

(1) The quotation is from the ancient *Book of History*, of course before Confucius recast it. Confucius in his Analects also quotes these four words.

(2) *Cf.* Dr. Johnson's "Why, sir, I have not a *passion* for clean linen myself."

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as child returns it to parents, being an equivalent for what they respectively get. A wise prince never expects the impossible, quite contrary to what the foolish one does. The intelligent ruler may be compared with the sun, and evil ministers with irregular bodies obstructing the sun's light; but to attempt rule without the agency of properly inspired ministers is like a woman offering herself in wedlock without the aid of a go-between or (*cf.* Russian) *svakha*. High-minded statesmen will retire into privacy rather than serve under a master who exhibits too great a conceit of himself, or who appears to barter away rights and dignities in order to fill his own private coffers. Nor should the prince lend an ear to cliques, or intrigues will surely follow. He should not waste too much time or money on shows and entertainments, nor give encouragement to courtiers and flatterers—not to say sycophants who disguise his own faults from him. Let him follow nature and go on ever improving. An intelligent prince cannot easily be hoodwinked, for he understands his own craft; contrarily to what happens in the case of a stupid prince, who falls a victim to his ministers' craft: these folk never love so much as they fear the intelligent ruler who defeats their scheming; it is he who holds the whip-hand and compels their service by his own power to grant or to punish; for he must always have punishments in hand wherewith to terrorise as well as rewards in hand wherewith to encourage: in other words, his staff of servants will be actuated more by a desire to avoid evil consequences and secure advantages to themselves than by any affection for him; whereas it is only a parasite ruler who leaves the power of life and death in the hands of his own subjects: it means his own ruin if he hand over effective power to them.

A perspicuous ruler should welcome exact information from all quarters, for all rulers cannot but wish to utilize the full powers of their people; but if his prestige be derived in the name of as well as through those subordinate to him, then the prince is no longer master; he may be blocked in—so to speak—morally, yet without any visible restraint being placed upon him. He must not share his power; there should be no

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double practice and no dual rule; let him set a policy and stick to it, and then he will find the people neither angry nor grateful, but accepting the regular order of things. If the prince himself be good, his officers' task will be all the easier; moreover there should only be one standard for rich and poor alike. Bad results invariably follow from lending an ear to doubtful asseverations of fact, and from advancing incompetent men; the same evil results follow from acting on mere popular praise and blame. A rogue insensibly ruins a prince who is not wary, and an unwary prince is easily misled.

Every ruler desires wealth, distinction, and a long reign, coupled with obedience to his behests; he hates deceivers and encroachers upon his prerogatives; he dreads to lose his realm and to witness the extinction of his ancestral shrines. Of course every loyal minister wishes to second his master in all this, but finds himself continually hampered by rogues, to whose crooked advice an incompetent ruler too often lends a ready ear: hence cabals, desertion of the prince, and currying of these rogues' favour; hence also, as we have said, ten visits to a rogues' council for every one visit to the prince's court. Under a good prince there are sound appointments to office, whilst under a bad prince there is a general grab for good things. All excellent soldiers and statesmen are in vain if the prince himself be a bad one. Under a good prince ministers forget their own personal interests and keep their proper places in their anxiety to serve, whilst under a weak prince there is a general competition for rival advantages. Appointments should be for the good of the country, and not for that of individuals, emoluments being graded accordingly; whereas under an incompetent prince all is jobbery for friends. A good prince applies his own tests in military as in civil cases, whereas a bad prince appoints on mere recommendation without making any tests at all. Good service is what really matters, both to the security of the ruler and the prosperity of his people—that is to say, in civil matters, the protection of wealth, the encouragement of effort, the raising of revenue, the repairing of the prince's blunders, the offering of prudent advice and the getting rid of concealment. Rewards should

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be automatical and not a matter of caprice, life and death resting on the prince's power, and the distinction always being clearly marked between that and the subjects' power.

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The circumstances under which the above principles were reiterated over a period of forty years were these. China[1] then still consisted of the Yellow River valley, the river itself then, as now, practically unnavigable and subject to disastrous floods. Almost nothing is known of the earlier dynasties, though there is no reason to suppose that social life and moral principles differed much from those developed and placed on permanent record by the new dynasty of 1122 B.C.; this adopted a new or modified policy of enfeoffing family relatives and military supporters in semi-independent principalities, all of which touched the Yellow River at some point, and around these principalities were grouped the petty republics which had in remoter times done duty and service, according to custom and tradition, to the central King or Emperor. During four hundred years (1100–700) of rule, inter-state commerce, population, colonisation, means of written communication, and progress generally had made remarkable advance; of details we know little, but the chief feature was that the Kings had grown inefficient, whilst their score or more of chief lieges had correspondingly developed practical independence. Notwithstanding, they were all pretty firm and loyal upon one point, and that was in recognising the Kings as spiritual superiors, holding the key to ritual, possessing the ancient power to recognise successions, confirm titles, and so on. Kwan-tsz, whose wits had already been sharpened by engaging in inter-state trade, was recommended by one of his old trade partners (then political adviser to the wealthiest of the competing states) for the post for which he himself felt insufficiently competent. Happily for his own interests, the reigning

(1) No territorial-ethnological name ever existed; the peoples forming articulate China, inarticulate China, and the cognate tribes more hostile than even inarticulate, all put together formed "the world"; just as, in a sense, the Egyptian "Empire" and the various editions of the Mesopotamian "Empire" each formed a "world" for the populations.

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Marquess accepted this advice, and the new mentor, once installed, set himself to work to develop an entirely new idea. This idea was to develop military and economical power persistently on such lines as to force the rival great powers to moderate their separatist ambitions and continue the performance of their ancient duties towards the King. His policy was one of benevolent force or *pa* 霸—a word meaning "dominancy"—and he was quite successful in creating for his own master this dominant position, which definitely rescued China from Tartar invasion in the north and from the rival Imperial schemes of the less orthodox half-Chinese colonies in the south. How this originally excellent idea of altruistic *pa*, or "Protector to the King," developed in later ages into a contest for a new kind of dynastic *pa* or seizure of universal Empire forms no part of our present scheme, which is simply to show how definite political philosophy began in China; how Kwan-tsz's teachings unwittingly led to the abolition of the old feudal Kings and the creation of a universal *pa* or Imperial Centralised State; and how Laocius and Confucius extracted from the same sources as those open to Kwan-tsz two rival philosophies:[1] both of the first-named vague preachers have had quite a continuous influence upon Chinese thought, whilst the more intelligible and practical Kwan-tsz has been ignored. I now proceed to give an account of *tao*, 道, or "the way" of nature, which is stated by all three philosophers to be the basis of their teaching, but the spirit of which they all three in effect equally admit was traditionally handed down from the mysterious old "ancient kings" or spiritual Emperors, of whom, however, we really know nothing definite.

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In his first chapter Kwan-tsz descants upon the *tao* to be observed in relation to homestead, village, state or empire, using much the same language as that employed one hundred and fifty years later by Laocius: this *tao* must be permanent and not fitful, and must work by natural (*t'ien*, or Heaven's)

(1) See "Parting of the Ways" in *The Manchester University Review* for July, 1906.

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laws: it is as necessary for rulers as for ruled, for we cannot all be distinguished men, and hence there is a *tao* (natural sense or reason) in the mere fact of any personal differences in capacity and status existing. It is also consistent with *tao* that there should be wealth, for the accumulation of wealth connotes the reduced necessity of making further demands upon the people. In his second chapter Kwan-tsz discusses the unchangeable and eternal nature of that *tao* which has from the beginning formed the guiding principle of rule: in this connection it is interesting to note what Laocius says after a century or more of further experience—namely, that it is only when the "great *tao*" becomes effete that such artificial ideas as charity, justice, knowledge and cleverness—all denoting inequality, or a departure from nature—begin to take possession of men's minds. The fourth chapter has whole sentences that might have been copied from Laocius' book, but which, on the contrary, must have tended to inspire the latter to write that book: for instance, the "holy man," or natural-born ruler of men, armed with his full quality and experience, always maintains *tao* in his general behavior; *tao* is all-pervading, all-embracing, all-affecting; *tao-têh*, 道德, is, or are, invariable and everlasting; *tao* is what the sun is in heaven and what the heart is in man—*i. e.*, the source of life and mental activity. Legality (*fah*, 法[1]) derives from principle (*li*, 理), and principle, from order (*chï*, 秩); principle plus order are, in fact, *tao;* wherever the *tao* of heaven exists, it must prevail over a condition of things where there is no such *tao* of heaven. The fifth chapter explains specifically how this *tao* effect operated in 1100 B.C., when the founder of the new dynasty (to which China has owed and still owes her articulate refinement and moral strength) prevailed over the old dynasty (as to which we have practically no information whatever beyond the fact that the recently exhumed bone inscriptions absolutely prove the truth of its existence as recorded in the most ancient Chinese history): the above-mentioned founder

(1) It is necessary that I should give the original Chinese words for the benefit of those who know Chinese and naturally wish to see the exact point in each case.

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prevailed because, as King, he ruled by *tao*; but then (adds Kwan-tsz), the word *tao*, implying "the *right* way," can also be used in the crude or original sense of "the *way*," as, for instance, the way *not* to govern.

If the prince fail in his *tao*, then the great ministers tend to excessive authority. Heaven's *tao* has its phases, for when it has reached its acme it returns, and at the full it begins to weaken; like the movements of the sun and the moon respectively, so the governing system or maintaining of order for the Empire. The whole subject is thoroughly worked out in this chapter, which may, indeed, as above suggested, be the basis or another part of the basis, upon which Laocius' speculations are founded.

The sixth chapter recurs to the subject from other points of view; thus the superior or cultured man (*kün-tsz*, 君子), may be said to feed or subsist on *tao* just as the clown (*siao-jên*, 小人), feeds or subsists on his labour. A state can no more dispense with *tao* than individuals can dispense with desires or objects in life; the great thing is to lead the people along the *tao* when you have it yourself, and to utilise men of first-class capacity (*hien*, 賢), when you have secured them; thus it is impossible for any state to get along satisfactorily without *tao*. The following clear definitions are specially interesting as having been made before the new title of *hwang-ti* (皇帝), or "August Emperor," was substituted towards the close of the third century B.C. for the simple *wang* (王), or "King," both having inherent in them the supreme title of "Son of Heaven." Kwan-tsz says: "the one who discerns Unity is *hwang*, and he who can detect *tao* is *Ti*; he who is well acquainted with *têh* (*i.e.*, the result of *tao*) is the King (*wang*), and the military strategist is the Protector (*pa*); *tao* and *têh*, being immeasurable, are not altogether inconsistent with a vigorous military policy; *tao* is to harmonise (*ho*, 和) and *têh* is to unite (*hoh*, 合) the people." All this strongly savours of Laocius and the great military[1] writers, Sun-tsz

(1) In the *Asiatic Review* for July last I have contributed a paper exclusively dealing with the quasi-Prussian military *Kultur* of Kwan-tsz,

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(sixth century B.C.) and Fan Li (fifth century B.C.). However, in the next or seventh chapter Kwan-tsz advises the Duke[1] that the view of *tao* taken by the wise kings of old did not contemplate military *rivalry*, and in the eighth chapter he explains that the really good ruler develops *tao* in his own person (see back). The tenth chapter continues the lesson or sermon on *tao* and *têh*, and lays down the principle that the fewer the words used the better; just *conduct* results in the people ceasing to stand in bewilderment as to the real meaning of *tao*, which is only another way of saying that they are "roaded" or "guided along the road" by their superiors; hence *tao* and *têh* derive from the prince whose ministers execute his pleasure, and the *tao* is thus completed. A prince with *tao* abides by the Law, whilst a prince without *tao* evades the Law. *Tao* gives birth or life to man, and is thus born in man, not placed in him afterwards; the sacred kings and perspicuous princes of old were men expert in understanding *tao*, which is formless, and not based on anything (*hü shêh*, 虛設, "emptily set-up"): *tao* on a great and kingly scale, and also on a lesser or princely scale, signifies in reference to these rulers that they possess the respective means to rule each one his particular state. The eleventh chapter returns to the subject, showing how *tao-têh* are fixed by those above in such wise that the people below are unconsciously regenerated; but a perspicuous ruler's *tao* always keeps within the prescription (*fah*) and does not swerve (*a*, 阿)[2] from it; and it is here once more asserted, as in the sixth chapter, that *tao* nourishes the cultured individual in the same sense that his

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and I have alluded to Dr. Lionel Giles' translation of the book of *Sun-tsz*, with its preface by Earl Roberts. The agricultural, economical, spiritual, and other of Kwan-tsz's philosophies will be dealt with separately on some future occasion.

(1) All vassal states were ruled by what, for convenience' sake, we translate as dukes, marquesses, earls (counts), viscounts, or barons owing fealty to the *wang*, or king; but whatever their status when living, they were all *posthumously* "dukes" by courtesy—*i.e.*, if they were civilized enough to fall under the dynastic posthumous law.

(2) A popular proverb runs to-day: *Lao T'ien puh a* (老天不阿), "Good old Heaven shows no favour or swerve."

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bodily labour nourishes the common man. Kwan-tsz at this point mentions a lesson he learnt from an individual who cannot be identified, but who was apparently the ruler or the minister of one of their minuscule subordinate fiefs visited during the Duke's career of *pa* or dictatorial conquest: this lesson was to the effect that *tao*-less princes indulged in luxury whilst ignoring really good men, thus failing themselves to adhere to the natural law (*t'ien-tao*), spending their time in gaming, dalliance, hunting, and careering about. He goes on himself to say that the minister without *tao* is office-seeking and obsequious, whilst exposing his prince to the brunt of any blame that may be attachable to the course of affairs. Cultured *tao* is that of the ancient kings, who were careful in their observance of what was due to the spirits of the hills and rivers, to the ancestral shrines, and to the local deities or gods of the soil (*shê-tsih*, 社稷). The next chapter suggests other borrowings by the later Laocius, when it is shown how the world of today is but the same world, though degenerate, as that of ancient democratic times, when no government was required, and when men lived in happy indifference to "rights" and "property";[1] the moral of it, however, is that the *tao* of heaven and earth, or of nature, must be followed as conditions and circumstances demand.

The thirteenth chapter shows metaphorically how the Heart, or prince, and the Nine Orifices, or ministers, are inevitably correlated in their *tao*, which must therefore never fail at the calm and restful top in such wise as to cause injury to the changeful subordination below; for *tao* is motionless and unemotional, whilst the regeneration and training of all human beings (*wan-wuh*, 萬物) is *têh*: human relations, as, for instance, those between prince and subject or father and son, fall under the head of right or justice (*i*, 義), whilst distinctions of class come within what is termed rite or religious observance (*li*, 禮). These definitions of Kwan-tsz are important, for one

(1) A state of affairs vividly recalling Don Quixote's *siglos dichosos* as sketched by him for the benefit of the gaping goat-herds over a dessert of free acorns—but after first devouring their bread and cheese with good appetite.

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hundred and fifty years later, as we have seen in discussing Chapter ii, Laocius denounced these two artificialities of Confucius' modern refinement. Kwan-tsz goes on to say that a wise man does not either check natural inclinations or deny people innocent and useful disliking privileges; it is a mistake to be capricious and changeable in such matters, for a prince should be calm and ready to adapt himself to circumstances. The *tao* of the supremely cultured man (*shêng-jên*, 聖人) is like life, in the sense that it is invisible as it comes and goes; and both he and the man enjoying the next highest degree of culture (*kün-tsz*) know how to utilise things and circumstances rather than become a creature of them. Set in motion what is right, quietly, in a timely way, and administratively; if it be done harmoniously, it will endure: do not seek any advantage if not conformable, as above indicated, with your *tao;* in the first place follow Heaven, then follow Man, and ask yourself the reasons for and the nature of what you do. Nature produces everything in its due time, and it cannot be distorted; hence the wise man quietly awaits natural results. *Tao* is never in excess for the purposes of one single unit, and never falls short for the purposes of all units: no oracle is ever required to inform you what is and what is not contrary to *tao. Tao* is as big as Heaven and as broad as Earth, as heavy as a stone and as light as a feather.

The fourteenth chapter develops the qualities-of-water theory, the lowliness of its level being "the house of *tao* and the instrument of rulers"—a theory of some of the Greek philosophers. Rulers' commands must be governed by Heaven's *tao*, or by the circumstance and season; only the man of the highest culture (*shêng-jên*) understands the *tao* of the four seasons, the *têh* of the stars, the year, the bearing of the planets (*ch'ên*), and the moon. *Tao* begets Heaven and Earth, and *têh* begets the sage (*hien-jên*); and it must be remembered that the ancient dynasties found it necessary to shift their spring-time, though *tao* itself is traced as far back as *Hwang-ti* (2697–2597 B.C.), whom later generations follow, for nature never runs contrary to season. *Tao* may be defined as natural harmony, and covers amongst other things the

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abstention from destroying immature existence, whether it be of living or of vegetating creatures; in the same way it demands that punishments must fit the crime, be definite, and not liable to capricious change. With a ruler who can use *tao* there is no worry, and things automatically go right.

The fifteenth chapter once more defines *tao* as natural harmony; with a ruler capable of utilising it, effort and anxiety are unnecessary, as things always right themselves in the end. Law or legal administration (*fah*) is *tao* in its supreme (*chï*) sense. Ever since the world began all heavenly bodies have been unfailing in their movements, and thus a State of law and order means one where the ruler's *tao* is conspicuously clear. The sixteenth chapter discusses the unspeakability of *tao* quite in the style of Laocius' book, of the well-known but apocryphal Taoist *Yin-fu* "classic," and even of Mencius (fourth century B.C.), when he discusses the "absence of motion" (*pu-tung*, 不動): this *tao* is invisible, born within us, inaudible, ineffable; is used in the heart or mind when its effects are visible; it is rootless, stalkless, leafless, and flowerless; yet things are born of or fructified by it. Kwan-tsz reproves the Duke for trying to get the better of (*shêng*, 勝) or to overpower his people instead of endeavouring to induce or regenerate (*hwa*, 化) them—the former a process which, he says, is certainly not the great *tao* of Empire, nor in accordance with a true princely ruler's motto.

It must and cannot but be noticed that there are numerous repetitions and variations of language in this philosophical treatise of Kwan-tsz: thus the seventeenth chapter gives us another version of the necessity for following "Heaven's time," and noting the duties appertaining to each season; the necessity for giving to young life full time to mature, and so on; in fact, the "game laws" clearly had a local inception in Kwan-tsz's mind, but always in the interests of natural life, and never in the interests of class privilege. Again, the consistency of *tao* with wealth discussed in the first chapter is repeated in the eighteenth, where the Duke desires to know if it is consistent with *tao* for him to keep what he possesses. "Yes," replies Kwan-tsz, "by all means take and keep what

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comes spontaneously or easily without incitement; but do not initiate the movement, and do not try to keep the acquisition of things on the move." The word *Ju*, 儒, usually translated "Confucianist," though apparently not used at all by Kwan-tsz himself, appears from other authors to have meant, in his time, "the educated class," or, as one native commentator has it, "those who can mentally penetrate the principles of Heaven and Earth"—as portrayed by Kwan-tsz himself in the nineteenth chapter. The twentieth chapter goes on to show how Heaven, Earth, and the seasons never change their *tao*; just as the archer has a "must-hit-the-target" *tao*, so the ruler has a "must-maintain-public-order" *tao*: repeating the language of the fifth chapter, the philosopher goes on to explain that it was precisely the possession of *tao* in his mind and action that enabled the founder (1120 B.C.) of the then (700 B.C.) comparatively new royal dynasty to overthrow its corrupt antecessor.[1] The mean man tries to crook or bend the true *tao* in order to conciliate his ruler, basely tendering surreptitious counsel with a view to attaining mean ends. Still, as a matter of fact, a ruler's subjects like to see him rich and distinguished, and, this being so, he should be careful always to practise *tao-tĕh*, and thus avoid disgusting his people, for Heaven and Earth are impartial to great and small in conferring their blessings. *Tao* is meat, raiment, and shelter; it regenerates everything; therefore the motto is "adhere to *tao*."

The last four chapters throw little new light upon the general conception of *tao* beyond giving us repetitions of views taken sometimes from other angles of vision: thus, the ruler of men, the lord of men, the king, the prince, are all alternately spoken of in such a way that it is evident the same divinity doth, in theory, hedge them all, and that *tao* doth, in theory at least, shape their ends, rough-hew them how they will; the prince should therefore follow nature; he stands for the fixity of heaven and earth, with or in relation to the four seasons;

(1) *I.e.*, the dynasty of which since 1898 we have definite first-hand documentary traces in the recently discovered bone and tortoise-shell inscriptions referred to on pp. 50, 60 of the *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society* for 1915–1916.

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but if the prince be so unwise as to play subject-*tao*, then the ministers or subjects will inevitably try to play prince's-*tao*: therefore each to his proper place or sphere. Then there is a *tao* as applied to regular revenue, filial duty, charitable institutions, and other special matters; "this perpetually-existing or universal *tao* (*t'ien-hia-chï-tao*, 天下之道) may be termed standard *tao* (*chun-tao*, 準道)." The mythical founder of Chinese civilization (2697–2597 B.C.) is said to have asked an adviser named Pêh-kao if it were *tao* to mould the Empire (*t'ien-hia*) into one family, to which query an equivocal answer was given; unfortunately the Taoist eccentric Chwang-tsz (fourth century B.C.) seems to be the only authority to mention this cautious adviser, and even then only in connection with the almost equally mythical Emperor Yao (2356–2256 B.C.): moreover, the idea of unifying the "Empire" savours of Kwan-tsz's own Protector times, and it is plain in any case from the place-names enumerated, as the Duke boasted of having carried his arms over the "whole Empire," that he was never for many successive days together one hundred miles from some part of the Yellow River, much of the left bank, and even parts of the right, being in Tartar occupation, notwithstanding that some of those Tartars may have accepted Chinese rank. When popular rumour, towards the end of the Duke's illustrious career, announced that a dragon had appeared, Kwan-tsz said, "By all means let us bruit the miracle abroad, for it is only the foolish who believe in and are swayed by supernatural beings (*kwei-shên*, 鬼神), whilst the knowing ones utilize them for their own prestige, and in order to set going the *tao* of the Empire" (the *t'ien-hia-chï-tao*, or universal *tao* just mentioned). It must be repeated here that, even in Confucius' time—*i.e.*, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred years later than Kwan-tsz—there was yet no connected literature, no regular style, no logical method of expression, no syntax, prosody, or etymology: the intricate thoughts were there suggestively, and the historical facts subsequent to 841 B.C. are, in the main, true beyond all doubt; but the working or reproducing brain machinery was still inexpressive: man's brain seems, from recent

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anthropological discoveries, to have been as well developed and often as intelligent in remote prehistoric times as it is now, so far as intelligible speaking and efficient acting go; but the means of perpetuating and recording and reproducing thought were yet imperfect in most parts of the world as well as in China, and it was for later generations (500 B.C. to 200 B.C.), acquainted both traditionally, practically and by blood-inheritance with the names of persons (including descendants) and places (including tombs) to turn such of the short, jerky records and memoranda (1500 B.C. to 500 B.C.) as had survived war and revolution into readable literature: subject to these qualifications, therefore, we may give the book *Kwan-tsz* a true bill, and credit China of the seventh century B.C. with his intellectual power and administrative capacity to apply that power.

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D'OLLONE'S INVESTIGATIONS ON CHINESE MOSLEMS

BY THE

REV. G. G. WARREN

A company of French gentlemen under the leadership of Commandant d'Ollone paid a lengthy visit to the west of China between the years 1906 and 1909 specially to investigate all that could be found out about the non-Chinese aboriginal tribes which are to be found in the west. A subsidiary matter of research was connected with Chinese Islam; indeed research was needed to show how far it was subsidiary—how far, that is to say, Chinese Moslems were pure-blooded Chinese. The results of the investigations are shown in nine large 8vo volumes published at Paris by E. Leroux. It was found that the matters concerning Chinese Moslems were easily detached from the main mass of material and these were published first in Vol. I of the series. This article is intended to summarise for English readers the information contained at large in the pages of the French volume, where good photographs and a few somewhat meagre maps are also to be found.

The divisions of the volume are in the main geographical. The three first parts (which are all that will be summarised here) deal respectively with the Moslems of Yünnan, Szechuan and Kansu. They are followed by a fourth part translating

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some interesting inscriptions and documents dealing with the Chinese conquest of the Mohammedans of Turkestan back in Chien Lung's reign (1757 and onwards). Part V has a few notes on Peking, Canton and other eastern places. Part VI has a very full summary of Chinese Moslem bibliography. A preliminary warning tells us not to expect three separate entities in the Islam of the three provinces. The arrangement of the material was simply due to the actual route of the Mission as it made its investigations. At the same time, this route enabled the observers to note provincial differences, *e.g.* that in Yünnan tombs were not venerated; in Kansu, they were. Except with a partial exception of Kansu, Chinese Mohammedanism was found to be wholly Hanefit. There were no traces of Sufiism or of any other sects.

Part I. The Moslems of Yünnan.

The work opens with a paragraph referring to the Great Rebellion of the Moslems (of Yünnan between 1855 and 1873 which almost succeeded in setting up a Moslem) realm and which was only put down with great difficulty and much bloodshed and moreover, even then, only because of a split in the Moslem ranks. Ma To-hsin and Ma Ju-ling left their co-religionists and joined their enemies, so that there was civil war between Moslem and Moslem.

The first feature that thrust itself on the travellers' notice after reaching Yünnan was the *isolation* of Yünnan Moslems. It was an isolation not only as regards the great centres of Islam; Yünnan Moslems have little to do with the Moslems of other Chinese provinces; nay, it goes even farther than that, it amounts to a congregationalism that isolates mosque from mosque. Further investigation modified the too rigid first impressions; but merely modified them, they were not contradicted.

The Moslems themselves acknowledge that they have no accurate statistics of the number of believers in the province. They roughly estimate them as being "thirty or forty thousand families," *i.e.*, perhaps, equivalent to from 200,000 to 250,000

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individuals. No attempt at accurate enumeration is for the present possible ; none is desired by the Moslems themselves.

The general architecture and arrangement of the mosque buildings corresponds in the main to that of ordinary Chinese temples, though, of course, the "mihrab" and "minbar" take the place of images and altars. Up to the close of the Manchu dynasty, there was always a tablet to the honour of the emperor. In Yünnan, this tablet was the first object that confronted the visitor on entering the door, an ostensible evidence of loyalty rendered necessary because of the associations of past rebellions.

There are no minarets. The Call to Prayer is made from the floor of the mosque.

Incense is always burnt, especially at the season of prayer. Questioned on this matter, the *ahong* (Mohammedan ministers) usually answered with some embarrassment that it was on account of the pleasant odour—an obviously evasive answer. Probably the Chinese converts at the beginning carried over this practice from their earlier religion. With but few exceptions it was found that the faithful were in the habit of burning incense before their ancestral tablets in their homes.

Discipline in the matter of ablutions is quite lax. M. Soulie reports in the *Revue du Monde Mussulman* (Oct., 1909) that he found in his travels, later than the Mission d'Ollone, that circumcision is rarely practised in Yünnan. The Mission had not the advantage of a Moslem scholar at first and hence enquiries were less full at the beginning than later. After leaving Szechuan it was found that circumcision was quite general.

Every Moslem has an Arabic as well as a Chinese name. In the matter of clothing there were no differences between Moslems and other Chinese.

In the mosques at the time of prayer, a special headdress is worn usually consisting of a cap and a turban. Although the *ahong* are privileged to wear green or blue turbans, as a matter of fact they usually content themselves with the ordinary white turban.

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It is not correct to say that Moslems can be distinguished by the type of countenance. The Yünnan population is a mixture of many differing aborigines and immigrants from widely separated provinces. There is a great variety of feature. Moslems exhibit equal variety with other Chinese. At the same time, there are occasionally Moslems who seem to show a trace of Arab feature which may be the result of Arab blood. Such features are not met with in the case of ordinary Chinese.

Several writers have commented on the practice that Moslems have of travelling about well armed. The Commandant's experience was that they were neither more nor less armed than other travellers while they were on the road, and that like others they laid aside their arms when not travelling.

Another observation that needs correcting is that the Moslems are buried in coffins. When being carried to the graves, the dead bodies are hidden under a coffin-cover, but this is removed at the actual interment (it has no bottom). The bodies are so buried that the face of the deceased is turned towards Mecca. The grave mounds are usually the same shape as those of other Chinese, though a few are modelled on graves to be seen in the Levant.

The great test of Moslem fervour lies in the abstinence from pork which is the usual flesh eaten by the Chinese. The restriction is rigidly observed by all Chinese Moslems, who are therefore debarred from attending the ordinary meals or special feasts of their neighbours. Properly, they should also abstain from spirituous liquors. This is not so entirely complied with as is the abstinence from pork. Most Moslems also abstain from opium and many from tobacco.

Outside the *ahong* very few have any knowledge of Arabic, and consequently there is only the most general knowledge of the tenets of the Koran. There is no organization of the clergy. Each *ahong* is engaged by a congregation, generally for a period of three years. They are wholly dependent on their congregation for support and acknowledge no superior. Their training, even, is a private matter. Any *ahong* can

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train pupils if his reputation is such as to enable him to get them. There is no Moslem church; there is merely a heap of Moslem parishes.

Nevertheless, it is obvious to even a passing observer that there is very complete unity in dogma and in ceremonies. At first there was no trace of schism observed in the mosques that were visited. Nevertheless, by the time the travellers reached Kansu, they had found traces of a considerable schism which had undoubtedly influenced even Yünnan. The information contained in the volume concerning this schism is of the first importance to students of Chinese Islam; but it is tantalisingly inadequate on the most important points and should rather stimulate further enquiry than satisfy those who wish to know what is the real difference between the "New" and the "Old" sects which are to be found in most parts of China.

The unity that exists is largely due to the fact that while the members do not read Arabic, the *ahong* do. Although there are blocks for printing the Koran in the province, they are not used, as it is cheaper and easier to procure such copies as are needed from the few pilgrims who journey to Mecca. The *ahong* show no desire to diminish their importance by getting the members generally to study Arabic.

One mark of the isolation of Yünnan Islam is the absence of venerated tombs. Even the *ahong* do not know of the custom and are scandalised when told about it, for they do not find such a practice in the Koran. Still more surprising is their ignorance concerning the Caliphate. They know only the four successors of the Prophet as Caliphs and if they have heard of the Sultan of Turkey it is merely as the most powerful Moslem sovereign. He has no religious supremacy over them.

One is inclined to ask whether this ignorance of the development of Moslem practices in history does not make the Yünnan Moslems more like the primitive community of the Faith. These facts give rather more credibility to the current legends of the early introduction of Islâm into China. Yet as soon as one begins to examine closely the legend that

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Mahomet's uncle actually brought the religion to Canton, there are difficulties. But such things as this may point to some historical basis for the legend. As far as Yünnan is concerned, there is no variation in the claim that in that part Mohammedanism owes its introduction to Seyyid Edjill Cham-ed-Din Omar, the first viceroy appointed to govern the province when it was conquered by the Mongols in 1274 A.D. Seyyid's son, Nasir-ed-Din, the Nescradin of Marco Polo, carried forward his father's work.

Amongst the Moslems there is no knowledge of any Moslem arrivals whether from Arabia or elsewhere, before the date of Seyyid Edjill's work. The authors discuss and are able to account for a statement in a contribution made by Dr. Bushell to the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal in which earlier evidence seemed to point to Moslems being already in Yünnan.

Over 180 pages of the work are taken up with the translation of sundry inscriptions and documents concerning Seyyid Edjill and a few other early Yünnan Moslems. These pages are of unique interest to the close student of Chinese Mohammedanism, but they are not worth summarising. Those who would profit by the documents need them *in extenso*, and they must refer to either the original Chinese or the excellent French translation that is to be found in the volume.

Part II. The Moslems of Szechuan.

There is comparatively little to add to the general notes that were given Part I on the Moslems of Yünnan. The evidence that there was at least one serious schism to be found in China grew as the travellers went forward.

It is estimated that there are some 700 mosques in Szechuan, of which twelve are to be found in Chengtu. According to their own rough numbering, there are 70,000 families, say 400,000 Moslems in the province. But these play a more important part amongst their co-religionists than their mere numbers would suggest. Nearly all the books on Islam that the Mission found in China were printed in Szechuan.

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Amongst the *ahong*, there were some of the best Arabic scholars and some knew Persian also. About 40 out of the 100 *ahong* met in Chengtu were really well educated.

The practices of Szechuan Moslems are far from orthodox. Very little regard is paid to abstinence from alcohol ; none (at least in private) to that from tobacco. There is general neglect of ablutions; the mosques are not provided with piscinæ, a mere bucket of water is all that the worshipper can obtain. Even the Friday prayers are poorly attended, still more so those on other days. Many burn incense before the ancestral tablets (the *ahong* do not). Moslem officials, who are numerous in the army, do not raise any objection to taking part in the worship in the official temples to the emperor, to Confucius and even to the god of War.

Still, they abstain rigorously from pork and are particular about the slaughter of such beasts as they do partake of. The children are sent to Moslem schools. Moslems are so proud of their faith that they do not class themselves with the ordinary Chinese, but rather with the Tartars, Sifan and others. This division is even made to apply to their descent from a different son of Noah than that of the ordinary Chinese. The fact that most of them can point to the actual ancestor who first embraced the Moslem faith does not prevent their holding that his ancestors were descended from Japhet but that he and they are from Shem. The filiation of faith is more important than that of flesh and blood.

Minarets are found in Szechuan, but the authorities forbid their proper use and the Call to Prayer is here also made from the floor. It is only in Kansu, where the Moslems are both more numerous and more independent that the minarets have their proper function. Prayer hats of varied colours were found ; but contrary to the expression of other writers on this subject, it was found that no significance whatever attached to the variations in colour. The turban swathing the hat was always white. (In Mr. Broomhall's *Islam in China* opposite p. 224 will be found some excellent photographs of these prayer hats, and of the turbans.)

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Chapter xvi is devoted to the Moslems of Sung-pan t'ing, a city which is situated in N. Lat. 32.41 and E. Long. 103.21, not far from the borders of Tibet, Kansu and Shensi, though actually in Szechuan. It is the meeting place of twenty differing races. Of its 10,000 inhabitants some 4,000 are Moslems. These hold a monopoly of the tea trade with the aborigines, the Tibetans and the Mongols. This monopoly was conceded to one Ma Yu-min of Chengtu some hundred and fifty years ago and until recently was retained in his family. But the family has now admitted four co-religionists into partnership. Many of the roads along which the tea travels are only open to Moslems. Three Salars were found in the city. They communicate with the Kansu houses they represent by caravans across the desert. The intercourse between the Moslems and the Tibetans has not led to the conversion of the latter. On p. 226 there is a photograph of the one Tibetan convert. We are told that he only goes to a mosque about twice a year, that he is well acquainted with Buddhist ceremonies and has been on pilgrimage to all the lamaseries. The zeal of the Moslems is very mediocre; indeed many of them have become Christians.

Part III. The Moslems of Kansu.

After leaving Sung-pan t'ing, we next come into contact with Moslems at Lhabrang, which is only 30 kilometres from the Kansu frontier. Lhabrang has a huge lamasery of 5,000 monks with a re-incarnated Buddha as their head. Many of its monks go to Peking for the great Lama temple there. A Chinese town of about 1,000 inhabitants has grown up some 800 metres from the lamasery. Almost all these are Moslems. It would seem that the lamas prefer them to ordinary Chinese. Although other Chinese worship idols as do the lamas, they also join in Confucian and Taoistic worship, and the rivalry of these cults causes more jealousy to the lamas than does the one God of the Moslems. Nevertheless, the lamas give no official sanction to the worship of the Moslems. There is indeed a mosque; but it is merely a hall in an ordinary building and outside it bears no distinctive mark. It is in a private

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house just like other private houses. There is no minaret and no roof ornamentation. The Moslems go in singly and with some caution, and never appear outside with their prayer hats on. Most of them have Tibetan wives who retain their religion as well as their garb and customs. One may imagine that the husband is not punctilious. In fact, cases of drunkenness are frequent. The children sometimes adopt the religion of the father, sometimes that of the mother. In one family, one son was a Moslem and one a lama. A Moslem who accompanied our travellers poured libations to the local spirits before he would drink his tea.

From Lhabrang to Hochow there were Moslems in most of the towns.

Hochow was called by Reclus the Mecca of China. It used to be wholly peopled by Moslems and boasted of 84 mosques. Today no Moslem is allowed to live inside its gates. But a huge suburb has grown up on the south side of the city, which is wholly given up to them. It is said to contain 10,000 families. The Commandant would halve this estimate. Hochow played a great part in both the Great Rebellion of 1864–1874 and in that of 1895; and each time, the imperial authority was re-established by diplomacy and not by actual fighting so that the Moslem buildings here have not been ruined as they have elsewhere.

In 1871, after Tso Tsung-t'ang had taken Kinkipu and Ninghiafu, and after the death of Ma Hua-lung, he was afraid that a new siege could only be made with difficulty. So he offered a complete amnesty to the people of Hochow. The only condition imposed was that thereafter they were forbidden to live inside the city and the mosques were turned into temples. That is the reason why the large Moslem population is now found in a suburb. This great revolt, as far as it affected Kansu, is hardly referred to in European works. Dabry de Thiersant only refers to Shensi and Turkestan; yet the principal theatre of the war was Kansu. Later on, our travellers reached the scene of the actual fighting; reference to this revolt is deferred till then. The 1895 revolt is also but little known. Hence the following account of the fighting is of interest.

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In 1895, the Salars of Shunhua t'ing (Shensi) rose against their official who had not only said that one Chinese was worth ten Moslems but had carried out the idea by putting ten Moslems to death for the murder of a Chinese subject. The Salars killed the official and raised a revolt which spread to Hochow and Sining, just the places which had seen the strongest quarrels between the New and the Old sects. Sining had taken a leading part in the earlier insurrection and one of its *ahong* had been executed by Gen. Liu Chin-t'ang. All his family were also killed except his wife who was given to one of the general's secretaries, together with a babe that she was still nourishing. This babe, who was called Han Wên-hsiu, grew up with a thirst for revenge. As soon as he heard of the revolt at Shunhua he raised the suburb of Sining, Tung-san-kuan, which was the residence of the Moslems. The emperor ordered the extermination of the Moslems of Shunhua. Tung Fu-hsiang (of Boxer fame), the Kansu general who had taken such a prominent part in the suppression of the earlier revolt, sent Gen. Têng Tsêng to deal with this later movement. Têng took the town of Shunhua and massacred the inhabitants. That is why there are now no Salars in the neighbouring towns. He next turned his attention to Sining and besieged the city, but his attempts were in vain. Then Ma An-liang comes on to the scene. His father had been one of the chiefs in the earlier rebellion at Hochow. He had submitted to and allied himself with the imperial forces. An-liang was himself a military officer. He presented himself in the guise of a friend to the defenders cf Tung-san-kuan and invited them to lay down their arms, giving his word as a Moslem that no harm should come to them. " May I no more be counted a Moslem if I deceive you." His co-religionists trusted him, laid down their arms and invited him to a great feast of reconciliation. During the feast, the troops began a massacre which was carried out with frightful carnage.

Ma An-liang was next sent to Hochow, his native place, where the rebels were besieging the walled city. Here again, he succeeded in persuading them to lay down their arms. This time, however, he did not fail in the main to keep his

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word. There were some prominent Moslems executed, doubtless either because of their wealth or of their adherence to the rival sect. As a reward, Ma An-liang became first, Colonel of Hochow and later Chen-tai (General) of Sinkiang, though even then he contrived to live at Hochow. In 1911, he was only 45 years old and was immensely wealthy. He was then using a good part of his wealth in works of public utility—bridges and roads. His share in the suppression of the rebellion was ignored in the official reports of Wei Kuang-t'ao, the governor of Shensi, and the whole credit given to the Hunan soldiers.

Even though Hochow may hardly merit the title of the Mecca of China, it is still the most interesting town in China from the Islamic point of view. Though the Moslems are confined to a suburb, in that suburb they are alone and there they form an organized community and are not as elsewhere submerged in an ocean of paganism. Moreover their buildings have not been ruined by their revolutions. They have thirteen mosques. The most important of these have a new arrangement. The mihrab is not in the great hall of prayer, but at the end of a smaller hall separated from the larger by a screen, a sort of choir added to a nave. A similar arrangement has been seen in Java, though there, the screened-off space is rather part of the main hall than an annex. Most of the Hochow mosques have a minaret which is used by the muezzin (called in Chinese *mou wang i*) for the call to prayer, a call not chanted, but uttered in a very loud voice.

There were only five families of Salars living at Hochow. Their native territory is in the *t'ing* of Shunhua where they occupy a dozen villages or groups of villages on the right bank of the Yellow River two long days' march to the west. They have comparatively little intercourse with Hochow, from which they are separated by a ridge of high mountains. Their communications are rather with the opposite bank of the River and especially with Sining. They claim to have come originally from Samarkand but no one knows when. The Salars seen were not clean shaven; they wore a knot of hair, and generally turbans, not hats. The hats differed in colour, but

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no distinction of sect or other matters was found to be attached to this distinction of colour. Apparently it was a mere matter of personal choice on the part of the wearer.

At Hochow, Moslem ladies were veiled with black silk below the eyes, a custom not met with elsewhere in China. They rode on horseback.

There were two Indian merchants from Rawal Pindi who were on the worst of terms with their co-religionists. Each side accused the other of lying.

As Lanchow, the capital, was approached a difference was noted in the architecture of the villages. Here each one was surrounded with a mud wall that was high and had a crenellated top that gave it the aspect of a fortress.

Lanchow took no part in either of the rebellions and had no share in the punishment. The Moslems of the city are respected for their numbers and their wealth. The city is the terminus for many of the great cross desert roads to Gobi. The Moslems are more in touch with their co-religionists of other lands than those of any other city visited. Several Persian manuscripts were obtained here (concerning which a valuable appendix is given).

The Commandant had hoped to meet a celebrated mufti named Ma, whose father also rejoiced in the same title. When Ma An-liang pacified Hochow, he had invited the father to a feast at his residence in Chitao and had had him murdered at the meal, after which he sought out all his disciples. The son, then 25, succeeded to the direction of the brotherhood which still remains. The disciples do not gather in the mosques as a body but make their prayers at home. It seemed worth noting that there was here a trace of a hereditary chieftancy of a sect.

All writers who treat of West China speak of the Tungans. The name was pronounced "Turkani" by the Moslems who were met. We are told the following legend of the origin of the word: Iskender Dhoul Karneim, the emperor of Persia and Turkey some 3,000 years ago having been invited by the emperor of China to come and explain to him the "True Pure Religion," *i.e.*, Islam, came with 120,000 men.

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When he went back there were some 3,000 of his followers, who had taken to themselves wives and did not wish to leave them. So they were called "Turkani," *i.e.*, "Sojourners." These people occupied Kinkipu, Lingchow and Ninghia. The Mission asked the informant how Islam could precede Mahomet. He was surprised at the question and replied: "The true religion does not date from Mahomet. It goes back to the Creation. The first Moslem was Adam."

North, from Lanchow to Liangchow the road runs through ruins. It is a famous silk route and has ever been a rorte of attack and defence. All buildings are really fortifications. During the long rebellion the vanquished party was practically annihilated. There remains no history. The travellers saw a most insignificant inscription in wood celebrating the merits of Viceroy Tso Tsung-t'ang and General Liu Chin-tang. No stories could be got from the present inhabitants, who are all post-rebellion immigrants.

The architecture at Liangchow is more Levantine in style. Even one of the city gates was ogival.

Except for a few groups of Moslems, Islam had almost disappeared from all the neighbourhood. On the west gate of Pingfan hsien was a notice forbidding Moslems to live inside the city. Very few of the groups numbered a hundred.

From Liangchow, the Mission left the road to Turkestan and struck across the desert of Gobi and the remains of the Great Wall,—remains, for even the Wall had suffered during the Rebellion. This sandy waste attracts no inhabitants. It was not till they approached the Yellow River that they again saw signs of life in the neighbourhood of Chungwei hsien where Moslems occupy the southern suburb. Here they entered the domain of the sect of Ma Hua-lung, the "New Sect."

The Old and the New Sects

It will be convenient at this point to summarise what our authors had already found out and the conclusions to which they were finally led with regard to the one Moslem split which is strongly marked in China.

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First of all, they point out that the names "Old" and "New" and the division are not confined to the time of Ma Hua-lung who was decapitated as recently as 1871. As far back as 1781, there is an edict of Chien Lung ordering a thorough investigation to be made concerning certain Moslem matters in Kansu connected with the Salars. The governor of Shensi in his reply says, "The New Religion is not practised."

The following year, 1782, an edict mentions one Su ssŭ ché san of Kansu who had made insurrection. He is described as "belonging to the New Sect, a heretic doctrine of the Moslem religion. . . . The rising of the Fan last year in Kansu had for its cause the rivalry between the New Sect and the Old." There follows a condemnation of the "perverse" doctrine and an order for its extermination.

In 1784, there is an edict which tells of the pacification of the Dzungars and of a large number of Moslems at Hui Chiang (the Hui frontiers), who came for the sake of commerce. Some wore red caps, some white; thus distinguishing between the New and the Old Sect. There is now no difference between the religion and the prayers of the Moslems in the Hui territory and those in Kashgar, Yarkand and other places. "Originally there was no such distinction as that between the New and the Old Sect and the peoples of the Interior and Exterior lived in order and trustfulness. But lately a rebel leader, T'ien Wu, and his associates Ma Hou-sen and Li Hou-tsen have caused trouble, pillaged villages and brought about disorder through spreading amongst the Moslems a new doctrine comparable to the White Lily Sect amongst the Buddhists."

To these interesting documents which might be suspected of not caring for "certain questions" of another religion than the emperor's own, there is added an extract from a Moslem inscription extant at Si-an which, referring to the revolt of 1781–1783 speaks of the battles that arose "from opposition between the Moslem and heretics," and goes on to say that the latter recognized their sins of separation and innovation.

There seems to be nothing definite concerning this "New Religion." It is possible that there may be more than a con-

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nection in name between the "New" Sect that acknowledges Ma Hua-lung who lived in the middle of the nineteenth century and the "New" religion of a century earlier. Until further research has brought to light more definite information than is at present available it is impossible to be certain. The members of the Mission found it very difficult to get even the information that their Moslem helpers in all probability themselves possessed. The "Old" Sect were bitterly prejudiced against the "New" and would not talk about them or act as the medium of communication with their rival. On the other hand, the members of the New Sect seemed equally unwilling to have anything to do with foreigners who consorted with members of the Old.

Two names of the New Sect indicate two points of difference. One is Tsai-he-rin-ye, which refers to the practice of "loud praying." The Old custom was to pray in a subdued voice. There is an added difference in the position of the hands at certain parts of the prayer. It would seem that the New Sect pays more attention to prayer. Although they do not forbid prayer in the mosques, the encouragement they give to prayer elsewhere has led to less praying in the mosques.

The other name for the New Sect is that of "Tomb Worshippers." Although there are celebrated tombs at Canton and in Yünnan, these are not places of special worship; but only of remembrance. In the more northern parts, there are tombs to which pilgrimages are made for the purpose of special prayer. "Kumbe" (or in Chinese "Kung pei") is the name of the New Sect considered as worshippers of tombs, from the Arabic word for "cupola."

Neither the practice of praying aloud or in private, nor the special worship at tombs can account for the bitter animosity which has existed between the New and the Old Sect. For that we should probably look to the way in which Ma Hua-lung was regarded by many of his followers: he was supposed at first to be the medium of special revelations from Allah. This led to his being regarded as in all respects the equal of Mahomet. It may easily be conjectured that such

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heresy would result in the greatest of hatred on the part of those who refused to allow the claim.

The actual first contact of our travellers with the New Sect seems to have been an unconscious one. At Ningyüan a mosque was found that was used by some hundred families, most, if not all of whom were refugees from Tali who came to Ningyüan after the rebellion. Letters of introduction given to the travellers by Moslems in this valley for use to Moslems in Chengtu, turned out to be addressed to the New Sect. In answer to enquiries, it was discovered that this adherence to the New Sect commenced before the refugees left Tali. The doctrines of the Kansu sect had been preached in Yünnan at the time of the Great Rebellion and these followers of the New Sect belonged to the party of the Sultan of Tali. This information agrees with the statements of M. Rocher, an eyewitness of the revolt (see *Le Province du Yunnan*, Pt. ii, p. 260 n.). The spread of the New Sect amongst the rebels was rapid and this furnishes one explanation of the strange way in which the Moslems split into two camps of which one threw itself into the arms of its enemies in order to destroy its quondam friends. The apparent disinterestedness in the supreme matter of their religion which the Moslem leaders seemed to show, forbids us looking for any petty reason. Their *volte face* has hitherto been unexplained and incomprehensible. The key to the enigma lies in an ardent rivalry of sectarianism. It is worth noting that there was a Turkish visitor at Ningyüan in March, 1905. He was about twenty years of age and was received with extraordinary honours, Although he must have passed through Yünnan, the Mission was told there, that they had no knowledge of any communications between Arabia and Yünnan. Supposing this was true, it follows that the Turkish visitor deliberately refused to fraternize with the Old Sect. It is known that the New Sect has its branches in the Levant.

It was at Chengtu that the Mission was conscious for the first time of the animosity between the New and the Old Sect. The New Sect has a mosque in Chengtu to which, as stated above, the members of the New Sect in the Chien-ch'ang

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valley had provided the traveller with letters of introduction. They were, nevertheless, unable to obtain an interview with the *ahong*, who was said to be away on a journey. The reception by the Moslem members was decidedly cold. The travellers saw several Turks from Turkestan in the mosque, but they were unable to gather any information. Their curiosity was naturally aroused by this evident presence of a sectarianism after they had been so often told there was no such thing in those parts.

At Sungpan t'ing, it was found that the members of the two sects live together. Although the *ahong* at the mosques all claimed to belong to the Old Sect, they admitted that the members practised prayer to the saints and at the tombs, nor did the *ahong* oppose the practice with any serious energy. One of the tombs thus used was about a kilometre north of Sungpan. It was in memory of an *ahong* born in Medina who came to Sungpan in 1666. Five years later the fervour of his prayers procured the ending of a great drought which had ruined the whole country. He died in 1679 and his monument was at once erected. The original was destroyed in 1861 by the Tibetans when they took the town. The present monument was erected by subscription.

At Hochow the frontier between the two sects is crossed. The Moslems in that great centre are all of the New Sect. About a kilometre to the west of the city are found several tombs, the chief of which is most elaborate. At its entry are two large animals in bronze, and the wall all round is covered with stucco relief work in Chinese style with the usual designs of both men and animals. All this is of course strictly forbidden in the Koran. No other example was found by the travellers. The attempt to discover who was buried in this great tomb proved unavailing.

Neither at Sungpan t'ing nor at Hochow would the Moslems allow themselves to be considered as the followers of Ma Hua-lung although they worshipped at the tombs. They did not like to speak of Ma though it could be seen that his prestige was still considerable. It was in Chungwei hsien that the real country of Ma Hua-lung was entered. Some

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20 kilometres north of the city, in the village of Yun-chin pu in an extension of the valley of the Yellow River, two singular monuments attracted the attention of the passers by. The larger was square and was surmounted by a cupola. It occupied the top of a hillock. Just below, was a much smaller monument, cylindrical in shape and capped by a conical bowl ending in an oval tip. The inscription stated that in 1865, there took place here a bloody battle between the imperialists and the followers of Ma Chêng-yüan, the most celebrated of the lieutenants of Ma Hua-lung. The Moslem was the victor. The monument was erected after the fall of Ma by a taotai named Wang. The smaller was dedicated to General Wang Ch'i-chang who commanded the imperial troops and who was killed in the fight. The larger was raised to the memory of his faithful followers. The form of these monuments was altogether out of the common and resembled rather monuments in the Levant than in China. Still more uncommon was the fact that the larger of the two was sacred to a number of anonymous soldiers. Temples, tablets, arches, abound in China, but they are always to some definite person. Here we have a monument similar to those common in the West. Captain Le-page, a member of the Mission, also met with a specimen of a monument erected to many nameless people, at Suiteh chou, Szechuen.

After crossing the deserts and mountains of the Tsintung hsia, the Mission found itself on the far bank of the Yellow River opposite Kinkipu. This town, called by Reclus "the Medina of China" does not figure in the Imperial Geography. There, its name is Ning-ling t'ing. But its ordinary name is Kinkipu. It is only forty-five years ago that it was a village and became a walled town, and only thirty-five years ago that it was raised to the rank of a t'ing city. It was Ma Hua-lung who created the city and who made it famous as the bulwark in the great struggle between Islam and the empire.

The following translation of a document written by Wu Wen-yin, a former prefect and noted scholar who has the reputation of knowing more about the history of this particular

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strife than other writers, will show what an important rôle was played by Ma Hua-lung.

"The 3rd year of Tung chih [1864] the East and West were troubled. The bandit Miao Pei-lin and the Moslem rebel Ma Hua-lung sowed disorder in our region (Kansu). Ma Hua-lung got into touch with the rebels in the north and south of Shensi; they relieved Ninghsia and Sanhao as well as Ning-tiao-ling of the Tsao lands. [Ning-tiao-ling is a town to the north of the Great Wall. "Tsao" lands is used as a general name for the lands inhabited by the Ortos nomads.] . . . [Here follows a list of the military commanders.] The regiments besieged Ninghsia. Many of the rebel chiefs were slain by Tu Ling-pu [who bore the title of Prince Seng] and by Ch'en Ko-jui. Little by little the rebels were conquered. In the last month of 1865, the town of Ninghsia was retaken. Two years later, General Man was made the Shen-Kan viceroy.

"In 1865, Ma Hua-lung provoked a new insurrection. Tso Tsung-t'ang was sent against him. General Liu Chung-chuang had the command of the troops in Lao-shang-chün. He skirted the Great Wall and marched on Lingchow. In the first month of the new year General Liu was killed. His nephew, Liu Chin-t'ang, succeeded him; in the last month of the same year, Kinkipu was rescued. In the first moon of 1871, Ma Hua-lung and Ma Pa-ch'iao were decapitated. After that Hochow and Sining fell and Shensi and Kansu were pacified. In 1874, the great army of Liu Chin-t'ang came from the Tsao lands by Nanlu; the great army of Chin Ch'uan and Tsang Yao by the Pei Lu pursued the Pai Yen-hou and attacked An-tsi-yen, [*i.e.*, the territory of Yakoob Beg]. But Pai Yen-hou made good his escape to Russian territory whilst P'a Hsia, the king of An-tsi-yen, was put to death. In 1878, the frontiers of the New Territory [Sinkiang] were fixed and a decree opened the territory to the Chinese and named Liu Chin-t'ang as its first governor.

"Concerning the religious usages of the Moslems, one may say that there were two parties, the Old and the New; and it was their quarrels that stirred up the strife. But I do not know what their differences were."

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This document indicates the important part the reformer took in that great insurrection which even to the present is known as the revolt of Yakoob Beg who was recognized by both Great Britain and Russia. Yet it was Ma Hua-lung who for ten years occupied all the Chinese forces. Liu Sung-shan, one of the most celebrated of the Taiping conquerors, was defeated and killed by him. It was only after his capture that the rest of Kansu submitted and then when the Chinese army put itself in march, the defeat of Yakoob Beg was an affair of days. The independent sultanate of Turkestan, recognized by two of the great powers of Europe, collapsed. The history of the Great War has yet to be written on lines that will give a right view of the real combatants.

One of the most interesting things in the documents of this region is the careful arrangement which they show in the deliberate omission of references to Tung Fu-hsiang. When one gets to Kinkipu, one finds oneself in what was virtually his kingdom. He played, as will be remembered, a great part in the Boxer movement of 1900. Reaching Peking at the head of a division soon after that movement commenced, he advocated vigorous measures against Europeans, and he it was who assaulted the Legations. During the flight of the Court, it was again he who afforded most protection against the pursuing allies. When Europe placed his name at the head of those to be punished, his punishment was meted out to him: he was deprived of all his ranks and honours and exiled—exiled to the distant province of Kansu, that is to say, to his home. He had immense property to the south of Kinkipu. There he possessed two huge castles which adjoined. These were his ordinary place of residence. He led back with him a large number of soldiers, five hundred of whom formed his special body guard. Crowds of them tilled his fields, ready to march for him wherever and whenever he bade them. To the north of Kinkipu, near the town of Wuting hsien his lieutenant and old comrade, General Chang Chieh-san held that part of his territory for him. It was a part where the followers of Ma Hua-lung were both numerous and suspect. Strong in his terrible reputation, in his riches, and in the devotion of his

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followers, he reigned as a veritable king. The prefect each day awaited his orders; even the viceroy took no step without consulting him. Such was the "disgrace" meted out to Tung Fu-hsiang for his share in the Boxer movement.

At his death in 1907, his grandson and heir offered the nation 5,000 rifles and $200,000. The emperor immediately raised the heir to the rank of Taotai and restored to the deceased all the titles that Europe had demanded should be taken from him. He was buried with the highest official honours and with a pomp worthy of his prestige, in the month of May, 1908.

Now this Tung Fu-hsiang, whom the European press had portrayed as a fanatic Moslem was the most terrible enemy of the Moslems. He took a leading part in the suppression of the great revolts of 1864–1877 and of 1895–1896. Before the troubles started he was a man of no social position. Following the example of many whose record is given in Chinese annals, he commenced by fishing in troubled waters. He organized a band of robbers who pillaged both sides with impunity. He made such a name during the siege of Ning-hsia when he attacked the imperial convoy, that his assistance was sought for by both the rival armies. Liu Sung-shan succeeded in gaining him and he was at once gazetted as colonel. It was as colonel that he took part in the siege of Kinkipu and he it was who captured Ma Hua-lung. According to tradition, Ma had planned a night attack upon the imperial camp. Traitors gave warning to Tung who prepared an ambush and succeeded in taking the prophet as his prisoner. The town fell at once.

The reward of the capture was the spoil of the vanquished. Tung Fu-hsiang received the lands of the Moslems and thus the "Medina" of China became the heritage of the most formidable foe of Islam.

Tung Fu-hsiang had more trouble in repressing Moslems elsewhere. As Ti-tai (General) of Kansu he induced the Moslem, Ma An-liang, to repress the insurrection at Sining and Hochow in 1895 and 1896. It was as generalissimo that he entered Peking in 1900 with numbers of Moslems as his

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followers. All his soldiers wore turbans, the wearing of which is not a distinctive mark of Moslems in Szechuen or Yünnan or Kansu, though it was taken to be such by Europeans at Peking. This led to the misapprehension that all his troops were Moslems.

The house in which Ma Hua-lung lived at Kinkipu has been turned into a temple. There is an inscription built into the wall, but on account of a carved screen in front of it the travellers could neither copy nor even read it well. The original village of Kinkipu which contained the birth house of Ma Hua-lung, has been levelled and Moslems have no permission to live in the present town.

Although it had been successful in tracing the cradle of the New Sect and in following up the personal history of Ma Hua-lung, the mission was still unable to discover wherein lay the peculiarities of the sect. No one would tell what exactly the New Sect was. Between Kinkipu and Lingchow the sect of Ma Hua-lung counted most of its partisans. Their bearing towards the travellers was quite courteous, but it was evident that they feared to speak about Ma Hua-lung and his tenets, especially before other Moslems.

We were assured that Ma Hua-lung received only people of culture as his followers. All who were thus received, believed he was the recipient of special inspiration. He gave answers to all questions they asked and appeared to them as knowing everything. He did not forbid them to attend the mosques, but in order to get them to be more prayerful he authorised them to pray in a common room and without any change of clothing or special turban. As a matter of fact each group of three or four houses has a little mosque of its own, a mere room reserved for worship, or even the corner of a room marked off by the absence of furniture and the presence of praying mats and frequently adorned with scrolls or inscriptions to the glory of Allah.

Our author puts the main difference between the New Sect and all other Moslems in the recognition given by the sect to Ma Hua-lung. He is regarded as a superior being; an incarnated spirit; a "shêng jên" (*i.e.*, a sage like

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Confucius). As such he was not only blindly obeyed, he was held to be the equal or even the superior of Mahomet. When he died, his personality passed to his successor. But herein lay a source of fresh schism ; for there were two candidates for the succession, the grandson, Ma Erh-hsi and the son-in-law, Ma Ta-hsi. Both convinced their own group of partisans of their respective right and of the other's non-possession of any power to succeed Ma Hua-lung. Ma Ta-hsi convinced the larger number. He was born in 1853 and lived at Sha-k'ou near Kuyuan which was everywhere spoken of as an important religious centre. Ma Erh-hsi was born in 1878 and lived at T'ang-chia-chuan near Tsingshui hsien, Pingliang fu, Kansu. Much was heard of an important Moslem college at Pingliang analogous to those of Morocco or Egypt.

At the time of the Great Revolt, the New Sect had no very large extension, perhaps it has not even to-day. In Yünnan, it was propagated by followers of Ma's third brother who was killed in battle fighting against Ma Yu-lung. Compare the following statement of Rocher in his work on Yünnan (II, p. 160 n.). "That which prolonged the strife between the two villages was that Ma Cheng-lin, although a Moslem, belonged to the New Sect. . . . Ma Ju-ling, belonged to the Old Sect. This made antagonism between them."

For long, the Mission was not able to get any explanation of the terms Tsai-he-rin-ye, Hu-fu-ye, and Ka-ta-ron-ye. Here is an explanation offered by one of the *ahong* of the Hu-fu-ye who enjoyed no small reputation: "The four Caliphs each instituted a special rite ; the Moslems of Kansu are divided in accordance with these rites. Abu Bekr instituted the Hu-fu-ye who pray in a low voice ; Osman, the Tsai-he-rin-ye who pray in a loud voice ; Omar, the Ku-pe-rin-ye, which signifies "great," "old," because Osman was old; and Ali the Ka-ta-rin-ye, "dazzling," "superb," the surname of Ali(?)."

[To be concluded]

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TAOIST TALES

BY

MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS

PART III

They who cherish belief in the universality of human thought and aspirations will find a congenial theme in the close parallelism between the overseas paradises anciently conceived in the West and in the Far East.

The inception of the notion on our side of the world cannot be dated more exactly than by Pliny's phrase "Carthaginis potentia florente."[1] Then it was that the fleet of Himilco sailed through the Pillars of Hercules, up the coast of Spain and on across the Atlantic. The Carthaginians might have discovered America more than 2,000 years before Columbus, but the magicians on board forbade further progress when the great sea of weed was reached. On the return voyage islands were encountered, the wonders of which are recorded in a book attributed to Aristotle,[2] in Pliny's *Natural History* and in the poems of Avienus.[3] Such is the scant material on which to base conjecture as to the

(1) *Hist. Nat.*, Bk. II, cp. 67.
(2) περὶ θαυμάσιων ἀκουσμάτων, cp. 85.
(3) *Ora Maritima*, lines 117, 383, 412.

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historical origin of the Insulae Fortunatae of our classic tradition. There is evidence that the conception, fostered by sailors' yarns and pious speculation, lived on and flourished, and many a mariner was tempted to seek the isles of immortality in the Western main.

Scarcely less dimly seen are the beginnings of the oriental parallel. Enough remains to prove that at the same moment in the world's history the Chinese also were gazing seawards in the hope of finding a land of perennial youth and a haven from earthly tribulations. They called their islands San hsien shan (三仙山), namely, P'êng-lai (蓬萊), Fang-chang (方丈), and Ying Chou (瀛洲). There were others; but the three aforesaid were those that stood in popular fancy for the Isles of the Blest.

Now, there seems little doubt that, in the same way that the Insulae Fortunatae had their foundation of fact in the Azores, Canaries, or Madeira, so had the San hsien shan in certain islands of the Eastern Sea; and that, just as the Western conception led eventually to the finding of America, so its Eastern counterpart brought about the Chinese discovery of Japan.

If we grope further backwards through the mists of antiquity beyond the landmarks of Western history we find Homer's Elysian Plain and Hesiod's Ocean Paradise. These are something more than mere poetic fancies; they mirror imaginings instinctive in the human mind all the world over. Common to most primitive peoples is belief in a remote and unknown land, difficult of access, lying in the direction of the rising or setting sun, and often overseas, where the blest enjoy for ages a glorified continuation of their earthly existence.

It is not to be supposed that the ancient Chinese were singular in that respect. For them the East had special significance; because it was the quarter associated with the celestial vitalizing force called *Yang* (陽), of which the quintessence is the sun. Whatever way their conception started, it is certain that at the period we are discussing (that is, some 450 years B.C.) it had assumed a markedly Taoistic complexion, and it is in association with the less reputable

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exponents of *TAO* that the San hsien shan first appear in the pages of authentic history.

Thus Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (司馬遷), after mentioning five Taoists by name, says—

"They were all natives of Yen (燕), who practised Taoistic magic, in order that their bodies might become released from earthly trammels, refined (like smelted ore), and transformed. They relied upon the cult of the *Kuei* (鬼), and the *Shên* (神).[1] Tsou Yen (鄒衍) was famed among various feudal princes for his treatise on the control exercised by the *Yin* (陰) and the *Yang* (陽) over evolution. The magicians, who inhabited the coastal regions of Yen and Ch'i (齊), handed down his mystic doctrines without being able to understand them. Moreover, then it was that men versed in strange wonders and deceitful flattery and knowing how to ingratiate themselves with the people by base means, multiplied in countless numbers. The sending of men to sea in search of P'êng-lai, Fang-chang and Ying Chou dates from the time of Wei (威), and Hsüan (宣) and Chao (昭) of Yen."[2]

We know that Prince Wei ruled over the State of Ch'i from B.C. 378 to 333, and Hsüan was the name of his successor. Prince Chao ascended the throne of Yen in 311. This passage, therefore, establishes the important fact that as early as the fourth century B.C. belief in the Isles was sufficiently robust to encourage the fitting out of expeditions to search the seas for them.

In B.C. 219, some 150 years later, the famous expedition, about which Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien has so much to say, set sail from the coast of China. It is in this connection that the hero of this article, the Master An-ch'i (安期生), first appears as a historical figure. Like many other notables in Taoist legend,

(1) *Kuei* is the material soul emanating from the terrestrial part of the Cosmos, and is therefore associated with *Yin*. *Shên* is the ethereal soul emanating from celestial sources and is associated with *Yang*. The Chinese attribute these two souls to man in common with the rest of creation. See De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv, especially pp. 5 and 52.

(2) *Shih Chi*, XXVIII, p. 11. The edition referred to is dated 1806.

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his name is often introduced regardless of chronological considerations. For instance, he is reputed to have received instruction from the Yellow Emperor.[1] Nevertheless, it seems probable that An-ch'i actually lived during this period, and that the following biography has some foundation in fact.

TRANSLATION FROM LIEH HSIEN CHUAN OF LIU HSIANG.

The Master An-ch'i belonged to the village of Fu (阜) in the district of Lang-yeh (琅琊). He used to sell drugs by the shore of the Eastern Sea. His contemporaries all called him Old Father Thousand Years (Ch'ien-sui Wêng, 千歲翁).

When Shih Huang (始皇) of the Cn'in (秦) dynasty travelled to the east of the empire [on a tour of inspection] he besought an interview with An-ch'i, and stayed talking with him for three days and three nights. The Emperor bestowed vast quantities of gold and precious things upon him, but on the return journey when he had reached the pavilion[2] of Fu-hsiang, An-ch'i deposited there all his gifts and departed, leaving behind a written document and a pair of red jade slippers as a present in acknowledgement with these words: "After the lapse of many years look for me on the Isle of P'êng-lai."

Shih Huang lost no time in sending to sea an expedition numbering several hundreds of persons led by Hsü Shih (徐市) and Lu Shêng (盧生). They never reached P'êng-lai, because they encountered violent storms which caused them to turn back.

About a dozen shrines in honour of An-ch'i were set up; some near the pavilion of Fu, and some by the sea shore.

This account of the expedition that went to seek the Isles of the Blest is essentially the same as that given in several

(1) See Chavannes, *Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, III, p. 486.

(2) There used to stand on the main road about 10 *li* outside most towns a pavilion or shelter called *Shih li t'ing*, 十里亭. There travellers rested, and thither they were accompanied by their friends and hosts when setting forth on long journeys. Thither, too, it was etiquette to escort distinguished visitors. These picturesque structures are still to be found in parts of China.

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passages of the *Historical Record*, but in a later chapter Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells how a different excuse was given for failure in the quest of the fungus of immortality,[1] and how again the attempt was made. He says:

In bygone days the Ch'in Emperor . . . sent Hsü Fu (徐福) [*alias* Hsü Shih] to sea in search of supernatural and strange things. On his return he made lying excuses, saying: "Your servant saw in mid-ocean a great Spirit who asked: 'Are you the envoy of the Emperor of the West?' Your servant answered, 'Yes.' 'What have you come to seek?' said he. To which your servant replied: 'I would request of you the herb that lengthens one's years and increases longevity.' The Spirit said: 'The offerings of your Emperor are inadequate; you may look at the herb, but not take it.' Then he accompanied your servant towards the Southeast till we arrived at the Island of P'êng-lai. I saw the portal of the hall where are stored the crops of magic fungus. By it stood an emissary, who was the colour of brass, and had the form of a dragon. There shone from him rays illuminating the sky. Prostrating myself twice I asked him, saying: 'What gifts would be acceptable to the Ocean Spirit?' He answered: 'Well-born youths and young virgins, together with craftsmen of all kinds. Thus the herb may be obtained.'"

This delighted the Ch'in Emperor. who sent three thousand youths and maidens, as well as seeds of the five kinds of grain and artificers of all kinds. Then Hsü Fu set sail, and

(1) The kind appearing in pictures and in all forms of decorative art as the emblem *par excellence* for Taoist longevity is generally termed *ling chih* (靈芝), the "*chih* possessed of spirit-power." It is shown having branches that expand into flattened umbilicated extremities with scalloped edges, thus resembling a fungus known to science. Bretschneider in *Botanicon Sinicum* gives the various botanical names it has received. Its emblematic significance is partly traceable to the resistance offered by its substance to decay and hence it is to some extent analogous to the French *immortelle*. For other aspects of its import see De Groot, *Religious System of China*, vol. iv. There are records of its magic qualities having been recognized as early as the third century B.C., and to the present day it is sold by native apothecaries as a drug capable of prolonging life.

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found a peaceful and fertile land. There he stopped and made himself king, and returned not.[1]

It would appear from the foregoing that as the outcome of his consultation with An-ch'i the First Emperor grew so obsessed with desire to attain hsienship and evade the common fate of mortals through the magic agencies to be found in the Isles of the Blest that he became an easy dupe in the hands of Taoist adventurers, who imposed upon his credulity to further their own ambitious designs. If it is true that Hsü Shih founded a numerous colony in a foreign land, and that land was Japan, An-ch'i's influence was a factor in the origin of a great nation. Certainly the tradition of Hsü Shih's colony is a tenacious one; for to the present day some graves in Kü province are associated with him and his followers.[2]

The little we know of An-ch'i may seem to identify him with the numerous vagabond rogues who infested the coastal regions of northeastern China during the several centuries before and after the beginning of our era. Reputed devotees of *TAO*, they interpreted and exploited the doctrine to suit their own ends, and the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien holds them in deserved contempt. The schemes of these parasitical self-styled Taoists and the quest of the magic fungus are linked with an infamous event in Chinese history more closely than is generally recognized. The First Emperor has been execrated by succeeding generations as the monster who buried alive 460 leading scholars of the Empire. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien clearly indicates that among the number were many Taoist magicians, and, moreover, that the ostensible reason given by the Emperor for the deed was their disloyalty and fraudulent deception of himself in regard to the magic fungus. It may have been merely an excuse for ridding himself of those he considered dangerous to the security of his throne, though the events of his reign show he had due cause for resentment against the Taoist fraternity. At any rate, it seems unjust to attribute a desire to wipe out the ancient national traditions,

(1) *Shih Chi*, CXVIII, p. 11.
(2) Brinkley, *History of the Japanese People*, p. 78.

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so sacred to the Chinese, as the sole motive for the wholesale immolation ordered by Shih Huang.

We may prefer to regard An-ch'i, not as a charlatan and rogue, but in the light of Liu Hsiang's biography as an honest and ardent Taoist who, like some of our mediæval alchemists, had sincere belief in the possibility of transcending mortal limitations. His home was in the region whence sailed the early Taoist venturers, and it may be reasonably assumed that he was one of the hardy band who searched the ocean for magic agencies of immortality, and therefore have a claim to our respect, if for no other reason than that they were pioneers in Chinese geographical discovery and navigation of the seas.

The drugs traded by An-ch'i along the shores of the Eastern Sea were doubtless obtained from the enchanted lands visited in his travels. Pictures show him carrying his wares in a basket, and prominent among them is the magic fungus. The rocks of Pêng-lai, chief of the Isles of the Blest, rise amid waves in the distance. At other times An-ch'i appears by the pavilion near his native village, surrounded with bars of gold and precious things which, with true Taoistic disregard for worldly riches, he returned to the imperial donor.

An-ch'i Shêng figures again and again in the pages of Taoist lore, always retaining his association with the Isles of the Blest.

Six sovereigns occupied the throne of China during the seventy years following the death of the First Emperor. Some favoured Taoism, but it was not till the ascension of Wu Ti (武帝) in B.C. 140 that the cult of immortality again obsessed the thoughts of an emperor. Wu Ti was not content with merely searching for the island paradise. His revival of the ancient sacrifices in honour of heaven and earth (*fêng*, 封, and *shan*, 禪) was apparently the outcome of the magicians' repeated assurances that by so doing he would attain hsienship, and, like the Yellow Emperor, be translated to paradise without dying. The same motive led him to recognise officially the art of alchemy. The following is important as the earliest account of Chinese alchemy. It refers to the year 133 B.C.

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[Li] Shao-chün (李 少 君) said to the Emperor: "Sacrifice to the crucible, and you will be able to make Supernatural beings appear. When you have effected their attendance, cinnabar can be transmuted into yellow gold. Having obtained yellow gold, you can fashion it into vessels for drinking and eating, and thus extend your longevity. When your powers of long life have been increased you will be able to see the *hsien* who live on the Island of P'êng-lai that is in mid-ocean. When you have seen them, and have also performed the sacrifices in honour of heaven and earth, you will become immortal. It was thus with the Yellow Emperor. Your servant, in the course of his constant wanderings at sea, has seen the Master An-ch'i, who was eating dates as large as melons. The Master An-ch'i is a *hsien*, and he frequents P'êng-lai. He can make himself visible or invisible to mortals as it pleases him."

It was in consequence of this discourse that the Son of Heaven personally offered for the first time sacrifices to the crucible. He also sent magicians to sea to search for P'êng-lai and the Master An-ch'i. Then he turned his attention to transmuting cinnabar and scraps of every kind of drug in order to get yellow gold.

Some time after that Li Shao-chün fell ill and died. The Son of Heaven, thinking that he was not dead but merely departed in a transformed shape, commissioned K'uan Shu, a secretary in the prefectures of Huang and Chiu, to continue the magical practices of Li Shao-chün, and the search for P'êng-lai and for the Master An-ch'i. But they could not be found. Moreover, in the region of Yen and Ch'i, bordering on the sea, magicians skilled in strange marvels appeared in ever increasing numbers and engaged in discussions on spiritual subjects.[1]

(1) *Shih Chi*, XXVIII, pp. 23, 24.

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE BAMBOO ANNALS

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

It would be futile to discuss the chronology of the Bamboo Annals without the belief that it is a genuine relic of the Chou dynasty.

The facts connected with the various Bamboo Books of which the *Annals* is the largest and most important, and of their discovery in an ancient tomb in the winter of A.D. 280–281 have been given to us by Professor Chavannes in an appendix to his edition of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien and by Dr. Legge in the Prolegomena to his of the *Shu-ching*. Both scholars accepted the genuineness of the discovery and there is no serious reason for doubting it.[1] But, as with so many of these

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(1) Doubt has been cast upon the genuineness of the discovery on the assumption that the books were written in the small seal character and yet were buried at the beginning of the third century B.C. The first assumption appears to depend only upon the statement of the biographer of the Emperor Wu-ti (d. 291 A.D.), but Wei Hêng and Hsün Hsü, who were employed to decipher them, say merely that they were written in "ancient" script, and Tu Yu, also a contemporary, says that they were in the *K'o-tu* or "tadpole" script; he was mostly interested in the *Annals* and his remarks will apply principally to it. The assumed date of their burial depends upon the statement of the decipherers that the tomb was that of a

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ancient Chinese texts, we are confronted with the question whether the *Annals* in their present form are those which were found in the tomb. The compilers of the Imperial Catalogue of A.D. 1782 thought that the present text is spurious. As reproduced by Professor Chavannes their reasons appear to have been first, that it quotes two books of the *Shu ching* which are peculiar to Mei Tsê (梅賾) (fourth century) edition and which were not known before his time. Professor Chavannes pertinently asks why Mei Tsê may not just as well have formed his *Shu ching* with the help of these Annals. Second, that some early quotations from the *Annals* are not in the present text. Professor Chavannes in reply thought that some loose fragments of other books in the tomb were at first taken as belonging to the *Annals* but were rejected later.[1] Third, that the *Annals* as known to Tu Yu followed the Hsia calendar. but now do not. The Professor admits that the years in the latter part of the original text were given according to the reigns first of the marquises of Chin and then of Wei, which was co-heir of Chin, and thinks that when they were changed so as to follow the reigns of the kings of Chou it was necessary also to change the calendar because Chin and Wei used the Hsia calendar which began the year two or three months later. If this alteration in the text has been

certain king. Tu Yu does not commit himself on this point, and the title of the king is given variously. The fact of the tomb being royal may possibly have been only a local tradition. It evidently belonged to some considerable personage, but the stolen art treasures were not recovered. The names or the title of the king who reigned when the *Annals* were finished is not given and they close with the statement that it was the 20th year of "our present king" as though he were still alive. Professor Chavannes concluded that there is no evidence of the tomb being a royal one. The date of their sepulture, therefore, remains quite uncertain. How long the books lay in some library after the compiler himself may have died, is quite unknown. If some of them were indeed written in the small seal character they may have been above ground almost to the time of Shih Huang-ti's order for the destruction of historical works and indeed the edict may have been the reason for their interment.

(1) The fragments also were put in the Imperial Library. Some later scholars may have thought them to be part of the *Annals* without their having been accepted as such by the original decipherers whose text may still remain to us unexpurgated.

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made there undoubtedly is room for an error of one year in the affairs of Chin and Wei which occurred just before or after the end of a year, but it will not affect the general chronology of the *Annals*.[1]

Apart from the calendar Professor Chavannes refers to Li Tao-yüen (麗道元)[2] who quotes many passages from the *Annals* giving the chronology according to the marquises of Chin or of Wei. The change would be quite simple and will not affect the value of the *Annals*.

At least one addition has undoubtedly been made to the original text. The cycle name of the first year of every reign from Yao is given. As Dr. Legge points out, if the compiler thought of this convenient system of notation, it is surprising that it was not adopted by other writers, but as far as is known the cycle was not applied to years until the After Han dynasty, and moreover none of the quotations from the *Annals* before the Sui dynasty give the cycle year.[3]

These cycle names of the years must be accepted as late additions to the Bamboo Annals and their only value is so far as they may show the condition of the text when they were inserted. From the beginning of the Shang dynasty onwards, they agree with the text; but in the Hsia dynasty they differ considerably. Only the cycle of the first year of a reign is given, and from cycle to cycle the interval in 13 of the 17 reigns does not agree with the numeral of the last year; it is

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(1) Personally I cannot accept the theory of there being different calendars under the Chou dynasty. Acceptance of the theory helps us very little to reconcile the conflicting dates of the *Tso chuan* and the *Ch'un-ch'iu*. The single passage in the former which asserts it is probably one of the many late additions. Ssŭ-ma shows no knowledge of there having been two calendars and Tu Yu, the principal upholder of the theory, adduces only one instance from the *Annals* in support of it. The fact that in one case the 11th month of Chin corresponded in his text with the 1st month of Lu must be taken on his word. It cannot now be verified nor need his explanation of it be accepted.

(2) Died A.D. 527. Professor Chavannes quotes him through a writer of the nineteenth century.

(3) Legge and Chavannes.

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always a little larger and the total increase is thirty-one years;[1] so that we have two chronologies lying side by side without any intimation of antagonism. The first thought of the reader will probably be that there has been a corruption of the text after the cycle years were added. If so it was not accidental; the differences being confined to one dynasty and spread more or less evenly over it, always in one direction and never more than a few years, shows purpose. No purpose for the wilful alteration of the numerals can be suggested, but the inserter of the cycle may have had some reason for diverging from the chronology of the text. It is not worth while discussing the possibility of his having had some ancient scheme of chronology unknown to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien with which he sought to bring the *Annals* into harmony. Nor was his purpose to harmonize them with the common chronology accepted in his own time. True, the cycle years bring the total length of the dynasty nearer to the Common scheme, but it still falls short of it by five years, and no single reign agrees with it, while three reigns which according to the numerals did agree now diverge; nor did he make any attempt to harmonize the Shang dynasty with the Common Chronology.

If the purpose of the cycle years was not to correct the text it may have been to supplement it. A clue to this may perhaps be found in the note at the end which gives a total of 471 years to the Hsia dynasty, that is, sixty-eight years more than the added numerals of each reign. Is it only a coincidence that this allows exactly four years to each reign? The writer of the note, an admirer of the *Annals*, yet believing Confucius' dictum that all the early kings observed the full term of mourning, finds nothing in the Shang dynasty in opposition to the theory, but turning to the Hsia he reads that Yu the Great, one of the Master's heroes, in his first year took an active part in the government so far as to change Shun's regulations,

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(1) Including three years to be added to the Yu the Great's reign according to the cycle year of Shun. The *Annals* fail to give the chronology of the interregnum between the 5th and 6th reigns of the Hsia dynasty.

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that his son gave two great banquets in his first year and that the third king went hunting. He might then conclude that it was the custom of the dynasty to count the years of the reign only from the time when the king took personal control after the completion of mourning, and when he reckoned up the length of the dynasty he added these sixty-eight years : if so, he overlooked the fact that in two reigns—the one after the interregnum and one after an abdication—there was no mourning. The inserter of the cycle years holding the same theory detected this oversight, for those two reigns are amongst the few in which no addition is made.[1] He also shortened the time of mourning ; his thirty-one added years averages two years and two months for each of the fifteen reigns in which there was mourning, or just about the actual period to which he was accustomed. Now, the beginning of the first year of personal rule would fall in either the second or the third year after the death of the preceding king, and we find the addition to eleven of the fifteen reigns in which there was mourning to be two or three years. The other four reigns, however, cannot be thus accounted for; in two, those of Mang (芒) and Kuei (癸), there also is no addition, but the text supplies no reason for presuming that mourning was not observed ; in one reign, Hsieh (泄), mourning was only for one year, whilst T'ai-k'ang (太康) is made to mourn for four years. It is vain to inquire for all the vagaries of an unknown glossarist. Though the suggestion here made to account for the peculiarity of these cycle years may seem to be somewhat strained and does not fully account for all the facts, there seems, in the absence of any other explanation, to have been some connection between the cycle and the period of mourning and it will explain why the glossarist when inserting his cycle years, which he must have seen did not agree with the numerals, did not alter the numerals, and so far the cycle years sustain the authenticity of the numerals.

(1) The difference between the length of a reign as given by the numerals and as reckoned from cycle to cycle must be added to the reign following.

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The note at the end of the Shang dynasty gives its duration as 496 years whilst the text makes it 506 years. If it be a gloss its purpose remains hidden, but it may easily have arisen from a copyist's mistake in a single character either in the text or the note; if in the former it was made before the cycle years were inserted for these agree exactly with the numerals.

The last attack upon the genuineness of the present text which is to be noticed is at first sight of serious weight, depending as it does upon one who knew the *Annals* in their early form, and not upon late glossarists: but it seems to admit of a simple explanation. The biographer of Shu Hsi, (束晳) another of those who helped to decipher the Bamboo Books, says that the *Annals* made the Hsia dynasty longer than the Shang. His purpose in drawing attention to this fact would be to contrast the chronology with the Common Chronology. The present text, however, so far in agreement with the Common scheme, makes the Hsia shorter than the Shang. Professor Chavannes casts doubts upon the statement in the biography; yet it concerns a simple and essential matter of fact, not like Tu Yu's theory of the Hsia calendar, and we can hardly suppose that a mistake was made in simple addition. There may, however, attach doubt as to its precise meaning. The biographer, with Tu Yu, says that the *Annals* began with the Hsia dynasty, but it is altogether unlikely that they took no notice of Yao and Shun. If he included these two Emperors in the Hsia dynasty he would only be following the example of Mencius who always calls the Canon of Yao and Shun "a book of the Hsia." With these two reigns added the present text of the *Annals* do make the Hsia dynasty longer than the Shang, yet the point of the remark remains, for according to the Common Chronology the Hsia with Yao and Shun should still be shorter than the Shang.

The biographer and Tu Yu before him say that the *Annals* began with the Hsia dynasty, whereas now they begin with Huang-ti. The Hsia might be held to include Yao and Shun but hardly Huang-ti. Should it be thought that the

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term could be used in so wide a sense it would follow that Shu Hsi's biographer, when pointing out the peculiarities of the *Annals*, made the futile criticism that in them the Hsia is longer than the Shang. Probably therefore all before Yao should be expunged from the genuine text of the Bamboo Annals.[1]

The system of chronology in the *Annals* was formed two centuries before Ssŭ-ma's time; but being unknown to him they are an independent witness which strengthens our reliance upon the great historian in fixing upon B.C. 841 as the first year of the *Kung-ho*. Ssŭ-ma had unofficial records from various states, but they did not fully agree one with another, and he had to use his own historical judgment in determining the date of the *Kung-ho*, but his conclusion is entirely supported by the Bamboo Annals whose evidence he did not have to help him. Further, in fixing this date he found it necessary to add one year to the reign of the pre-*Ch'un-ch'iu* marquis Wu of Lu as given in the chronicle of the state which he principally used. The Bamboo Annals agree with him also in this detail.

Ssu-ma refused to commit himself to a chronology before the *Kung-ho*, but he has left us a list of the marquises of Lu with the length of their reigns. According to these data the first marquis, son to the great Duke of Chou, died in the year B.C. 998. The Bamboo Annals give his death nine years later, but, as Professor Chavannes points out, this date agrees with Ssŭ-ma's list much nearer than the Common Chronology does.

Here we meet with an interesting but at present perhaps

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(1) Huang-ti's successor, the Emperor Chih (□), is the only sovereign whose reign is not given in the long list of the *Annals*—almost against the very *raison-d'être* of such a work: here we have not Annals but history. The addition of the Five Emperors was already made in the eighth century. (see Chavannes, p. 460), that is, before the cycle years were inserted: why then were they not continued back to Huang-ti? Professor Chavannes—who it may be added held that the Five Emperors are a part of the text—explained the want of the cycle year by the uncertainty of the length of Chih's reign.

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an insoluble problem. Ssŭ-ma intimates[1] that he had two chronologies of Lu, one—which we will call La—did not agree with his final conclusion upon the *Kung-ho* whilst the other, Lb, did agree; yet he follows the former in his chronicle of Lu,[2] whilst Lb, or one similar, is followed by the Bamboo Annals. Was then Ssŭ-ma's list of the early marquises which the Bamboo Annals did not follow, derived from La, which they also did not follow? And was Lb derived from the same source as the *Annals?* Having no other means of investigation, we should perhaps be inclined tentatively to say Yes to both questions. There then remains the further question What was the common source of Lb and the *Annals?* When the Bamboo Annals were compiled the official record of Lu still existed, though it is not sure that it would be available, but it was destroyed before Ssŭ-ma's time. It may be that, if not the official record, there was some other derived from it which the *Annals* and Lb used but Lb was otherwise too incomplete for Ssŭ-ma's general use.

The chronology of the Bamboo Annals before the *Kung-ho* is shorter than either the common system or Ssŭ-ma's list of marquises. Its chief value is in being our best authority for nearly two hundred years after the close of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and *Tso chuan* and in being a contemporary record of the last generation of the fourth century B.C.

(1) Chap. 14. The intimation is not a precise statement: he tells us that the first year of the *Kung-ho* coincided with the fifteenth year of the then marquis of Lu and adds "One says the fourteenth year."

(2) The dates in his chronicles of the various States frequently do not tally with those in his Chronological tables (chaps. 14 and 15). This is good evidence of his honesty—he gives his chronicles as he had them and gives his own opinion only in the tables.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTE ON *Li-min* (黎 民)

With reference to C. M.'s queries (pp. 100–102), concerning the term *Li-min;* I must reiterate that there was *originally* a distinction made between the 百姓 and the 黎民. It is impossible to refer intelligibly to the character 黎 without first entering into a disquisition on the term 百姓, which will assist us in setting the matter before us in a clearer light. My authority for stating that the term 百姓 is derived from the hundred clans or surnames, and that there was *originally* a distinction made between 百姓 and 黎民 is as follows: In my copy of the 堯典, 平章百姓, 古注, the following sentence occurs: 百姓百官族姓也, and in the same chapter the following: 黎民於變乃是民耳. I take it, therefore, seeing that the first sentence is quite clear, the second sentence cannot mean anything else but that "when the *Li* or rustics (husbandmen) became transformed" or educated or whatever we chose to translate the character *pien*, then "they became *Min*." The Li, therefore, appear to have been the rustics pure and simple, as distinguished from the *Min* who were the educated or official class. The 百姓 were apparently the official class, as the term 平章百姓, indicates "to regulate and order the officials." Then again, in the 鄭氏佚書, 尚書注 — by Chêng Hsüan (Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, No.

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274), one of the greatest of the Han scholars who in collaboration with Ma Jung devoted himself to the exposition of the old canonical literature with a view to the elucidation of the orthodox texts, we find the following: 百姓羣臣之父子兄弟也, *i.e.*, the *Po-hsing* are the members of all official families, father, sons, and elder and younger brothers. *Cf.* Giles' *Dictionary*, No. 4599 (*New Ed.*), where it is stated "that (*hsing*) was originally the clan name of a noble."

These preliminary explanations having, I hope, cleared the way, we come to the real knot—the term *Li-min*. And, as will be seen, the unravelling of this somewhat mystic character is exceedingly difficult and bewildering. I had not overlooked the fact that 黎 is composed of 黍 and 勿; and might have stated that 黍 was composed of 禾, grain, and 氽, which latter symbol is an abbreviated form of 雨, rain. Also that 利 is an old form of 黎 and 秔. Evidently 利 has had 氽 added and the 刂 slightly altered to 勿. We have therefore grain, water and a sickle in the composition of a character said to refer to the blackness of hair!

According to the 說文, the character 黎 simply means "shoe-paste." And in the 段註說文解字, it is stated that the original form of 黎 was 𥝱 and 秜 (a name of a country). Now it is well known that Hsü Shên the author of the *Shuo-wên* was a devoted student of the orthodox literature of his country, and with the assistance of Chia K'uei (賈逵), one of the greatest of Han scholars, he studied all the accessible literature in the old characters and in those invented in later times; so that if 黎 had any such meaning as "black-haired" he would have noticed it.

That 𥝱 gradually developed into its present form of 黎 is evidenced by the following: 𥝱殷諸侯國;今商書西伯戡黎今文尚書作耆. 尚書大傳文王受命五年伐耆周本紀明年敗耆國或作阮或作飢皆假借字也許所據古文尚書作𥝱戈部作黎蓋俗改也左傳曰赤狄奪黎氏地詩序曰狄人迫逐黎侯未知即商諸侯之後與否.

The same work goes on to say that during the Chou dynasty the people were called 黎民, the character 黎 then

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meaning "many" 衆也, and points it out as an error on the part of the Sung scholars to assign the meaning of "black." The text follows: 周謂之黎民. 大雅雲漢禮記大學黎民皆訓衆民. 釋詁曰黎衆也詩桑柔傳曰黎齊也宋人或以黑色訓黎民殊誤許言此者證秦以前無黔首之偁耳非謂黔黎同義.

According to the 王筠撰集說解字句讀 and the 徐鍇釋說文繫傳 the original characters for 黎民 and 黎民 were 黧民 and 遲明. The first character means a dark sallow colour and the second *Li* (遲) is equivalent to *ch'ih* (遲) meaning slowly or gradually, *i.e.*, referring to the gradual breaking of daylight. Is it not possible, therefore, that 黧 has been changed to 黎 in the sense of blackness of hair, and that 黎 referred to the rustics or husbandmen? 黎 as C. M. points out is also the name of a tribe. According to the above-mentioned books the 黎 were the descendants of the 俚 rustics of the Later Han dynasty: 黎種族名卽後漢之俚人也 It may also be remarked that the natives of Yüeh (粵) called a mountain ridge 黎. This was because a tribe called 黎 or 俚 inhabited it. Hence, the surname 黎 is quite common in Canton. In Kuangsi they were known as foxes, 狸. See 廣東通志.

The surname Li is also said to be derived from the marquis of Li (黎侯), chief of a feudal state in the Chou dynasty.

And in the 班固西都城, the characters 懸黎 are said to be the name of a valuable jade!

I admit that C. M. makes a good case in stating that the term 民靡有黎 could be made to read "Of the people none has *husbandmen*"! It could with equal truth be made to read "Of the people none were *young*"! But seeing that 利 and 黎 were interchanged, or rather that 利 is an old form of 黎, why not translate "Of the people none were *prosperous*"? Further information may be gleaned on this subject in the 爾雅翼 and 六書精蘊, in addition to those references already given above.

My principal reason for suggesting "husbandmen" is because ploughing and sowing form a far more distinct

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characteristic of the Chinese than the blackness of hair, for the aboriginal tribes in and around China are all black-haired, but honour paid to agriculture is confined to the pure Chinese alone.

I confess I see no more absurdity in this theory than the one Dr. Legge adopted, *viz.*, the suggestion that "there were no black-haired men left, because all the young and lusty men were away fighting or slain, so that only white-haired old men were to be seen."

As the "fighting men" were probably nearly all drawn from the peasant class, why not "husbandmen" instead of "black-haired"?

But even if we make 黎 "black-haired" instead of "agricultural" it cannot have the force Dr. Legge gave it.

Nowadays it is undoubtedly a conventional epithet applied to the Chinese generally; but my contention is that *originally* it did not have that meaning if we are to accept the statements given in the above-mentioned works that the 百姓 and 黎民 were differentiated.

It is of course just possible that during the first great "bibliothecal catastrophe" when Ch'in Shih Huang burnt most of the books that the original meaning of 黎 became lost and it was not till the Sung dynasty that it derived its present meaning of "black-hair." This is evident from all the old books or records previous to the Sung period that touch on it at all.

We have "shoe-paste," "many," a "surname," "name of a tribe," "name of a jade," "a mountain ridge," "name of a country," "the common people." And last but not least, the word "rustic" which, from the composition of the character, is more in their line—husbandry. As to C. M.'s query concerning the classical term 色難: this will be treated in a separate note.

L. C. ARLINGTON.

THE FIRE-PROOF WAREHOUSES OF LIN-AN.

C. M.'s most interesting note on the *t'a fang* (塌坊) at Hangchow has led me—fortunately being on the spot—to

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make enquiries into the subject, with the result that all the available information obtained from the natives shows that they were really warehouses as C. M. rightly surmises.

The consensus of opinion however is that they were neither towers nor subterranean vaults or cellars, but *p'ing fang* (平方). This theory is borne out by the fact that the writer quoted by C. M. says that "they were buildings of a thousand and more *divisions*." The use of the word *chien* (間) for divisions shows that the writer had in mind *p'ing fang*, not towers, in which case he would have been more likely to use the word *ts'êng* (層), or, if referring to the divisions of underground passages, the word *tao* (道).

That they were built in and surrounded by water does not necessarily mean that they were towers, but, on the contrary, strongly built houses of stone to protect them from fire and burglars.

The "comparatively lofty walls of rammed earth, standing on solid stone bases" to which C. M. refers, are probably the fire-walls in existence at the present day; they are between twenty and forty feet high, many of them overtopping the houses they surround. At a distance they appear like a stretch of fortifications with here and there ramparts rising high above them. Some idea may be had of the original meaning of *t'a* and its use from the fact that the local term *t'a huo* (塌貨) means to store goods for speculative purposes—to corner the market. The term is still in use throughout Chêkiang and is probably derived from *t'a fang*, *i.e.*, buildings in which goods were stored to protect them from fire, etc. That the *t'a fang* were not noticed by lexicographers is probably due to the fact that the term is a purely local one, not known outside of Chêkiang.

The treasury beneath the pond referred to by C. M., where the turtles are still kept to the present day in front of the Provincial Treasurer's *yamên*, is not cut in solid rock, but is simply an excavation in the soil, built round on all sides with stone blocks which are ornamented with stone lions. The pond is said to have been originally only three or four feet in depth, but owing to the continual burrowing of the turtles in search of food, it is now about ten feet deep.

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This fact would go to show that there could not have been a treasury *beneath* the pond. Besides, the story is taken from the legend of the "White Snake" and has, therefore, no historical value. It may be remarked in passing that the pond is fed from the wells and springs at Ch'êng Huang Shan (城隍山), which is only a few hundred yards distant.

It may be of interest to note, also, that the old Provincial Treasurer's *yamên*—now used as the Land Surveyor's Office—was specially built for, and occupied by the traitor Ch'in Kuei (Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 392), the murderer of Yo Fei.

L. C. ARLINGTON.

We are pleased in the interests of science to print the following request for information. Readers who can answer some of the questions should write to Mr. E. E. GOMERSALL, The Geography Department, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth (Wales).

My aim is to collect as much information as possible regarding the racial characteristics and differences in the various districts or provinces of China (particularly China Proper, at first); *e.g.*, differences in physique, height, build, features, shape of head, eye, nose, complexion, colour of hair and eyes, manners, customs, dress, intelligence, and mode of life; from which I wish to work out, if possible, where distinct groups possessing special raciai characteristics are located, and to state in what ways one group differs from another.

I should like much more definite information than I have already gathered about the tribes of the West and South West, *e.g.*:

1. The distinction, if any, between the Lisu proper and the Black Lisu.
2. The differences between the Black-boned or Liang Shan Lolo and the Lolo to the South of the Yangtze, of whom one writer says "they are considered to be serious rivals of the Chinese in the struggle for the lands of Western China."
3. Whether the Independent Lolo of the left bank of the Upper Yangtze are the same people as the Liang-Shan Lolo.

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4. Whether the Yünnan Lolos are descended from the same branch as the Liang Shan Lolos, and where their original nidus is, in N. E. Yünnan or S. E. Tibet, or both.
5. The distinction between the Miao proper and the Black Miao of Hunan.
6. The differences between the Shan tribes, *e.g.*, the Hung or Lung Jen, the Sha Jen and Tu Lao.
7. Information regarding groups of Kachins, the Was, the Lahu or Lohei, the Palaungs and the Akkas (not Hakkas).
8. Whether the Ku-tsung are related to the Kiu-tzu or Khunnongs of N. E. Burma.
9. If there is any distinction between Sifans and Tibetans so far as race is concerned.
10. Information regarding the Mosso tribes, the Hunza Nagars, the people of the Chia Rung States, the Horba States (including the Chantui and Chagla), the Derge, Chamdo, Draya, Litang and Mili, the Lutzu and the Yu-Yang.
11. Whether the Yaos proper differ from the Lau Tien Yao.
12. Whether groups of the Mon Khmer (the probable people of Yünnan before the Shans, Miao, and Lolo) still exist, and their description.
13. Information regarding the T'u Yen and the Dzorgue Confederation of Nomad tribes.
14. Which of the tribes quoted could be considered of the same stock and grouped together?
15. The characteristics and descent of the Hakkas.
16. Whether there is any reason, except religious, why some groups are spoken of as Mohammedans in the S. W. and N. W., and whether Mainthas is merely another term for the same class in the South West.

Coming to the mass of the Chinese (so-called) in the East, S. E., Centre, N. E., N. and N. W., and considering that the area of the country approaches half the size of Europe, one cannot help thinking that there must be many different

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and distinctive groups. Northern and Southern Chinese certainly present many points of contrast and those towards the South appear to be the typical Chinese. Could we not try to get at the basis of some of these group distinctions? In the North there are points of contrast between the Mongol and Manchu elements, each with Chinese veneer in varying degrees. There are also other Tartar peoples worthy of differentiation, *e.g.*, the Sunites, the Chakars, with their eight banners, the Khalkas and the Oelets, also the Solons and the Si Po, though these are found on or beyond the borders, in Mongolia and Manchuria.

One might also ask whether the Hakkas are the only group distinctive from the Chinese proper in the Highlands of the S. E. and whether there is not also a distinct group in the Highlands of the Shantung Peninsula, and what are their characteristics.

It would be interesting too, to know the extent to which the Japanese, the Malay and the Hindu elements have entered into the Eastern and Southern parts of China and the Turki into the N. West. As regards the several provinces, since the conditions of life vary, and the people of one province consider those of another province as strangers, how far may it be due to some difference of race or descent?

* * *

How to Make Dried Priests.

(Told in conversation by a Peking Priest)

Take three *chin* of flax-seed and three *chin* of yellow beans. These are husked and well mixed, then steamed for three days, cooled, and brayed in a mortar. A hard cake will be formed which must in the same way be thrice steamed and pounded, and left exposed to the air for three days, when it will readily crumble into fine meal. The priest must eat this fasting, after the bowels have been purged, and he must eat as much of it as he possibly can—"eat till he is stuffed." This will sustain him for three months, during which time he will

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feel no hunger and must on no account touch food; the only liquid he may drink is an infusion of water and flax-seed, and this only in small quantities. At the end of three months the mixture will all have been digested and absorbed into the system ; no defecations will have taken place and hunger will once more be felt. The priest should do no work during this period, and his only exercise should be wandering in the pure air of the hills or deserts.

The same process is repeated, but with shorter intervals, until the stomach, liver and intestines are shrivelled and dried. He will one day be found apparently dead, the skin and flesh hard and leathery, the mind and senses moribund, but his breath will blur a mirror for months or even for as long as two years. When all signs of life are gone and the priest is really dead his body will suffer no decay and will stay in this condition for ever.

This artifice is used by Indian priests and lamas and by some Taoists, e.g., those at Po-Yung Kuan near Peking, and it is a secret known to few.

No food can be eaten without fatal results unless the body be first purged of the mixture.

False dried priests are made by cutting out the viscera and stuffing the belly with astringent herbs, the body and face being covered with a kind of lacquer.

J. C. H.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Histoire Moderne de Pays d'Annam, par C. B.-MAYBON, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris, 1920, Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 30 francs.

La Relation sur le Tonkin et la Cochinchine de Mr. de la Bissachère, par C. B.-MAYBON, Docteur ès Lettres. Paris, 1920, Edouard Champion.

In days so difficult for publishing we congratulate M. Maybon on having been able to issue these two volumes. Except that the paper of the former is inferior there is no sign that they have suffered through the war.

Annam is a land of which English readers know but little. The name is extended in the work before us to include practically the whole peninsula, from the Chinese border to the Gulf of Siam. To the British there will be little interest in the internal strife through the two centuries with which the book deals; but when it comes to matters of trade, and the competition between the East India Co., the French, the Dutch, the Portuguese, when we learn how the Company's factors at Pulo Condor were massacred, when we are reminded of the energy of Dupleix and the unaccountable slackness of Warren Hastings, every Englishman must feel interested. Annam may be said to have fallen to France as a consolation for her failure in India. The Jesuits first introduced French influence;

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later was formed the Missions-Etrangères ; missionaries acted openly as commercial agents. France had to contend not only with other nations in trade, but also with the hierarchy of Portuguese, who resented the introduction of French priests. But the power of France was established when the Bishop of Adran succeeded in getting Louis XVI to support the emperor who founded the dynasty now ruling, in return for the cession by treaty of Pulo Condor and Tourane.

The amount of research in native and European histories and archives must have been enormous, but the author has spared no pains or labour to make his work complete and correct. There is a preface by Professor H. Cordier and a good map; but we are simply astonished to find such a work not provided with an index.

The second work named is a study of one of the sources of information about Annam. La Bissachère, a missionary of the Missions-Etrangères, wrote in 1807 an account of Tonkin, but the manuscript has not hitherto been printed as the writer left it, nor over his name; M. Maybon's main task has been to disentangle the original account from the additions, annotations, etc., of various editors.

We heartily recommend both books to our English readers who would learn something of France's most prosperous overseas possession.

Elementary Cantonese, by N. L. SMITH. Kelly & Walsh, 1920.

This little book is in a class by itself ; and is, or should be, of great assistance to *beginners* of Cantonese. It is certainly an improvement on the lamentable phonetic spelling adopted by sinologues with their complicated accent marks and tone indicators; apparently done for no other purpose than to confuse the learner so that he gives it up in disgust and leaves the sinological field to those who fancy themselves born for the purpose.

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The author claims originality in two respects: first, the romanization is "frankly English"; Chinese sounds are represented by ordinary English words where such are available. Second, he has a new method of teaching the tones and habituating the learner to "think tonally." The way in which he displays the tone to the eye looks bewildering at first, but is simple and may prove very effective.

There are, however, a few slips which require observation: *e.g.*, *heng* on p. 93, ex. 22, should be *hing; heng* is in the Sunwui dialect. *Hing* means *elder* brother.

P. 26, ex. 11, "To do work" should be "dso goong *foo*."

P. 28, ex. 27, "Mooy tahn" should be coal and *charcoal.*

P. 29, ex. 38, "Tow seen" means "a moment ago" and "First of all" should be *Hay tow.*

P. 30, ex. 45, "Tye Geen" means seen, or within sight. To see, should be *Tye*, or *Tye hay.*

P. 43, ex. 32, "Yow Eoo mahk shuy" should be "Yow Eoo *Dee* mahk shuy."

P. 60, ex. 19, "M Gom" means "dare not," not "cannot."

P. 66, ex. 8, "Light the fire" should be *Deem faw;* "Deem joek faw Lo" means the fire is lit, or has been lighted.

P. 81, ex. 6, "I will pay your train-fare" should be "Ngaw bay nay dee faw cheh fye."

P. 98, sample. "Nee nup shuy" should be Nee *deem*, or *dik* shuy. *Nup* is not used of water.

P. 115, 點 *Deem* means a dot, a part, not a "stroke."

P. 124, 較 "Gaow," the correct character is 鉸.

P. 218, 關 "Serious" should be 關係 not 關.

P. 138, 李 "Luggage" should be 行李.

P. 142, 莫 "About" should be 約莫.

In order to subdivide the meaning of words the 變音 or "variant" should have been specially noted and marked. This "variant" is somewhat akin to an "accidental" in music, and is exceedingly irregular; but it is very common in popular speech according to the turn which is given to the tone, note or voice.

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It also appears to us that *foe* would be better than *faw*, *doe* for *do*, etc.

These are, however, only suggestions, and although there is room for improvement, this handy little volume should be studied by all who would seriously undertake the study of this unhappy language.

The North-China Desk Hong List, 1920. Office of North-China Daily News, $5.

The publishers do not boast on the title-page that this is the *n*th of the Hong List; but it has come out year after year, always growing bigger and better, till no Desk can do without its List; and as it is indispensable to every business firm, so it is also a great convenience to the private resident. It covers not only Shanghai—Hong List, Residential Directory, Who's Who, etc., but it gives similarly detailed and complete particulars for the Outports, with a full list of missionaries, and a good deal of general useful information. In such a work there cannot but be a number of mistakes, but we have not found many, and we congratulate the compilers on being so correct in their preparation of such a mass of varied material.

Israel's Messenger, Vol. VII, No. 1. Shanghai, April 7, 1920.

The present number of this irregularly issued magazine, the organ of the Shanghai Zionist Association, is called the Redemption Number. It is somewhat scrappy, but many of the scraps are of great interest to non-Jewish sympathisers with Zionism. We read of the new Synagogue in Shanghai, of the Rabbi-elect,—Rev. W. Hirsch, B.A., of the projected University of Jerusalem, etc. What joy the new dawn brings to the Jews is more than we can well imagine, but there is no doubt that their joy and hope are shared by multitudes outside of Israel.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II AUGUST, 1920 No. 4

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

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A RE-TRANSLATION

BY

PROFESSOR H. A. GILES, LL.D.

The strange poem which is dealt with in the following pages is one of the famous 楚 辭 Rhapsodies of the Ch'u State, formerly known under the inaccurate title of "Elegies of Tsoo." Its authorship is a matter of dispute. Some say that it was the work of 景 差, Ching Ch'a, fourth century B.C., but the majority of critics favour its attribution to his more famous contemporary, 屈 原, Ch'ü Yüan. The latter had been dismissed for nine years. He was greatly distressed over the troubles of the times; he felt that vitality was slipping away from his physical frame, and that death was at hand. Therefore he called upon his two souls, the subliminal and the supraliminal, the *anima* and the *umbra* (verses 1 and 6), to remain with him, their united presence being indispensable to the prolongation of his life. Otherwise, throughout the poem the appeal is to the subliminal soul only, the inducements

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offered being the manifold delights to be found in the Ch'u State and the virtue of the reigning Prince who, like the famous Rulers of old, would be sure to seek out good and capable men to assist in the administration of government.

A version of this difficult rhapsody was published in *The Statesman* of 31st May, 1919, as "Translated by Arthur Waley," and reproduced in "More Translations from the Chinese," 1919. It was a bold attempt; and as a free, too free paraphrase—without the excuse of rhyme—it would have had a chance of escaping criticism; but as a translation, in justice to the poet and to readers who cannot verify from the original text, a good deal of amendment is necessary. Hence the attempt contained in the following pages, which may in turn be capable of improvement at the hands of students resident in China who can enlist, as I cannot, the services of a well-educated native scholar.

招　大

魂　冥　春　青 (1)

魄　淩　氣　春
歸　浹　奮　受
徠　行　發　謝
無　魂　萬　白
遠　無　物　日
遙　逃　遽　昭
只　只　只　只

A Great Summons

(1) The green spring comes and goes; the sun is brightly shining.[1]
The breath of spring rushes forth; all things are in movement,
The Dark Spirit[2] everywhere disappears—O my soul, do not flee!
O my souls,[3] come home and stray not afar!

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1. This difficult line means, literally, that spring is received and then sent on its way by the arrival of summer. The same words are used by Huai-nan Tzŭ in reference to the arrival and departure of the sun in Fu-sang. The sun plunges into the western ocean at nightfall, finds its way to Fu-sang, where it is received and forwarded on next morning. Mr. Waley translates: "Green spring receiveth the vacant earth"; but there are no such words as either "vacant" or "earth."

2. 北方之神也. The term may well be rendered by "Winter," as Mr. Waley takes it; but his version is scarcely close enough for a translator who claims to be strictly literal.

3. It is important to note here that the poet addresses, not his "soul," as Mr. Waley has it, but his two souls, the *hun*, the subliminal self, and *p'o*, the supraliminal self, the combination of which means life and the separation of which means death. Elsewhere, with one exception, the appeal is to the *hun* only, as in line 3.

魂 霧 螭 東 魂 (2)
乎歸徠無東無西無南無北只
有大海溺水淼淼只
龍並流上下悠悠只
雨淫淫白皓膠只
乎無東湯谷宋只

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(2) O my soul, come home; go not east, west, south, or north.

In the east there is the great ocean with its wide swirling waters.[1]

Dragons, with and without horns, swim there, up and down, squirming;[2]

Fogs and rain abound, with sheets of glittering ice;

O my soul, go not east to the desolate T'ang Valley.

1. So the commentary, though 弱水, the "Weak Water," the Oceanus of the Greeks, is certainly suggested by 溺. Mr. Waley seems to over-elaborate with, "For to the east a mighty water drowneth Earth's other shore."

2. Mr. Waley has, "Tossed on its waves and heaving with its tides the hornless Dragon of the Ocean rideth."

魂　　鰅　　山　　魂 (3)
乎　　鰡　　林　　乎
無南南有炎火千里蝮
南蜮傷躬只　短狐王虺毒只　險隘虎豹蜿只
蛇蜒只

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(3) O my soul, do not go south, where there is a mighty fire, a thousand *li* in extent, with great poisonous serpents,
Mountains, forests, dangerous passes, tigers and leopards creeping about,
Bovine monstrosities,[1] devilish creatures, and pythons raising their heads.
O my soul, do not go south, where malignant things will injure your body.[2]

1. Mr. Waley has "water-scorpions," in which he includes the "short foxes"; but the commentary says 狀如犛牛也, and makes "short foxes" a generic term for horrid forms.

2. Mr. Waley has, "Where the three-footed tortoise spits disease." This is gloss from a commentary. The *yüe* is variously said to spit sand, poison, and vapour, but these legends are later than the poem.

魂　長　豕　魂 (4)

乎無西西方流沙滭洋洋只
首縱目被髮鬤只
爪踞牙詄笑狂只
乎無西多害傷只

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(4) O my soul, do not go west, where there are boundless quicksands,[1]
Beings with pigs' heads and vertical eyes,[2] wild dishevelled hair,[3]
Long claws and jagged teeth,[4] grinning with maniacal laughter.
O my soul, go not west, to suffer manifold grievous injuries.

1. Mr. Waley has "level stretches of sand," (2) "bulging eyes," (3) "hairy-skinned," and (4) "projecting fangs." 鋸 evidently stands for 鋸.

魂天代魂 (5)
乎白水乎
無顥不無
往顥可北
盈寒涉北
北凝深有
極凝水寒
只只不逴
可龍
測艷
只只

(5) O my soul, go not north, where lies the cold mountain Cho-lung,[1] red ;[2]
Also the river Tai, which cannot be forded and is too deep to be plumbed ;
And where the sky is glitteringly white, and all is congealed by cold,[3]
O my soul, go not thither, to be engulfed in the north polar region.

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1. Mr. Waley has "the Lame Dragon"; (2) he omits this word, which is explained as "without vegetation"; (3) and has here "the cold cuts and kills."

魂　窮　逞　自　魂 (6)
乎　身　志　恣　魄
歸　徠　究　荆　楚　徠　閒　以　靜　只
徠　樂　永　樂　年　壽　延　只
樂　不　可　言　只

(6) O my souls, come home to leisure and repose;
Enjoy yourselves in Ching and Ch'u, settling down in peace;
Give play to your bent, satisfy your desires, let your mind be at peace;[1]
Take your fill of happiness, and so prolong your years,[2]
O my soul, come home to happiness unspeakable.

1. Mr. Waley has "till sorrow is forgot"; (2) "And carelessness shall bring you length of days."

魂　內　鼎　五 (7)
乎　鶬　臑　穀
歸　鴿　盈　六
徠　鵠　望　仞
恣　味　豺　羣　只
所　嘗　只

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(7) The five grains are (in stacks) of six *jen*[1] (in height),
and *ku*[2] and *liang*[3] will be served.
See the caldrons of cooked food, with their salt, sour,
peppery, and gingery flavours combined ;[4]
With crane and dove and heron, and wolf to make the
soup tasty.[5]
O my soul, come home and enjoy eating them.

1. Variously given as a measure of 7 feet and 8 feet.

2, 3. An aquatic grain (*Zizania aquatica*, L.) and common spiked millet. Mr. Waley has "millet and bearded maize."

4. Mr. Waley has, "Guests watch the steaming bowls and sniff the pungency of peppered herbs."

5. Mr. Waley has, "The cunning cook adds slices of bird-flesh, pigeon and yellow-heron and black-crane. They taste the badger-stew." The "cunning cook" does not appear in the poem, but will be found in the commentary, 宰夫巧 etc.

魂 吳 醢 鮮 (8)
乎 酸 豚 蠵
歸 蒿 苦 甘
徠 蔓 狗 鷄
恣 不 膾 和
所 沾 苴 楚
擇 薄 蓴 酪
只 只 只 只

(8) We have fresh turtle (soup) and fat chicken, and with
them koumiss from Ch'u ;[1]
Sucking-pig with gravy, and "bitter dog,"[2] and minced
jang-ho,[3]
With *kao* and *lou* in vinegar from Wu, neither too thick
nor too thin.[4]
O my soul, come home and enjoy your choice of these.

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1. Mr. Waley has, "Sweet chicken cooked in cheese, pressed by the men of Ch'u."

2. This term is explained as dog cooked with its liver in the gravy; but this is not found where Mr. Waley puts it, in the text.

3. *Lilium giganteum*, Wall. Mr. Waley has, "with salad of minced radishes in brine."

4. *Kao* and *lou* are distinguished by the commentator as two different species of artemisia or southernwood. For this line Mr. Waley has, "All served with that hot spice of southernwood the land of Wu supplies." This rendering ignores the second half of the line altogether.

魂	煎	臛	(9)
乎	鱅	鵠	
歸	膗	烝	
徠	雀	鳧	
麗	遽	鮎	
以	爽	鶉	
先	存	鷃	
只	只	只	

(9) We have broiled *kua*,[1] steamed wild-duck, and stewed quail, all set forth;
Fried perch and fat birds, with their delicious flavour.
O my soul, come home; the choicest dishes will be offered first.

1. The commentary says 鷹鵠, which is the black crane. Mr. Waley has "Roasted daw, steamed widgeon, and grilled quail, on every fowl they fare. Boiled perch and sparrow broth," etc.

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魂　吳　清　四 (10)
乎　醴　馨　酎
歸　白　凍　幷
徠　蘗　飲　孰
不　和　不　不
遽　楚　歇　醒
惕　瀝　役　噫
只　只　只　只

(10) The four wines are all hot, and will not rasp your throat,
With clear fragrant wine, to be drunk cold,[1] unfit for common men,
And the sweet wine of Wu, mixed with rice-yeast, like the wine of Ch'u.[2]
O my soul, come home, and end your cares.

1. Mr. Waley has, "How fragrant rise their fumes, how cool their taste!", as if referring to the four wines of the previous line, which can scarcely be "warming at the fire," as Mr. Waley says, and also "cool" to the taste. The Chinese warm their wine by standing pewter wine-kettles in hot water.

2. Out of these eight difficult characters, Mr. Waley gets, "And wise distillers from the land of Wu blend unfermented spirit with white yeast and brew the *li* of Ch'u,"—shewing, right or wrong, how impossible it is to make literal translations of obscure Chinese poems.

魂　謳　代　代 (11)
乎　和　戲　秦
歸　揚　駕　鄭
徠　阿　辯　衛
定　趙　簫　鳴　竽　張
空　倡　勞　商
桑　只　只　只

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(11) The reed-organs of Tai, Ch'in, Chêng, and Wei, shall be blown;
The *Chia-pien* of Fu Hsi, and the *Lao-shang* of Ch'u, shall be sung,
And the *Ou-ho* and *Yang-o*, led by the flutes of Chao.
O my soul, come home, and fix the "hollow mulberry."[1]

1. Mr. Waley's rendering of this verse must be quoted in full:

> Reed-organs from the lands of T'ai (*sic*) and Ch'in
> And Wei and Cheng
> Gladden the feasters, and old songs are sung;
> The "Rider's Song" that once
> Fu Hsi, the ancient monarch made;
> And the harp-songs of Ch'u.
> Then after prelude from the flutes of Chao
> The ballad-singer's voice rises alone,
> O Soul come back to the hollow mulberry-tree!

There are several points in the above which invite criticism. Various attempts have been made to translate the titles of the songs, but none that I know of which could have suggested the "Rider's Song," the only title which Mr. Waley attempts. Such term as "harp-songs," and "the harp" as an explanation of the "hollow mulberry," are obvious anachronisms, since the harp was not known in China until many centuries later. "Hollow mulberry," we are told, is a name for the 瑟, psaltery, which was roughly made by stretching strings across a piece of hollow mulberry-wood. In reference to the appearance of the harp in China, see some interesting remarks in Vol. I of this REVIEW, p. 626; and see also the beautiful picture opposite to p. 164.

二八接舞只 投詩賦只 (12)
叩鐘調磬 娛人亂只
四上競氣 極聲變只
魂乎歸徠 聽歌譔只

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(12) Sixteen (girls) join in the dance, singing both *shih* and *fu* as they move,[1]
They tap the bell and strike the stone, to mark the time.[2]
The above four compete with one another, exhausting their efforts to succeed.[3]
O my soul, come home, and listen to the songs prepared.

1. Mr. Waley paraphrases delightfully,—

> Eight and eight the dancers sway,
> Weaving their steps to the poet's voice
> Who speaks his odes and rhapsodies.

2. For the last four words of this line, Mr. Waley has, "Rigidly, lest harp and flute should mar the measure." I am unable to find these words in the commentary, still less in the text.

3. For the last five words Mr. Waley has, "Till not a tune is left unsung that human voice could sing." The four who compete are usually considered to be the four States of the preceding verse; but some understand the term to refer to (1) the reed-organs of the four States, (2) the *Chia pien* (3) the *Lao-shang*, and (4) the flutes of Chao.

魂	豐	比	朱	(13)
乎	肉	德	脣	
歸	微	好	皓	
徠	骨	閒	齒	
安	調	習	嫭	
以	以	以	以	
舒	娛	都	姱	
只	只	只	只	

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(13) There are red lips and gleaming white teeth to attract you,
Selected for their skill and beauty, and practised in ceremonial,[1]
Plump and small-boned, and of seductive mien.
O my soul, come home, be at peace and relax your mind.

1. Mr. Waley has, "But meek and virtuous trained in every art; fit sharers of play-time." 德 has other meanings than "virtue," which would hardly be appropriate here, unless perhaps qualified as "easy."

(14)

嫭	容	魂
目	則	乎
宜	秀	歸
笑	雅	徠
娥	穉	靜
眉	朱	以
曼	顏	安
只	只	只

(14) There are eyes full of laughter, and wide moth-eyebrows,
Refined features, youthful, and pink-complexioned,
O my soul, come home, and repose with them in peace.

(15)

姱	曾	滂	小	魂
脩	頰	心	腰	乎
滂	倚	綽	秀	歸
浩	耳	態	頸	徠
麗以佳只	曲眉規只	姣麗施只	若鮮卑只	思怨移只

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(15) There are beauties tall and sympathetic, lovely of form and face
With well-covered jaws, lobed ears, and eyebrows curved as with compasses,
Large-hearted, of varying mien, displaying ready wit,
With slender waists, and fair long necks like the gazelle,[1]
O my soul, come home, and be quit of your troubled thoughts.

1. Mr. Waley paraphrases the last two verses freely and sometimes incorrectly, as follows :

> Then enter other ladies with laughing lips
> And side-long glances under moth-eyebrows;
> Whose cheeks are fresh and red:
> Ladies both great of heart and long of limb,
> Whose beauty by sobriety is matched.
> Well-padded cheeks and ears with curving rim,
> High-arching eyebrows, as with compass drawn,
> Great hearts and loving gestures—all are there:
> Small waists and necks as slender as the clasp
> Of courtiers' brooches.

The last five words by which Mr. Waley renders 鮮卑, *Hsien-pi*, the name of the ancient tribe which originally occupied the mountains and glens of south-east Mongolia, are conspicuously impossible as applied to the beautiful necks of girls. The allusion is to the figure of an animal which ornamented the round metal buckle on the belt of these Tartars ; *q.d.* the gazelle, which is found in the Hsien-pi country.

(16)

魂	長	粉	易
乎	袂	白	中
歸	拂	黛	利
徠	面	黑	心
以	善	施	以
娛	留	芳	動
昔	客	澤	作
只	只	只	只

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(16) There are those who divert thoughts and please by their movements,
With rouge and powder and pencilled eyebrow and perfumes;
With their long sleeves they brush the face, skilled to detain the guest,[1]
O my soul, come home, and have some festive nights.

1. Mr. Waley makes them "pluck the coats of those who will not stay,"—a harmless and not inappropriate gloss.

魂	豐	靨	青	(17)
乎	肉	輔	色	
歸	微	奇	直	
徠	骨	牙	眉	
恣	體	宜	美	
所	便	笑	目	
便	娟	嘕	媔	
只	只	只	只	

(17) There are black, straight eyebrows, beautiful eyes, quick to understand,
Cheeks and fine teeth which break into smiles,
Plump of flesh, of slender bones, lending grace to the body.
O my soul, come home, and enjoy all these comforts.[1]

1. Mr. Waley has inadvertently omitted this verse altogether.

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夏	南	曲	騰	瓊	菴	茷	魂
屋	房	屋	駕	轂	蘭	乎	
廣	小	步	步	錯	桂	歸	
大	壇	堰	遊	衡	樹	徠	
沙	觀	宜	獵	英	鬱	恣	
堂	絕	擾	春	華	彌	志	
秀	霤	畜	圍	假	路	慮	
只	只	只	只	只	只	只	

(18) There is a mansion[1] with spacious rooms, red-coloured and elegant ;
In the southern building is a small hall, with a belvedere looking down on a stream of water ; [2]
And round the building runs a long flight of stone steps, where trained animals should be used.
There will be driving in chariots, or walking on foot, and hunting in spring in the park,
With jewelled wheels and yokes inlaid (with silver), blazing with radiance,
While orchids and cassia-trees fill the roads with their scent.
O my soul, come home, and enjoy yourself with these.

1. Mr. Waley makes "a summer-house" out of 夏屋; but 夏 is here 大 or 高; (2) "a little closet reached by a winding stair."

3. This difficult line is rendered by Mr. Waley, "And round the house a covered way should run where horses might be trained." But the commentary says that 步櫩 (or 櫩) means 長砌, and 擾畜 trained animals should be used because 其路險狹 is dangerous and narrow. Perhaps some one will throw more light.

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孔	鵾	鴻	鴻	魂
雀	鴻	鶱	鵠	乎
盈	鶱	翬	代	歸
園	晨	晨	遊	徠
畜	雜	雜	曼	鳳
鷫	鶱	鶱	鶱	皇
皇	鵠	鵠	鵠	翔
只	只	只	只	只

(19)

(19) Peacocks shall fill your garden, and the *luan* and the phœnix shall be kept;
The *kun* and the stork shall gather at their times, and mix with the adjutant;
Herons shall come along, with flocks of turquoise-kingfishers.[1]
O my soul, come home, and be a circling phœnix.[2]

1. Mr. Waley has—

Peacocks shall fill your garden : you shall rear
The roc, and phœnix, and red jungle-fowl
Whose cry at dawn assembles river-storks
To join the play of cranes and ibises;
Where the wild swan all day
Pursues the glint of idle kingfishers.

On this it may be remarked that the *luan* (Mr. Waley's "roc," a term which is consecrated to Chuang Tzŭ's 鵬) is a fabulous bird associated by the Chinese with fire. The *kun* (Mr. Waley's "red jungle-fowl") is described as like a barn-door fowl, only larger. "At their times" in my rendering is said to be the interpretation of 晨, the *kun* crowing at dawn and the stork presiding over midnight. I can find no word suitable for "ibis."

2. Mr. Waley translates 鳳 皇 翔 只 by "and watch the birds in flight." The commentary gives it a more lofty turn. The returning soul is to be what the phœnix is supposed to be, namely, a virtuous influence; an influence which, to judge from some of the attractions enumerated, would find plenty of work to do.

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魂　室　永　曼 (20)
乎　家　宜　澤
歸　盈　厠　怡
徠　廷　身　面
居　爵　保　血
室　祿　壽　氣
定　盛　命　盛
只　只　只　只

(20) Your face will beam with gratification, your vitality will be largely increased ;
For ever and ever united with your body, you will secure an old age ; [1]
Your family will fill the Court, and honours and emoluments will abound.
O my soul, come home, and settle down there, for good.[2]

1. Mr. Waley indulges here in exuberant paraphrase. He finds in these two lines "cheeks aglow," "the blood-spirit dancing through his limbs," and an extra invocation—

Stay with me, Soul, and share
The span of days that happiness will bring—

which does not appear at all in the text.

2. For the last four words, Mr. Waley has, "and bring prosperity to house and stock."

魂　察　三　接 (21)
兮　篤　圭　徑
歸　夭　重　千
徠　隱　侯　里
正　孤　聽　出
始　寡　類　若
昆　存　神　雲
只　只　只　只

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(21) Through a thousand *li* of roads come people in clouds—
The three *kuei*[1] and the other orders of nobility, of divine discrimination;[2]
They search out the sick, the short-lived, and the recluse, and help the widow and orphan.[3]
O my soul, come home, that your uprightness may be displayed.[4]

1. The three higher grades of nobility: 公, 侯, and 伯, the others being 子 and 男.

2. In their recommendations for official posts.

3. Mr. Waley has, "by their aid to probe the hidden discontents of humble men and help the lonely poor."

4. Mr. Waley has, "O Soul come back and end what we began."

魂	先	美	田	(22)
乎	威	昌	邑	
歸	後	衆	千	
徠	文	流	畛	
賞	善	德	人	
罰	美	澤	阜	
當	明	章	冒	
只	只	只	只	

(22) Our countryside and towns, with their thousand roads, abound in men,
And our culture reaches the masses and causes their virtue to shine forth.[1]
Firmness first, gentleness afterwards; thus excellent results are achieved.[2]
O my soul, come home, where rewards and punishments are rightly awarded.

1. Mr. Waley has, "Good rule protect the people and make known the King's benevolence to all the land."

2. Mr. Waley has, "Stern discipline prepare their natures for the soft caress of Art;" and for the last line, "O soul come back to where the good are praised."

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魂　西　北　德　名 (23)
乎　薄　至　譽　聲
歸　羊　幽　配　若
徠　腸　陵　天　日
尙　東　南　萬　照
賢　窮　交　民　四
士　海　阯　理　海
只　只　只　只　只

(23) Here there is a reputation[1] like the sun illumining the Four Seas,
A fame for virtue, equal to God's, in the government of the people,[2]
Reaching north to Yu-ling,[3] south to Cochin-China,
West to Yang-ch'ang,[4] and east all over the ocean.[5]
O my soul, come home, and take an honoured place among the wise.

1. That of the king of the Ch'u State.

2. Mr. Waley has, "His deeds, matched only in Heaven, shall repair the wrongs endured by every tribe of men." 3. 幽州, Yu-chou, in Chih-li. 4. Literally, sheep's-gut; a famous mountain in Shansi, so called from its peculiar formation. 5. Mr. Waley has, "To the Eastern Seas"; but this ignores the value of 窮.

魂　豪　直　舉　發 (24)
乎　傑　贏　傑　政
徠　執　在　壓　獻
歸　政　位　陛　行
國　流　近　誅　禁
家　澤　禹　讒　苛
爲　施　廱　罷　暴
只　只　只　只　只

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(24) Here the administration is based on justice, and oppression and violence are forbidden;
The best are exalted, the second-best are curbed, the wicked and the weak are got rid of;
Upright men, of whom there are many, hold office, appointed after the example of the Great Yü;
Heroes govern, and their influence extends far and wide.
O my soul, come home, and take part in the administration.[1]

1. The whole of this verse is omitted by Mr. Waley.

魂	執	昭	諸	三	雄 (25)
乎	弓	質	侯	公	雄
徠	挾	既	畢	穆	赫
歸	矢	設	極	穆	赫
尙	揖	大	立	登	天
三	辭	侯	九	降	德
王	讓	張	卿	堂	明
只	只	只	只	只	只

(25) In its majesty, in its might, the virtue from God[1] is displayed;
The Three Dukes[2] ascend and descend from (the dais) in the hall;
All the nobles are collected and the Nine Ministers[2] are chosen from them;[3]
At dawn preparations are made, and a great target is set up;
Bows and arrows are grasped, with bowing and yielding precedence.[4]
O my soul, come home, and honour the Three Kings.[5]

1. That of the king of Ch'u. High officials who discussed the administration with the king; a kind of Cabinet.

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2. Ministers at the head of State Departments.

3. I cannot follow Mr. Waley's rendering of the first three lines, as follows:—

> **Behold the glorious virtues of our King triumphant, terrible;**
> **Behold with solemn faces in the Hall the Three Grand Ministers walk up and down—**
> **None chosen for the post save landed-lords, or, in default, Knights of the Nine Degrees.**

4. The victors in the archery competition were appointed to the vacant official posts.

5. By following their example. They were the Great Yü, T'ang the Completer, and Wên Wang.

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LU IN CONFUCIUS' EARLY YEARS

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

It is well at times to renew our acquaintance with the great Teacher of the people amongst whom we live and if possible to do so from a fresh point of view. We shall therefore try in a few pages to picture Confucius' immediate surroundings in the political condition of Lu.

Under the Chou kings the empire saw a great expansion in territory and in intellectual life. It is this which gives the dynasty its decisive importance in Chinese history. The principles of government and of thought which run all through the later centuries were then being worked out. Before it, the hidden foundations were laid; during it, the structure was built and after it there were only repairs, at times of some extent and not always following the original style but never amounting to a rebuilding of the edifice.

The power of the central government failed to keep pace with the increase of territory and there was bound to be a period of disintegration which was also bound to end in a new and more permanent autocracy. Confucius lived in those disintegrating times. King Wu had placed the great fiefs of his creation, Ch'i, Lu, Sung and Wei, in the outposts of the empire and it was due chiefly to them that the neighbouring

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tribes were subjugated and the frontiers extended: but they soon learned to keep their conquests for themselves. In this way the larger states which Confucius knew lay along the borders of the empire. As they grew, the process of delegating power was continued. The nobles allowed their subjects to make conquests of their own and so enabled them to overcome their own lords. This is seen most clearly in Chin, whose internal history is recorded most fully of all the larger states. Since marquis Wên of Chin "summoned" his sovereign to Hoyang after his great victory over Ch'u in B.C. 632 his successors retained the paramount position as Lords of Covenants.

The more central states, as Lu, Sung, Wei and Ch'êng, especially the two last, had not the same opportunity of expansion. The duchy of Sung allowed its opportunity in the south to slip by and to be seized by the newer and more vigorous Kingdom of Ch'u(楚), untrammelled by subservience to the northern power. Lu, having Ch'i on its north, Wei on the west, and Sung on the south, could expand only on the east; between it and the coast there was not more than one hundred miles, but it was hilly country occupied by numerous small and less advanced states of the I (夷) people such as K'i(杞), Chü(莒) and Chu(朱). It made efforts in this direction but was baulked by the great marquis Huan of Ch'i, the first of the feudal lords to achieve a sort of paramountcy. He protected these I states and raised K'i into a marquisate. We shall see how Lu still persisted against Chü and Chu but its time had gone by. Its capital, Ch'ü-fou (曲阜), lay a few miles N. E. of the present Yen-chou Fu, in a plain to the south of the hills sloping down from Mt. T'ai and about 150 miles from Lin tzŭ(臨菑), the capital of Ch'i, and nearly twice as far from Chiang(絳), the capital of Chin. Its river, possibly the Wên(汶) of the older books, flowed westward into the basin of the Ho, so that it lay most open in that quarter. Probably until nearly *Ch'un-ch'iu* times, Ch'ü-fou was the only battlemented city in the state: but when Confucius lived there were many such, and amongst them the principal seats of the three great clans, called in the classic the Chi-sun (季

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孫), Chung-sun (仲孫) and Shu-sun (叔孫),—the second being more commonly known as the Mêng-sun (孟孫). The position of their cities is only conjectured, but Pi (費) of the Chi-sun and Hou (郈) of the Shu-sun are both spoken of as bulwarks against Ch'i. The latter of these two and probably the others had an outer wall inclosing the suburbs, just as Ch'ü-fou itself.

The minority of marquis Hsiang gave the three clans their opportunity to seize the power. Lu, as one of the greater states, had maintained three armies: but its relative size, though not its actual area, had shrunk with the growth of the empire and for some years it had kept only two. The clans also armed their own retainers apart from the ducal force. Now Chi-sun Su (宿) (hon. ep., Ch'êng-tzŭ) proposed that their private troops should be disbanded and that the regular armies should be again increased to three, each clan levying and supporting one. This was done, and a covenant with public imprecations against faithlessness was made between the heads of the clans in B.C. 562. The method of levy was left optional. Chi-sun, without enforcing universal service, sought to enlist all available men by freeing those who served from government taxes and doubling the taxes upon others. Shu-sun took only the younger sons of each family but made their service compulsory: whilst Mêng-sun was content with only half of the younger men. The armies in theory still belonged to the state but administratively were entirely controlled by the clans. Thus not only was the ducal power further reduced, but in an important matter concerning the lives of the people there were different laws in different districts. There seems to be no information as to how much of the land was owned by the clans, but it would appear that for military purposes the whole state was divided into three unequal parts. The Chi-sun was the largest, and after Chi-sun Su, the chancellorship became practically hereditary in the family.

Notwithstanding the increase of the army, little was done to guard the State. On the north, Ch'i made repeated attacks with the purpose of compelling Lu to break with Chin: and

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on the east Chü and Chu raided its borders with impunity. In eleven years they made eleven incursions and there was only one feeble attempt at reprisals. Both had in former years been the aim of Lu's ambition but now the ambition was starved by subservience to the "Lord of Covenants" and Lu had to join Chin in six campaigns in which it had no direct interest, receiving no recompense until B.C. 555 when the defeat of Ch'i, to whom the small eastern states chiefly looked, made it possible to compel Chu to give up a part of the stolen lands. The so-called Peace Conference[1] of Sung in B.C. 546 added still more to the heavy burdens laid upon such states as Lu. It was really only a treaty between Chin and the southern kingdom of Ch'u, and its chief provision was that each should allow its vassals to pay court to the other. So marquis Hsiang had to go also to Ch'u. He journeyed with the duke of Sung but when they came to the Han they learned that the king was dead. The duke's ministers took the view that they owed duty only to the man and they turned back: the ministers of the marquis held that they owed it to the State and so went on. Arrived at the capital, Ying (郢), near to the present treaty port of Shashih, the Hsiang found that he was expected to carry the grave-cloths for the dead king with his own hands. It troubled him, but Shu-sun Pao (豹) (hon. ep., Mu-tzŭ) suggested that he should first send a sorcerer to sprinkle the coffin with a peach branch. This was a hygienic custom and was used in Lu only when the ruler attended the funeral of a subject. The tables were turned and the people of Ch'u regretted the insult which they had given. The incident shows the arrogance with which the great states treated the lesser, and though Chin was generally better mannered, it also often received the nobles who came to its court with something less than courtesy. Tzŭ Ch'an (子產), the famous minister of Ch'êng, fought the battle of the smaller states for decent lodgement in Chiang.[2]

(1) See G. G. Warren in *New China Review*, Vol. 1, p. 356.
(2) *Tso chuan*, 564.

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Marquis Hsiang never recovered the authority lost in his youth. Chi-sun Su as chief minister should have gone with him to Ch'u. He preferred to look after things at home and during the marquis's absence he seized a city to add to his own estate. Hsiang heard of it on his way back and at first feared to enter Lu. He died two years afterwards. His heir was brought up in the house of Chi-sun's palace; but died before his father's funeral. Instead of appointing the next son, Chi-sun chose one of "light character." Shu-sun Pao objected to the choice, pointing out that the prince had actually shown signs of pleasure at his father's death: but the chancellor persisted in his way and so marquis Chao succeeded, B.C. 541.

Shu-sun had agreed to the new military regulations with reluctance and it was he who insisted upon having the imprecations against the misuse of them made in public. No sooner had he passed away than Chi-sun put through another change which had been debated the year before. It had probably been found that the extra army was more useful to Lu than protective to itself, but Chi-sun's proposal arranged matters so that his own clan should not suffer. He was to raise one army and the Mêng-sun and Shu-sun one between them, all paying tribute to the marquis. A notice was given to the steward of the clan to announce it to the late chief in his coffin. But the steward said that his master had not wished it and for that reason had insisted upon the imprecations. He tore up the notice and led his fellow-servants to weep over the coffin, and after the funeral left the state, B.C. 538.

It was in this Lu that Confucius was born. His collaborateur in later years said that he was descended from the dukes of Sung and so from the kings of the Shang dynasty;[1] but what we are told of his actual parentage is largely surmise. His father was called "the man of Tsou," a country town of Lu. He himself says that by the age of fifteen he had his mind bent on learning. His teachers are unknown.

(1) *Tso chuan*, 618.

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The moving influence in his education, however, was doubtless his own unremitting diligence prompted by an inquiring mind: and if we may believe the *Li-chi* he visited the neighbouring states of K'i and Sung in order to study the customs of the Hsia and Shang dynasties, and went through the ceremony of capping in Sung according to the rites of his ancestors. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien tells us also that the visit to the Royal Domain which is connected with so many anecdotes was in his seventeenth year.[1] These journeys might be made by an ardent student with small means. Tso-shih relates an instance of his eagerness for knowledge which is more authentic. The holder of the small viscounty of T'an (郯) came to the court of Lu. Claiming descent from one of the legendary emperors he expounded the ancient theory of government based upon the five elements and the characteristics of birds and beasts, and Confucius promptly obtained an interview with him in order to inquire about these matters. According to Ssŭ-ma's chronology this was in the twenty-seventh year of his age. He would appear to be then resident in the capital and to have been there sufficiently long to obtain a standing which would give him an introduction to a ducal guest. Besides this slight clue it is not to be supposed that he would remain in his country home after his teens and Ch'ü-fou would be the city first to attract the young student. It was no mean city and gathered to itself the wealth of one of the oldest and most advanced of the feudal states.

(1) We are loth to discredit the account of Confucius' visit to the Royal Domain in his early years but Ssŭ-ma's details cannot be accepted. Evidently following Tso-shih he says that in B.C. 535, when he was seventeen, Mêng-sun Chio placed his two sons under his charge and that the younger of them prevailed upon the marquis to allow his tutor means for visiting the Royal Domain. But, as Professor Chavannes points out, Tso-shih says that it was only after Mêng-sun's death seventeen years later that they were put under Confucius. (*Tso chuan*, 634 a; the account is not very clear, but if born they were still children.) Either then Ssŭ-ma is wrong as to the date of the visit or it was not due to the influence of the young Mêng-sun. If it were through the *young* nobleman it must have been during the eighteen months between his father's death and the flight of the marquis, but at that time the Royal Domain was in *utter* confusion, rent by a desperate civil war.

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It was strongly fortified by an inner wall and bastions whilst at least a part of the suburbs was included by an outer wall and the whole surrounded by a wide moat. Several of the gates, the main street of Five Elders and the market-place are frequently mentioned. There was the ducal palace entered by a series of three courts. The three great clans and most of the leading families also had their mansions in the city, each with its tower rising above the one-storied houses. There was the spacious Ancestral Temple of the marquises with its many shrines—probably in separate buildings—and great treasures. There was the almost equally spacious enclosure of the altars of the land and grain with its subsidiary ones for rain and other aspects of nature worship. This enclosure was planted with trees and in it the people assembled in the evenings for pleasure and dancing. Outside the South gate there was the enclosure for the great sacrifice to Heaven and Earth which Lu alone of the states had the privilege of offering. Scholars and merchants in the peculiar long-stringed head-dress of Lu hustled in the streets against mechanic and peasant. Bodies of buff coats of the great houses, the retainers of the marquis or the cortège of an envoy from other states riding in two-wheeled carriages drawn by horses would frequently pass, whilst merchandise was drawn by oxen in lumbering carts. Many strange scenes of pageantry and bloodshed were witnessed in its streets. Had Confucius lived in the city as a boy he would have seen the only visit to Ch'ü-fou of a chancellor of Chin, when Han Hsuan-tzŭ came with a large retinue in B.C. 540, was banquetted by marquis Chao and inspected the ducal library, especially fingering its own chronicles and its copy of the Book of Changes and saying admiringly, "The institutes of Chou are all in Lu; now I know the virtue of the duke of Chou." Another unique event in the life of Ch'ü-fou, when he was twenty years of age and had probably come to the city, would impress him on the other hand with a sense of the degeneracy of his times.—The chancellor Chi-sun I-ju (意如) (hon. ep., P'ing-tzŭ) had just returned from a raid upon Chü and brought back some captives from one of its cities whom he had offered as victims

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at the altar of Po. Tso-shih calls it a sacrifice and probably there was some religious idea lurking in the dark mind of the chief. With the many murders which had stained its streets, the city had never witnessed a scene like this. It was opposed by the best people, and the historiographers—or was it Confucius himself when he came to edit the records?—refused to stigmatize their country by recording it in the state chronicle.

Two years later, evidence of political degeneration was brought home to him. By this time the great clans had made Ch'ü-fou their usual residence, leaving the care of their estates to stewards. Chi-sun I-ju was foolish enough to treat his officer Nan K'uai, who was in charge of Pi, with disrespect, so that Nan secured a party at court and offered to rebel against his master and hold the city for the marquis. Though poorly supported, he was able to resist a siege and only succumbed the next year through the people being won back to their allegiance. He fled to the court of Ch'i and was called a rebel by the marquis; he answered that what he had done was in behalf of the ducal house. He was told by a minister standing by that there was no greater fault in an officer of a clan than the wish to increase the ducal power. Such a conception of duty, expressed by one in the presence of his own feudal lord, must have been widely accepted and it explains much of what happened in the China of Confucius' day.

Immediately afterwards marquis Chao and Chi-sun I-ju had to justify themselves before the great assembly of nobles at P'ing-ch'iu (平丘), for the invasion of Chü. They were not to be tried by a jury of their peers, for all the business of these durbars was done in the council-chamber of Chin: the nobles were diplomats, or in a case like this perhaps barristers, but the chancellor of Chin was judge without a jury. At P'ing-ch'iu, B.C. 529, Chin made a great effort to recover its weakening hold upon the states and displayed all its military power; but it became apparent that there was no unity in its councils. In a great measure it was a game of bluff, and the shrewdness of Tzŭ-ch'an out-bluffed the Lord of Covenants. He kept the assembly as a whole discussing the tribute which Ch'êng should pay and won the approval of Confucius for his

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championship of the smaller states. Chin, however, saw its way to pass judgment between Lu and Chü. Marquis Chao was not allowed to take part in the covenant and Chi-sun was put under arrest ; but nothing was said as yet about restoring the stolen lands. Chao returned to Lu alone. He gave evidence that though he may have dallied with Nan-k'uai's plot, he had not fully joined it, by setting out again in the same year to ask for his release.[1] When he came to the Yellow River, however, he was told that the two states were not on terms of friendship and he had to return discomfited. On consideration, policy obtained the upper hand over principle in the councils of Chin.

Seeing that they had recently failed to save the old Chou states of Ch'ên (陳) and Ts'ai (蔡) from extinction by the "barbarous" Ch'u, and were now punishing another state on the suit of the barbarous Chü, the ministers were wishful to set Chi-sun at liberty, but as he had been legally convicted it could not be done openly. He was therefore told that his escape would be connived at. He, however, made a show of dignity and refused to leave without a formal acquittal: but when it was hinted that a place was being prepared for his confinement in the far west, his courage gave way and he left Chiang without having obtained acquittal. Confucius was then twenty-five years of age and probably had already begun to teach. Despite his small resources the vocation was far from being a mere means of livelihood, for he accepted all promising pupils although they could offer him a fee of no more than a bundle of dried fish. It would also be at about this time that he took the inferior post under the government which Mencius instanced as an example of how office may be accepted for the personal motive of earning a living provided that, as in the case of Confucius, its duties were faithfully performed. In his position, fidelity to office would not

(1) The reason of his journey, however, is only conjectural. Tso-shih merely says that it was "because of P'ing-ch'iu." The marquis had made no covenant and the refusal of his visit shows that it was not demanded from him: yet as his journey resulted from what was done at the meeting, it was most likely to ask for Chi-sun's release.

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debar him from private tuition. As Dr. Legge points out, his pupils were more advanced students and not lads requiring constant supervision. Tso-shih relates an incident which appears to show him in the position of tutor to grown-up students when he was thirty years of age. In the neighbouring state of Wei the Minister of Justice was deprived of his office and city by the marquis's elder brother. He had previously recommended a friend, Tsung Lu (宗魯), to the prince's service and now, plotting revenge, advised him not to go abroad with his master. Tsung Lu replied: "You recommended me to him because of my character. I know him to be a bad man, but I have served him for gain and if I leave him in his danger I shall belie what you said of me; therefore I will die with him and complete my service to you." The prince had a sacrifice outside the city and the ex-Minister of Justice arranged for a cart-load of fagots to block the gate in front of him on his return and a war-chariot to follow him. As the fatal blow was struck, Tsung Lu intervened with his own body and both were slain. In consequence of the disturbance the marquis had for a time to flee from his capital. When news of the murder came to Lu, Ch'in Lao (琴牢)[1] wanted to go and condole with Tsung Lu's family, but Confucius said: "Why should you do so? A superior man does not eat the bread of the wicked or conceal rebellion or endanger himself for gain." The judgment upon Tsung Lu's life perhaps was just, but it was ungenerous in paying no tribute to the manner of his death: it may, however, be approved in that its probable aim was to prevent his pupil from interrupting his studies by a long journey when there was no absolute reason for it. This is not the only harsh saying of the Master, recorded by Tso-shih. Their acquaintance was long and the historian of about the same age would remember many early opinions which he had outgrown when the compilers of the *Analects* knew him in his maturer years.

In the same year marquis Ching of Ch'i went hunting with Yen P'ing-chung (晏平仲). Ssŭ-ma tells us that being

(1) *Analects*, IX, vi, 4.

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on the borders they went on to Ch'ü-fou in order to see the ceremonies of Lu. The visit would be one of the things which we expect to find recorded in the *Ch'un-ch'iu*, but there is no reference to it either in the text or the commentary. Tso-shih relates an incident about the signaller of the hunt on which Confucius commented, but does not say that the party visited Lu and it is not known that Confucius ever met Yen-tzŭ. He said of him that he knew how to maintain a friendship and though it might be long he showed respect throughout. Yen-tzŭ was more the friend than the adviser of marquis Ching, and a philosopher more than a politician. Tso-shih quotes none of his opinions upon current affairs outside his own state but shows him when sitting with his friend and lord to have exerted a constant and not always indirect influence towards reformation in Ch'i. Once the marquis told him that he wished to build him a new and larger house than the one in which his father lived and which still contented him. He would not take the gift and said that he found a convenience in being near the market. The marquis said smilingly, "So that you may know the price of things?" "If it be an advantage," said Yen-tzŭ, "why should I not know it?" "Well, what is cheap just now and what is dear?" The punishment of cutting off toes was frequent in Ch'i, so Yen answered, "Shoes without toes are dear and other shoes cheap." After that the punishment was inflicted less often. A little later Yen P'ing-chung had to go to Chin and the marquis changed his house for a larger one in a better locality. When he came back he found the house ready, but he had it pulled down and the old one rebuilt.

Two other statesmen of his youth noted for elevated views of life, Tzŭ-ch'an of Ch'êng and Shu-hsiang (叔向) of Chin, Confucius is also not known to have met. Tso-shih is fond of quoting the remarks of both of these men upon all current affairs and gives a pleasing glimpse into the private correspondence which the leaders of thought maintained between themselves besides their official despatches. Tzŭ-ch'an found fit to publish the penal code, whereupon Shu-hsiang wrote him a long letter saying that the thing

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would surely lead to disorder in after years by making the people take advantage of their knowledge of the law instead of following the general principles of virtue and the guidance of their superiors. He said that hitherto he had looked up to Tzŭ-ch'an as an ideal in state-craft, but could now do so no longer. Tzŭ-ch'an replied that for himself he would not pretend to the wisdom which could provide for future generations and must content himself with serving the present; he nevertheless would not forget his friend's great kindness. Such correspondence was probably not uncommon amongst the statesmen of the time. But all these three men passed away before Confucius reached maturity; he was still untried and is unlikely to have been admitted into the upper circle. He was, however, alive to every movement of his time and may have had his own correspondents in Chin and Ch'êng. Tzŭ-ch'an died in the same year with Tsung-lu; he said to him who was to succeed to his office, "It is only the perfectly virtuous who can rule by mildness: the next best thing is severity; when the fire blazes men look on in awe and few are burnt; but they make sport of the weakness of water and many are drowned." His successor, however, could not at first bring himself to be severe, and banditti increased so that he had at last to exterminate them with troops. Confucius hearing of it said—"Good. When government is mild, the people despise it and severity has to take its place: mildness serves to temper severity and severity to strengthen mildness." Of Tzŭ-ch'an as a man he said, shedding tears for his death—"His was a love transmitted from the ancients." The young scholar—or we may think the aged historian, when in after years he came to discuss the making of the *Ch'un-ch'iu* and its commentary with his fellow-worker amongst the archives,—gave a more critical opinion upon Shu-hsiang, pronouncing him to have been an upright judge who did not conceal the faults of his own relatives; but hesitating whether to call him righteous because, by increasing his own glory (without personal loss), his judgments may have had only the semblance of righteousness.

There was a fourth famous man of the age in Chi-tzŭ

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(季子) of Wu, whom Confucius probably met at a later time. He made his great tour of the states fully described in the *Tso chuan* in B.C. 544. Of the men in Lu he was most pleased with Shu-sun Pao, telling him that though he loved good men he had not the insight to choose them for office; in Ch'êng he met Tzŭ-ch'an "as an old friend," but blamed his extravagance. In Chin he said that Shu-hsiang was straightforward and urged him to do his best; and in Ch'i he advised the somewhat parsimonious Yen P'ing-chung to renounce a great part of his estates. He outlived all these men and in his old age (B.C. 515) he made another tour when Confucius was thirty-seven years of age. Lu was then without its marquis and was technically in "disorder," but was well governed and, as Chi-tzŭ's commission was to gauge the policy of the "upper states" and its leading men, he probably went to Ch'ü-fou and we may believe that he and Confucius, between whom so many conversations have been imagined, really met.

So the young philosopher grew up in a state noted for its learning and elegance. Even Lu, however, could be humiliated in matters of ceremony. In B.C. 521 an envoy came from Chin; Shu-sun Shê (舍) (hon. ep., Chao-tzŭ), then head of his clan, was responsible for his reception and Chi-sun I-ju, wishing to embroil him with Chin, made the officers pay to the envoy the same ceremonies which had been paid to the envoy of Ch'i who came to restore the city of Pi seven years before. The Chin minister was angry, his rank being higher than that which the Ch'i envoy had held, as his country was greater, and he threatened to report the matter to his ruler. The people of Lu were alarmed and added four sets of animals, making eleven in all.[1] Confucius would witness his country's loss of face but his inferior position prevented him from criticizing an action which, if he had had authority, he would not have allowed.

(1) We see here something of the cost of these envoys; their retinue of 500 men had also to be maintained.

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In B.C. 518 Chio (㚟) (hon. ep., Hsi-tzŭ), the chief of the Mêng-sun, died. During his early career he had found occasion to regret his lack of knowledge in ceremonial matters and tried later to correct it. On his death-bed he wanted his sons to make a better start in life. Hearing of Confucius' rising fame and knowing him to be the worthy offspring of a worthy stock, he ordered his sons to be put under his tuition. Confucius said of him—let us hope later—what he might have said of Tsung Lu, that he who mends his errors is a superior man. He was now thirty-four years of age. The fact that he had charge of two scions of a great house would give his school a reputation such as it had possibly not yet had. One of the sons was Ho-chi (何忌) (hon. ep., I-tzŭ), the heir who became head of the clan. The youths were in their teens.[1] Ho-chi's position would probably not leave him much time for his studies and neither of them is generally recognized as a disciple of the Master.

Eighteen months later marquis Chao was in flight. He had been half inclined to listen to Nan-k'uai's plot, but apparently had no strong enmity against Chi-sun I-ju: yet he cannot have had much affection for a minister who would allow the service of the grand temple to be short of pantomimes because they were being used by himself. Other members of the ducal family were not so contented with the condition of things. Three of his sons joined in a plot to do away with I-ju, but their father at first would not fall in with it. Mêng-sun Ho-chi was young and Shu-sun Shê was in Sung; he consulted, however, with the Tsang (臧) and Hou (郈) families, both of which had suffered through I-ju listening to slanders and they thought the thing feasible. He then consulted with the head of the Tzŭ-chia (子家) clan, who saw difficulties, but having once listened to the plot fell in reluctantly with it. They made a surprise attack upon Chi-sun and forced an entrance into his house. He took refuge in the tower and offered to retire to the confines to await the investigation of his offences. This was refused. He then offered to submit to

(1) *Tso chuan*, 634 a (but the account is not very clear).

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confinement in his own city of Pi. That, too, was refused and finally he offered to leave the state with only five chariots. Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ advised the marquis to accept this last offer whilst Hou-tzŭ urged him to put the suppliant to death. In doubt, the marquis sent for the young Mêng-sun Ho-chi. Meanwhile the steward of the Shu-sun, in his master's absence, assembled his people and asked them what was to be done. They decided to stand or fall with Chi-sun: so they entered his house through the barricade at the back and finding the marquis's followers sitting about, easily drove them out. When Ho-chi arrived, seeing the Shu-sun flag flying, he slew Hou-tzŭ and attacked the marquis's men. On the failure of the enterprise Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ advised the marquis to remain in the city and he with the other officers would take the blame of the affair. But Chao could no longer endure to stay: he took Tsang-tzŭ to consult at the tombs and the next day set out unmolested for Ch'i.

Shu-sun Shê returned very soon afterwards and went to see Chi-sun I-ju who bowed to the ground before him and, being blamed for what he had done, besought him to arrange matters so that he might serve his ruler in a different way from what he had done. With this Shu-sun went to see the marquis and it was decided that he should get rid of his hot-headed followers and return to Lu. For this purpose Shu-sun came again, but on arriving he found that I-ju had changed his mind. Unable now to do anything, on the thirty-second day after the flight he fasted in his chamber, made his priest pray for his death and died after seven days. This was in the autumn of 517 B.C. Marquis Chao never saw his capital again, but we will not dwell upon the ignominy of his exile. He bungled his affairs sadly: Tzŭ-chia-tzŭ was the only one in his suite who was capable of taking a just view of their position; but Chao, unable to overcome his feeling of wounded pride, was ever led by his other uncompromising followers and made it easy for Chi-sun's bribes to prevent his return.[1]

(1) See Professor Parker in *New China Review*, Vol. 1, p. 389.

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Confucius was probably in Ch'ü-fou when the marquis fled. We may surmise what he thought about it. Later he once said what he could in Chao's favour;[1] but no judgment of his upon the events which led to the flight has been put on record. His own pupil, though but for a few months, had been the immediate cause of his ruler's disgrace: he appears only once in the *Analects*, to ask about filial piety and we should like to know the precise point of the Master's answer.

Ssŭ-ma makes Confucius also to have gone to Ch'i, take office under the marquis Ching and leave it when Ching confessed that he could not practise his teaching. All his conversations with the marquis recorded so briefly in the *Analects* fit best with a later date. It is only certain that the contempt which Tso-shih heaps upon the followers of the fugitive makes it impossible to think that Confucius was amongst them. Not having held high office he was under no obligation to refuse to remain in Lu: indeed Ssŭ-ma admits that he did not object to live there under the interregnum. During that time the Royal Domain was in great confusion owing to Prince Chao (朝) claiming the succession to King Ching. Tso-shih gives a detailed chronicle of the civil war which tore the Domain for four years. It is not embellished with the personal anecdotes which delight us in his history of the feudal states. There was a general reluctance to discuss the affairs of the Royal House, which accounts for much of our ignorance of its doings. Confucius was as silent about it as he was about the flight of his own ruler, whom he probably could not altogether acquit of blame. We have, however, his verdict upon two events of this time in Chin. In B.C. 514 Wei Hsien-tzŭ became head of the government in Chin. He issued a list of appointments and promotions: amongst them he made Chia Hsin (賈辛) commandant of an important city because of his service to the Royal House. Another appointment gave him some trouble through the fear of being thought guilty of nepotism. But at length he gave it to his own son by a concubine, because of his known honesty. Hearing

(1) *Analects*, VII, xxx: cf. *Tso chuan*, 604 b.

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about it Confucius said that Wei-tzŭ had not failed in his duty to his own house nor erred in promoting those more distant; his conduct was just, and in rewarding Chia Hsin he was loyal. In the next year Chin followed the example of Tzŭ-ch'an in Ch'êng and published its penal code, when Confucius took Hsu-hsiang's view that it was a sign of degeneration. He was then but thirty-nine years of age and let us hope that he had not yet outgrown the dogmatism of youth; for in the *Analects* we find him more generously insisting upon the need of educating the people.

During the seven years of the interregnum, Lu was admittedly well governed by I-ju with the consent of the people; the public sacrifices were offered, the foreign policy was peaceable and the eastern tribes submitted. When Chao died he was buried close to the family mausoleum at K'an (闕), but apart from his ancestors. His sons having been the chief instigators in the attack upon I-ju, the Minister passed them over and raised his younger brother, marquis Ting, to the title. He offered to admit Tzŭ-chia-tzū to a share in the government and to receive any of his fellow-exiles whom he thought fit to recommend, but the offer was rejected. Chi-sun I-ju died in the fifth year of the new reign. Undoubtedly the ultimate cause of the marquis's flight, he did not, however, actually drive him out. It is easy now to say that after the unsuccessful attack upon his house he should have again offered himself for trial, but such a course was well-nigh impossible to a man of his caution. He is more open to blame for rejecting Shu-shun's mediation. He was neither a great patriot nor an infamous rebel, but in his way an upright man with small aims. Being unable to sacrifice himself, he was compelled to prevent the return of his lord; but once his safety and wealth were secure, he had no further ambition.

On his death in B.C. 505 disorder at once broke out. Yang Huo (陽貨) was his steward and began purging out the servants of the clan who were not for himself. The new chief, Chi-sun Ssŭ (斯) (hon. ep., Huan-tzŭ), played into his hands by ordering him to dismiss a faithful officer who would not flatter. In the fall of the year Yang Huo put his new master

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in confinement and forced a covenant upon him at the Grain Gate, He made his residence in Ch'ü-fou and used the hereditary chancellorship to control the government. He did not assume any office,[1] but the force of his personality, backed by the resources of the Chi-sun, gave him the direction of Lu for three years.

Striving to attract everyone to his party, he did not neglect the learned and conservative. Probably, as Dr. Legge thought, it was to intimate his intention of reforming religious and civil affairs that he restored the tablets in the ducal temple to their proper order[2] which had been broken since the time of marquis Hsi. Such a policy would appeal to men like Confucius. Ssŭ-ma has a tale that once in his early years the sage had been reproved by Yang Huo for going to a banquet during a time of mourning. Be that as it may, Yang now let Confucius know that he wished him to call upon him. He seems to have had a certain charm of manner and to have retained some good feeling, but his unprincipled behaviour made Confucius decline the invitation of his old acquaintance. Yang then sent him a present of a pig which he felt obliged to acknowledge, but did so at a time when he knew that his host would be away from home. Such delicate adjustments of conflicting principles soon fail. Confucius was button-holed. He was asked, "Can a man who keeps his jewel in his bosom and leaves his country to confusion be called benevolent?" "No." "And can he who, desirous of office, constantly neglects opportunities of taking office be called wise?" The answer again was "No." "The days and months," continued Yang, "and the years do not wait for us." "Right," said Confucius, "I will take office." He did so very soon afterwards, but not from the hands of Yang Huo. Sometime during these years, Confucius was inclined to visit Kung-shou Fu-jao, the commandant at Pi. This man's attitude at

(1) The orders which he issued appear to have been in the name of the marquis or the chief of the clan concerned (see *Tso chuan*, 770 a).

(2) SXI, viii, 15. This was just before his final attempt to grasp power. His conversation with Confucius, given in the *Analects*, cannot be given its precise sequence.

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first was not one of open rebellion. He had restrained Yang from killing a servant of the clan for refusing to bury Chi-sun I-ju with a jewel which he had worn throughout the interregnum, "because," he said, "the man acted on behalf of his ruler." He was appointed to Pi by Chi-sun Ssŭ before Yang attempted his *coup* and did not definitely join the adventurer until just before his fall. Still, being commandant of the principal city of the clan upon which Yang depended, his position was sufficiently dubious to make the disciple Tzŭ-lu (子路) object to the visit; and, on reflection, Confucius felt that even with the possibilities which might ensue, it was not the thing to do.

Just before Chi-sun I-ju's death the great meeting of nobles at Shao-ling (召陵), finally displayed the weakness of Chin. Ch'i at once made a bid for the leadership and brought Wei and Ch'êng into its scheme. Yang Huo remained faithful to the old Lord of Covenants and on its behalf invaded Ch'êng. For eighty years, no marquis of Lu had led an army, but Yang could not afford either to give the army to the leadership of other than himself nor to leave his ruler behind; so he compelled marquis Ting, Chi-sun and Mêng-sun all to take the field, and captured the city of K'uang (匡).[1] In the winter he imposed a covenant upon the marquis and the chiefs of the three clans at the altar of Po and had the imprecations against the breaking of it spoken in the street of the Five Elders. During the next year he prepared another *coup*. He won over to his cause more restless spirits and bound Kung-shan Fu-jao more stringently. The conspirators planned to carry off the three chiefs, to give the Chi-sun and Shu-sun to men of the clans of their own choice, and the lands of the Mêng-sun to Yang. Chi-sun Ssŭ was to be the

(1) The danger which beset Confucius not many years afterwards in K'uang (*Analects*, IX, v: XI, xxiv.) is thought to have been connected with the hatred of the people, for Yang Huo is supposed to have resembled the sage in appearance. The K'uang of the *Analects* is thought by some to have been in Sung whither Yang fled from Ch'i. Thence, after having made the place too hot for himself, he proceeded to Chin and fished in the troubled waters of its civil war. (*Tso chuan*, 773 a, 819 b.)

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first victim. A banquet was prepared for him in an orchard. On the way to it he was surrounded by so strong a guard that his suspicions were aroused. He persuaded his charioteer to attempt an escape and the horses were lashed up until, amidst a shower of arrows, they came to a house belonging to Mêng-sun. Ho-chi had previously obtained an inkling of the plot, but leaving his fellow-chief to his fate, sent to his country-seat for troops to protect himself. Yang issued a ducal order for a general attack upon Mêng-sun: but the chief's troops were now arriving and after two days' fighting in the streets, Yang was driven out. He retired leisurely and held one of the passes until the following summer, when he fled to Ch'i.

The next date in the life of Confucius which Tso-shih fixes for us is that of the treaty of Chia-ku (夾谷), when he acted as chancellor to the marquis. Only eighteen months had elapsed since Yang Huo's flight but in that time much might happen. He was now nearly fifty years of age. He had not disputed Yang Huo's implication that he was desirous of office and when a more normal government was established he had no scruple about working with it. Evidently sought after, he would probably have a choice of the posts which the new régime had to fill, and it is not surprising that he was sent so soon to act as the marquis's chief adviser at Chia Ku. Tso-shih says in another place that when Minister of Justice he had the boundary of the mausoleum at K'an enlarged so as to enclose the grave of marquis Chao.[1] This would be before going to Chia-ku where he is called *hsiang* (相) or, as Ssŭ-ma took the word to mean, Chancellor: but he held the post only temporarily. For several generations the Chancellorship had been with the chief of the Chi-sun family. They had ceased to attend the marquis abroad at these formal meetings and, as the terms of peace with Ch'i had already been arranged, the business at Chia-ku was only to take the oath of ratification; but the ducal dignity had to be preserved;

(1) *Tso chuan*, 745b. In both the *Tso chuan* and *Mencius*, Confucius appears only as Minister of Justice. Ssŭ-ma makes him first to have held a magistrac and the ministry of works. It is quite possible.

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so in the absence of the proper Chancellor the minister in attendance was given an acting rank. Confucius was never the Chancellor of Lu. In the summer of B.C. 500 the two marquises met. These meetings of nobles for public business upon equal terms were always in the open country and usually at some place near the frontiers. Camps were pitched, pavilions erected and the nobles assembled with their panoply. The marquis of Ch'i was advised that Confucius being a man of ceremonies without courage, marquis Ting might be carried off by employing some captives of the I tribes. It was arranged accordingly. But as the barbarians began to crowd around, "the man of ceremonies" saw what was happening and, stepping forward, said:—"Let the soldiers smite these slaves; my lord and the lord of Ch'i are met on terms of friendship; to allow armed barbarians to bring confusion into our great land is not the way to get obedience of the states; before the spirits it is inauspicious and between man and man it is a breach of propriety." When the marquis of Ch'i heard this he ordered the men away. Then the covenant came to be taken. A beast was held by the ears and bled; each signatory dipped his finger in the blood, smeared his lips with it and took the oath.[1] The terms had already been settled but immediately before the binding rite was performed the people of Ch'i added a clause—"Be it to Lu according to the curses of this covenant if, when the army of Ch'i goes abroad, Lu does not follow with 300 chariots." Confucius promptly added a counter clause—"Be it so also to Ch'i if, without restoring our lands, it expects us to obey its orders." The business being over, the marquis of Ch'i invited marquis Ting to a banquet: but Confucius, evidently still suspicious, declined the invitation and hurried his master away. Ch'i faithfully fulfilled its obligation to restore the lands.

(1) A short time before this Chin had disgusted its own few remaining allies by allowing one of its officers at a forced covenant with Wei to thrust the marquis's hand up to the wrist into the blood of the victim. At the more "Solemn Meeting" with fuller rites, the victim was probably slaughtered. (See Professor Parker in *New China Review*, Vol. I, p. 392).

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Peace was made abroad but there was still a back-wash of the trouble at home. The evil of the great chiefs committing their estates into the hands of stewards had already been felt by the Chi-sun, and while the marquis was at Chia-ku trouble was brewing in Hou, the chief seat of the Shu-sun. Its Master of Horse was ordered by his chief to assassinate the commandant of the city; when the deed was done he held the city in revolt and withstood two sieges. He was only driven out by the people being made to believe that he intended to hand them over to Ch'i.

With these experiences the three chiefs agreed to the proposal that Pi, Hou and Ch'êng should be dismantled. They were resident in Ch'ü-fou and, having little to fear from the marquis but more from their own officers, did not probably feel so much the need of their country strongholds. The proposal originated with the disciple Tzŭ-lu who was now in the employ of the Chi-sun, and Confucius took it up. In the summer of B.C. 498 Shu-sun dismantled Hou, and Chi-sun was going to do the same with Pi; but Kung-shan Fu-jao led his men to surprise the capital. The marquis and the three chiefs took refuge in the tower of Chi-sun's palace where they were attacked by the men of Pi, the rebels penetrating nearly to where the marquis and his party were. Were they huddled together in the same chambers in which Chi-sun's father pleaded with marquis Ting's brother for his life and was delivered by Mêng-sun Ho-chi? The record is not clear as to where Confucius was at the time. It seems to suggest that he was also in the chamber, but we can understand what followed best by supposing him to have been outside the palace. This "man of ceremonies" was destined again to save his ruler's liberty if not life. He ordered two officers to attack the rebels, who were driven out. They fled, pursued by the people, were again defeated in the country and the dismantling of Pi was proceeded with. Then came the turn of Ch'êng. Mêng-shun Ho-chi's steward persuaded him that its fortifications were necessary both to himself and to the state, for without Ch'êng there would be no Mêng-sun and no bulwark against Ch'i. "With your approval," he said, "I

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will not destroy the forts: you, however, need know nothing about it." So Ho-chi connived at opposition to his late teacher's policy and in the last month of the year the marquis was obliged to besiege the stronghold. He failed to take it and the "reformation" was stopped. The steward's arguments were not disinterested, but it was probably true that the dismantling of the cities would not have been advantageous to Lu. In those times the security of a state demanded a strong frontier, and the soundest advice had always taught the folly of relying only upon a fortified capital.[1] True, Lu had other frontier strongholds; but these three were the principal ones and were held so much in awe that they had never been attacked by Lu's enemies and could only be taken by prolonged siege. If the purpose of Confucius' policy were to break the power of the clans, it would probably have been better to deprive them of some of their lands or to hold the cities in the name of the State. Such a course, however, would have required a fresh reorganization of the army and could not have been done with the consent of the three chiefs. There was in fact a vicious circle, each part being both cause and effect; and a practical statesman is not to be too severely criticized for trying to break it at the point of least resistance.

From this time for many years Confucius drops out of Tso-shih's chronicle of Lu. The gift of the dancing-girls which led to his retirement is generally dated very soon after the failure at Ch'êng. We need not suppose with many Chinese writers that the gift was meant specially to undermine Confucius' influence. The account in the *Analects*, by throwing the blame on Chi-sun Ssŭ, suggests that Confucius used his privilege as a high minister to oppose receiving the gift. But the sanction of his superior prevailed. The Court gave itself up to pleasure; no public business was done and in three days Confucius took his departure. Mencius adds that,

(1) Tzŭ-ch'an had maintained it in Ch'êng. In B.C. 506 Ch'u suffered through the reversal of this policy, and by neglecting its frontiers opened itself to devastation by Wu in the most bloody war of *Ch'un-ch'iu* times.

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the sacrificial flesh not being sent to him, he went away without waiting to take off his ceremonial headdress and explains that he purposely chose a small point of disrespect to himself (罪) as an excuse for leaving, but that his real reason was the neglect of the ceremony. Apparently the sacrifice had not been offered and Confucius made it appear that he left because of personal pique in order not to draw attention to his ruler's greater fault.

Thus ended Confucius' career as a Minister after little more than three years. He had not fulfilled his promise, "If there were any to employ him, in twelve months something would be done and in three years it would be perfected." The words, spoken in the enthusiasm of comparative youth,[1] imply the need of trust on the part of his master; though his opportunity had been unique in the very difficulties which had beset Lu, it did not give him this essential. It is sometimes easier to reform a kingdom than a single individual, and we can understand how Confucius' unbending gravity would fail to acquire real influence over a prince like marquis Ting.[2] The sage was not the man to "carve rotten wood." Perhaps the failure of Yen P'ing-chung's more companionable method with marquis Ching drove him to a greater austerity. Tzŭ-ch'an's difficulty between severity and mildness is met with in all intercourses of life. A way to blend the two may be acquired by a statesman in dealing with the masses, but in dealing with individuals such a method must be the outcome of naturalness, and it is doubtful whether Confucius ever possessed this natural tact. He was kind and often forbearing, but never perhaps outgrew the ways of the schoolmaster. In a larger field than the one immediately before him his work has not failed. When he left Lu, charioteered by the

(1) Ssŭ-ma refers the saying to the time when he was in Wei, but without apparent reason. It is difficult to imagine it being uttered so soon after his great failure.

(2) The *Analects* preserves two of his conversations with Ting. If what he said had any direct practical application to the prince, they imply a want in him of serious thought.

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faithful, indomitable Tzŭ-lu, who, we must suppose, resigned his post at the same time with his master, he came to the borders of Wei. The custodian of the town introduced himself and coming away from the interview said to the group of disciples: "My friends, why are you distressed at your master's loss of office? . . . Heaven is about to use him as a bell with its wooden tongue." His confidence has been justified. If Confucius did not reform Lu, he has done much to preserve China.

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BOOK IV—THE SUPERNATURAL

CHAPTER I

SPIRIT RAPPING (請神), *ch'ing shên*

This is rather a game than any real intercourse with the spirits, but it is very difficult to fix the boundary between the two; worship and play seem to dovetail the one into the other.

To invite the table spirit, *cho-tzŭ shên* (桌子神); table rapping. One table is put face downwards on another with a common rice basin between them. A person then takes hold of each of the four corners of the upturned table, and tries to hold it steady. When the spirit comes the table moves up and down or turns round.

To invite the spirit of the carrying pole, *pien tan shên* (請扁擔神). The pole is laid across the table, two persons blindfolded hold the ends, and try to keep the pole down. When the spirit comes, the pole moves up and down in spite of them.

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To invite the rake (*ba*, 笆) spirit. A youth sits with eyes blindfolded and holds a rake upright. The others burn incense and paper and invite the spirit of the rake to come and do the work for them. When the spirit comes the rake is moved and the fuel is gathered by the rake itself apart from human energy.

To invite the spirit of the seventh virgin, *ch'i ku-niang* (七姑娘). She is said to be the seventh daughter of the Pearly Emperor, and is patronized by girls who want to know what kind of lot may be in store for them. The maiden who is inquiring sits with head covered while others burn incense and paper.

To look at the flowers, *kuan hua* (觀花). The girl who inquires for the others is set down in a quiet spot; others burn incense and candles to invite the spirit of the flower garden. She then goes in spirit and thus finds out under which tree the lot of her client is to be cast. If under the palm, fir, or soap trees, the lot will be a bitter one. If under the *kuei hua* the lot will be one of riches and honour. Under the camelia means happiness and peace; the cedar means long life and strength. The person who practises this art is paid for it by the clients.

To invite the spirit of the broom, *sao pa* (掃把) *shên*. The broom is put into a child's hands and the eyes blindfolded, paper and incense are burned and the spirit invited to help the child to sweep the floor. If the floor is not well swept, the child is beaten by the onlookers.

To invite the spirit of the earth bullock. Two youths are blindfolded and set down together. The spirit is invited and when it comes the two youths begin to knock each other's heads till some serious injury is inflicted. Eyes are knocked out, noses broken, and the youth is not infrequently injured for life. Parents forbid the practice, but it is still secretly done in secluded spots.

To invite the stool (*pan têng*, 板凳) god. Two children are blindfolded and set one at each end of a form to hold it down. The spirit is invited and when it comes the stool tilts up or turns round with the children sitting on it.

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Ghosts.

Anathematizing the ghost, *chou hsiao shên tzŭ* (咒小神子), is done by such persons as the travelling fortune teller or the itinerant Taoist priest called a 遊方道士. He may go to a house on the excuse that he desires to tell a boy's fortune, for which purpose the horoscope is necessary. He mentally carries away the particulars of the horoscope. The bark is then peeled from a growing tree, and the horoscope pasted on the bared part, and anathematized by him for forty-nine days, after which time the piece of the tree with the horoscope is gouged out and taken home, and a small idol made of it, which is also anathematized, till such time as the image speaks; at this juncture it is believed that the child dies. This little idol is further worshipped and taught to do as it is bid. It may even enter houses and steal for its master. Or it may be let loose in an enemy's house for revenge, intimidation or robbery. This last is practised by the following people:

Nuns (尼姑), *ni ku*, *Tao ku* (道姑); *hua ku* (花姑), embroidery women, who very seldom have husbands and are sometimes men in disguise; toothache witch doctors (牙婆), *ya p'o*, who pretend to extract the worm from a diseased tooth by way of the eye; *wen p'o* (穩婆) and *ch'ü shêng* (取生) *p'o*, midwives; or 藥媽媽, medicine mothers; *hsiang* (相) *p'o*, physiognomists; fortune tellers, *suan ming* (算命) *p'o;* and go-betweens in marriages, *mei* (媒) *p'o*.

The above classes, on entering a house, are sure to make trouble. If they are meanly or harshly treated, they may let loose a ghost in the house, which will manifest itself in the following ways: short hair will be found in the rice-steamer, or filth of various kinds will find its way into the rice; reeds become transformed into darts and fly at people; the rope on which tobacco leaves are dried becomes a snake to bite the family; twigs become fire-darts to set the house on fire; a paper image steals the family property; tiles are pulled from the roof of the house in the night, or brickbats are thrown into the house in the night;

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the house is set on fire at any time, but specially in the night, or the shell of the bamboo sprout becomes a living being to frighten people; or they annoy by making the rooster crow at bedtime and the dogs bark all the night through.

Sometimes large sums of money are paid to have a ghost taken out of the house, but twenty or thirty taels is quite a common price. If the person who let loose the ghost is invited to remove it, he will demand much more than another, but another can do it. When he does find the wooden idol it is burned and it is popularly believed that the person who let the ghost go will suffer, because the spirit will go and harass him. Most Chinese have a great dread of certain objects and houses which are supposed to be haunted, and it is with the greatest difficulty that they can cut clear of this superstition; it should always be borne in mind that such things are very real to them, however silly they may appear to us.

The "Planchette."

To seek the counsel of the spirits by the aid of the stylus, *k'ung chung hsüan pi* (空中懸筆). Various forms of this cult have been in use for many centuries. The present mode is to make a string of silk thread or human hair and suspend it from the roof, with a pen made of peach or willow twig. Directly under this pen is placed a table covered with fine dry river-sand. Incense and paper are burned before the tablet of the stylus house god, the attention of the spirits called and their help besought.

When the spirits come the pencil moves and writes characters on the sand. If nonsense is written, the manager, *chi shou* (乩手), further invokes the spirits by the *k'o t'ou* (kotow) and more incense and paper burning, and when the pencil writes real characters one man reads aloud and another makes a record. Enquiring from a converted *chi shou* as to the possibility of falsifying these pencil motions, he declares that with this kind of stylus there is no trickery, but the pencil does not move without being invited and not always then,

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and seldom moves to advantage, but he has known it to write wonderfully true things.

The tablets written in the stylus house are of two different sorts, one to the celestials, the other to *lü tsu* (呂祖). They are as follows ;

天上地下蓬萊洞府仙眞,純陽演正警化孚佑帝君.

The *t'ao chi liu pi* (桃箕柳筆) is a forked branch of a peach tree with willow twig fastened to the lower side of the single point ; it resembles a bird with outspread wings and beak, and is supposed to contain the essence of seminal power and divine influence. Two men grasp the prongs of the stylus and hold it over the table of sand ; the spirits are invoked and the stylus writes. This is a more degraded method than the former, as the two men who hold the prongs, if of one mind, can write almost anything they please. This form of the stylus is also known as *fu luan chiang chi* (扶鸞降乩).

The most degraded of magic pens is that used by one man, *tu jên mei pi* (獨人墨筆), who pleases himself what he writes.

Sometimes the magic pen will only write nonsense and then he has resort to the following charms to correct the trouble : *chua-hsien fu* (抓仙符), the grasp celestial charm; *chan kuei fu* (斬鬼符), behead-demon charm; *chu yao fu* (誅妖符), kill-demon charm. These charms are all burned before the tablet to the stylus house god.

Necromancy (交邪).

Tsou yin chiang hsiang (走陰降像), to enter Hades and obtain an image. This is done by a male devotee of some idol, whose eyes are blindfolded with five feet of red or black cloth. A charm is made and burned, and he has to drink part of the ashes mixed in water, after which he has to sit on a chair, while another person spatters a mouthful of the charm-water all over his person. This done, he opens his mouth and speaks what is believed to be the revelation from the spirits.

Ch'i shui k'an wan (起水看碗), to lift water and stare into the bowl. This is done by both sexes of all ages. The

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basin is filled with water, a charm is prepared and burned and the ashes mixed with the water. The reader of the spirits' decrees then stares into the basin and declares he sees and hears wonderful things belonging to another world.

Ch'i kuang chao p'an (起光照盤), to make the light shine upon the platter. A platter is taken and the necessary charms burned and incantations made over it; it is then handed to the person seeking guidance and light, who is made to look therein, and he may be persuaded to believe that he sees something that will throw light on his path.

To call the immortals and question them as to the happiness or misery and final condition of the departed and as to whether they are able to help or hinder those at present living, is called *kuan hsien* (關仙).

To invite the spirits of departed ancestors, or deceased relatives, to enquire about their state in Hades is *kuan hun chien ch'in* (關魂見親). This is done much in the same way as in the first and second items under this heading.

In curing the demon-possessed, *shou fèng ta hsieh* (收鳳打邪), the demoniac is brought into the presence of the practitioner of the art; a jar is brought into the room and the witch makes many mysterious motions with the fingers, hands and arms. These motions are spoken of as the five-thunder occultism (五雷訣) and the nine-ox strength (九牛攔); by these the demon is supposed to be got into the jar, which is then covered with a white cloth, taken out and buried or carried home by the practitioner. This is an art which demands high payment, and I am informed that in some cases cures have been effected. Lunacy is always attributed to demon possession, and the lot of this unfortunate class is a very hard one indeed. They are often chained to the bed-post or pillar of the house and starved to death, or stoned out of the town by boys, driven from house and home by their relatives, and if violent they are beaten to death. If good-natured they are teased and mocked. They wander about in rags and filth, sleep in temples and caves and are often addicted to many of the lowest vices of mankind.

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To divine as to whether a sickness will be fatal or not is called *p'an tuan chi hsiung* (判斷吉凶). The patient's head is covered, while charms, incense and paper are burned and the spirits besought to reveal their will regarding him.

To inquire of the celestials as to whether the position of the ancestral graves is lucky or not, or as to the best site and position of a proposed new family dwelling, is called *ch'a nien fêng shui* (查驗風水). This is done by covering the head and inviting the spirits to make a revelation.

Ta t'ai p'ing pao fu (打太平保福) is a noisy ceremony at which many of the practices given under sorcery are used before a woman's confinement to ensure a safe delivery. It includes bringing the boxes, *la hsiang tzŭ* (拉箱子). An actor is brought to the house with all his paraphernalia, he dresses as a woman, has his face powdered and painted, after which he jumps and dances in the chief rooms of the house. In some families a stage is erected in an adjoining field for the occasion.

Chuai ssŭ niang tzŭ (踹私娘子), to act the celestial women of the house. These are the *t'ien hsien niang* (天仙) and the *ti hsien niang* (地仙), who are believed to be able to protect life and property and add years to the lives of those in the house. A skilled actor, dressed like a woman, walks and minces up and down the house. At the close of the performance a feast is spread and the actors drink freely o wine and sing lewd songs. This last part is called *p'ei hua* (陪花), to entertain the flower, or the impersonated woman. For this performance the actors are liberally paid. Such performances are almost wholly confined to the well-to-do baser sort.

Ching t'an (靖壇), to pacify the altar of the lemuria. Some families have a *t'an shên* (壇神) and some have none, but those who have are generally of a low and superstitious character. This altar is generally located on the left-hand side of the chief room of the house. The tablet is sometimes written and at others carved. The families who trace their ancestry from the province of Kiangsi have the altar hung up in a basket on the left-hand side of the heaven and earth tablet. The pacification of this spirit takes place once every

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three or five years, unless a change is made in the residence. In this ceremony all the practices of ordinary divination are used with many additions, and the ceremony is much more complicated. A very little of each of the following articles is permanently deposited under the stone on which the tablet rests;—gold, silver, iron, brass, salt, tea, rice and beans. The feast may last for days, and two or three pigs may be killed for the occasion, but I have noticed that families who make much of this altar soon come to poverty. The following are some of the gods of this altar of the lemuria:

The general of the gods of the lemuria. The two lieutenants. The female general of the altar. The twelve flowery women who rule the women of the house for the year, each ruling one month. The three braves who fight for the family. Lo Kung of great mesmeric fame. Thousands of thousands of soldiers and horses. Myriads of myriads of leaders of spirits. The guardian of the east and west granaries. The governor of the tea and wine shops. The guardian of the farmyard.

When the altar is being pacified the gods of the cow, horse, sheep, chicken, dog, pig and cats have all to be dealt with and pacified. For this an animal-skin or an imitation animal is produced, someone gets inside it and imitates the cry of the animal.

Pa man chin pao yu ssŭ, 八蠻進寶游司. This is the guardian of the family wealth and is one of the gods of wealth, which are thus included in the altar. The Tibetans are mentioned because they are supposed to abound in the precious metal and the number eight is a lucky one, hence the saying, 要得發不離八, if a thing is to prosper you can't do without the number eight.

Conjuring (耍把戲).

Tight-rope walking is common, *ch'ai so ch'iao* (踹索橋). The rope may be a hundred feet long and fifty above the ground. The performer is a girl of about ten, who carries a sandbag in each hand.

A woman stands on her head on a table and balances a wine cask first on one foot and then on the other, *têng t'an tzŭ* (登

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繩子). Sometimes a child is put inside the cask and crawls out and sits on the top of it while it is balanced in the air.

A woman balances a ladder on the palms of her hands, then a child threads each rung up and turns over the top and threads its way down again head downward. This is called *fan fei yün t'i* (番飛雲梯).

A bare table is covered with a cloth; after beating of drums and burning of incense and paper, the actor will ask if the guests have all come, and on being assured that they have arrived, the table-cloth is removed and there is displayed a fine, hot, ready-cooked feast.

A flower-pot is covered with a cloth and after some music and incantations the cloth is removed and a fine flowering orchid exposed to view. The same kind of trick is also done with a pot of earth in which a melon seed is sown.

The wooden frame which holds the fire basin is put down and covered with a cloth; and after music and incantations the cloth is removed, when a hot fire on the fire basin is exposed to view. Many are willing to pay large sums of money for instruction in this art.

An empty wine-glass is held in one hand and an empty jar in another and after a few motions and incantations wine is found emptied from the jar into the wine cup, and people are invited to drink.

A woman's embroidered shoe is manipulated in the hand, and it suddenly becomes a rabbit, pigeon, rat or other creature. The conjurer after a little seizes the animal and knocks it on the back of the head and it becomes a shoe once again in his hand.

A wisp of straw becomes changed into a rat. This is very much the same as the last.

Coloured paper is cut into strips and covered with a cloth. When the cloth is removed the strips of paper have been transformed into pretty lanterns already lighted.

A fan is torn to shreds. The conjurer then makes various motions with his hands and the fan is produced and opened up as good as new.

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Paper is torn into small pieces and covered with a cloth; when the cloth is removed a swarm of hornets fly buzzing about, but as soon as they are caught they become pieces of paper again.

The leaves and twigs of a willow tree are broken into pieces and thrown into the river, where they appear to become fishes, but when caught they are simply the willow twigs.

A coin is placed on the upper side of a thick board with one hand and received on the lower side with the other.

A child is laid down with the stomach bent upwards, boxes full of heavy things are put on its stomach, then a man goes on to the top of the boxes, but still there is no sign of the distended stomach giving way under the weight.

A child is taken and rolled in red calico, the conjurer asks for money and, after a contribution has been given, a sword is displayed and the child yells, then another collection is taken up, after which the child's arm is cut off and thrown to the horrified crowd, and still another collection is taken up, then another arm is cut off and thrown out. The child is thus gradually dismembered before the gazing and credulous crowd, but the greatest wonder of all is that this child will be well and about the next day! This is generally the last and most exciting act of the conjurer in a place; for this he often gets large sums of money in collections.

Divination or Sorcery, Wu Shu (巫術).

A sorcerer is called *tuan kung* (端公); the classical name is *nan wu* (男巫), and the colloquial or slang name is *kuei hsiang yo* (鬼鄉約).

A witch is *tuan kung p'o* (端公婆), *tsou yin* (走陰) *p'o*, *shên hsien* (神仙) *p'o*, or *nü wu* (女巫) (a bookish name). One term may be common in one place while another will be used elsewhere.

Though the art of divination is much the same everywhere, still the Tibetan art is more intense than that practised by the Chinese sorcerers. The Tibetan sorcerer does all the Chinese do and some things extra. So before dealing with

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the subject as found among the Chinese we will notice the practices peculiar to the Tibetans.

A Tibetan sorcerer is called *man* (蠻) *tuan kung*. The idol worshipped by him and used in his practice is a full-dressed lama or Buddhist Tibetan high priest.

When a demon is being exorcised a boiler is made red-hot and the afflicted person made to stand in it; it is believed that if his feet do not blister there is no hope of his recovery; or a red-hot chain is put round his neck with the same cheerful hope of blisters.

The sorcerer opens a vein in his own body and lets blood flow on to a cloth, which is given to sick persons to carry as a charm, *k'an hsüeh fu* (砍血符).

In Chinese sorcery an altar is set up, *shê sung* (設送), for the taking away of a disturbing demon from a sick person, and paper money is burned.

It is customary to worship a person's natal star in order to avert calamity or death. Each person is believed to have a star which influences him through life; and the stars are believed to be governed by the Dipper (*tou*), which is largely invoked by Taoist priests and sorcerers to avert death or other calamity, *jang hsing li tou* (禳星禮斗). When a person comes to a certain period in his life believed by fortune tellers and others to be unlucky, a sorcerer is called in to bridge over this difficult time. For people who have had an accident, or for homes where something unlucky has happened, also when a person has reached a great age, the friends and neighbours get up a subscription and present him with a night's incantations; they also present a joint petition to the king of Hades and stand surety for the person's good character and beg that many years may be added to his life. In this ceremony a tablet is written to the local god who joins the bridge of longevity (接限壽橋土地); to this tablet the younger generations *ko t'ou*. The work of the sorcerer is all done in the night. When chanting for the living, cow-horn trumpets are employed; but in wakes for the dead the conch-horn or sea-shell is used.

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Setting up the altar for the purpose of divination is an elaborate affair. A chart belonging to the sorcerer is hung up over the family gods; in this chart the *san ch'ing* (三清) have a prominent place. A bushel and a pint measure are filled with grain or dry river-sand, into which sand are stuck lighted candles and incense, all having been previously placed before the sorcerer's chart. The "three pure" are *t'ai ch'ing* (太清), *yü* (玉) *ch'ing* and *shang* (上) *ch'ing*, and are said to correspond to heaven, earth and man. A tablet to the five heads of demons or *wu ch'ang* (五猖) is put under the table; the tablet to all the poor spirits or 寒林 is put up outside the door. The writing being 寒林會上五音五姓孤魂由子等衆, "To the heads of the Society of the orphan spirits of all names and kinds."

To cleanse the altar the divining priests go with beating of gongs and blowing of trumpets to a stream or pool of water and bring back a vessel filled with clean water; this is called *ch'ing shui* (請水). The water is sprinkled all over the altar and vessels, after which the priest opens the ceremony by putting on his robes and worshipping the idols and tablets all round; this is spoken of as *k'ai t'an*, to open the altar.

The priest prepares a genealogy of the sick person, his name, residence, details of the sickness, etc., which is first read to the company and then despatched to the spirit world by burning.

After the despatch has been sent telling of the need, then the company waits to receive the return message from the spirit world.

The divining priest then enters the kitchen and asks the kitchen god to use his good offices on the sick person's behalf, while the family of the sufferer kneel in a row before the kitchen god to implore his assistance.

The repentance ode is chanted and a prayer for the healing of the disease; this is done amid the beating of gongs and drums, and the yelling of the priests who are ably assisted by the juveniles of the family.

The priest next makes a number of charms, one to be worn on the person, another to be hung on the bed curtains,

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another for the bedroom door, and one is burned and the ashes put into a basin of water which has been cursed, and is drunk by the sick person. These charms are supposed to drive away the demons from the clothing, the bed and the inward man. This ceremony takes it as a foregone conclusion that all sickness is caused by demons.

After burning paper money in little or great quantities according to the ability of the family, the priest takes the clothes of the sick person and bears them, along with a tablet on which is written his name and genealogy, out to a place overlooking a hollow with water in it. Here the priests assisted by the relatives call back the spirit of the sick person from across the waters, repeating several times the following two sentences, *san hun kuei shên, ch'i p'ai fu t'i* (三魂歸身, 七魄附體); that is, may the three souls and seven spirits return to the body; then they finish up with a weird yell of "come back, come back." Of course when the sick man is in delirium it is believed that the soul has already left his body and gone wandering elsewhere.

Straw or reeds of any kind may be used to make an effigy, and paper clothing is made and put on it. Wine and rice are offered to it. A piece of paper money is ignited and applied to the ears, eyes, nose and mouth. Sometimes a needle is used to prick these four organs; all this is done with incantations, after which the effigy is supposed to become accursed as the substitute of the sick person. It is carried to the sick chamber and is addressed by the sorcerer as *mao ta lang* (茅大郎), great straw gentleman, or as *mao ta chieh* (茅大姐), great straw sister, according to the sex of the sick one. One sorcerer faces the effigy and questions it and another crouches behind it and answers the questions; while a third sits on a chair and pronounces judgement. The effigy is asked from whence he came; and for what purpose. The sorcerer from behind replies that he has come from a great distance purposely to be the substitute and bear the penalty of the sick person, whose name he gives.

A vegetable knife, scales, three pairs of chopsticks, one charm, one sorcerer's tablet called a *shih tao* (師刀) or master's

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knife, are collected. The tablet and charm are the property of the sorcerer, while the other things belong to the family. These things the sorcerer gathers together in one hand, swings them round his head, and drops them behind his back; and then all the persons gather round and listen to the reading of the omens of these articles as they lie on the floor and give indications as to the outcome of the sickness. If the three pairs of chopsticks lie in order, recovery is considered to be probable. These chopsticks are spoken of as the *lu ma* (祿馬); emolument horses; if lying in order it means the patient will need them and use them.

The scissors in this affair are known as the *chu ch'iich* (朱雀), or red bird. Birds are all reckoned unlucky because their beaks are pointed, but birds with red patches or red beaks are much more so, and make trouble or even death in the family. The vegetable knife is spoken of as the white tiger (白虎). If the sharp edge of this knife should lie near the rope handle of the scales, it is reckoned to be a very unpropitious omen; as white is the sign of mourning and the tiger is the most ravenous of wild beasts. The scales are reckoned to be the sick man's body, and whatever falls near this is reckoned to be falling near the sick man himself. If the *ling p'ai* (令牌) or charm falls near the scales it is an indication that the spirits are protecting. The writing inside the tablet is said to be the Pearly Emperor's name. The arm jutting out with the three crosses is said to be the three pure ones, who are believed to be peculiarly fitted for the work of frightening away demons.

The next proceeding is to *fèn kua* (分卦), to read the diagrams. These are made of two pieces of bamboo which fit closely and exactly together. The two parts are thrown into the air; if the two flattened sides fall with their faces to the ground, that is called a *yin kua* (陰卦), female diagram; if the flat sides face upwards that is called a *yang kua* (陽卦), male diagram; if one flat and one round side lie upwards that is called a *shèn kua* (神卦), spirit diagram. The female diagram is reckoned very unlucky, while the male and spirit diagrams are reckoned lucky, especially the latter, and the spirits are invoked repeatedly to give a *shèn kua*.

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At this juncture the sorcerer enters the sick chamber, taking the straw effigy and a mug containing an egg. The sick person draws a deep breath and blows into the mug, which is then covered with a white cloth and firmly tied with a string. The sick person then blows a deeply drawn breath on to the face of the straw effigy, and in this way it is believed that the sickness demon is put into the mug and his life put into the straw substitute, who suffers for him.

A paper tray on which are painted various kinds of demons and called the flowery plate is brought; the candles, incense and other signs of the proceeding are gathered and, together with the mug, are put on a sieve and carried with the effigy outside the door of the house; the sorcerers then put up charms on the bedroom door and in the kitchen. A basin of rice soaked in water, and another basin of dry rice is then put on the sieve; into the latter sticks of lighted incense and lighted candles are stuck; the whole is then carried out to a secluded place, where the effigy is burned; the mug containing the egg is buried and the incense and candles stuck into the ground; the rice is carried home by the sorcerer; the sieve and basins are taken home by the members of the family, but are thrown behind the outside courtyard door for three days before they dare take them inside the house, lest any evil influence should be clinging to them.

When the party returns from escorting out the evil influences, the sorcerer proceeds to take down his chart, burns incense and exhorts the family gods, packs up his sorcerer's paraphernalia, eats a hearty meal, counts the wages of divination and takes his departure.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY

CHAPTER I

GODS OF WEALTH (財 神), *Ts'ai Shên*

The god of wealth is a very important image in these parts, as the Chinese are exceedingly practical and their chief delight is to drive a good bargain; they revel in hairsplitting differences; a grin of satisfaction lights up the countenance when they are counting money and they may get black in the face with rage over a single cash worth of vegetables; a woman will disturb the whole street in order that the family night-soil may bring a few cash more. They have a system of banking and reckoning which goes down to the tenth of a brass cash; lending money for usury is a practice of long standing; the fixed official rate is two per cent. per month, but that rate is often surpassed and such exorbitant interest as forty cash per day for the loan of one thousand brass cash is often extorted. The pawn shops are well managed and the fixed official rate is 2½ per cent. per month. If a pawn shop is burned the owner is released from responsibility. In spring time many people put their winter clothing in the pawn shop as a place of safe keeping. The abacus is a very efficient instrument for reckoning, both speedy and accurate. The following are a few of the gods of wealth known in these parts.

Wên (文) *ts'ai shên*, or *t'sŭ fu t'ien kuan* (賜 福 天 官), the literary god of wealth; said to be Ko Tzŭ-i (郭 子 儀) of the Han dynasty, who is reputed to have had a hundred sons and a thousand grandsons living at the same time; he had

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also enormous family wealth. His image depicts him sitting on a chair, with a long white beard and white garments; he carries a sceptre as a sign of authority and on the sceptre are engraved the four characters (萬事如意), that is, everything shall be as you desire it.

Wu (武) *ts'ai shên;* or *Tsêng fu* (增福) *ts'ai shên*, the military god of wealth. The image depicts this god as riding on a tiger; he has a long black beard and coloured face; in his left hand he holds golden nails, which he gives to his devotees, in his right hand he holds a baton. This is commonly believed to be Chao Kung-ming (趙公明) of Ssŭch'uan fame, who became a celestial on the Ch'ing ch'êng shan (青城山) at Kwan Hsien.

Wei wei (危危) *ts'ai shên*, said to be the Mohammedan god of wealth. The two characters, or rather the pronunciation, is probably derived from the Arabic. It is said that the Mohammedans offer beef on his altar, and that the image is dressed like a Tibetan with a high-crowned hat. Some think that the characters have their derivation from the star (紫微星). Others think that there is a connection between this idol and the eight persons who, dressed as Tibetans, visit the houses at New Year time to bring good luck to the house. This custom is known as *ao nien* (鬧年), and coupled with it is the saying 八蠻進寶, that is, With the eight Tibetans comes wealth.

Ho ho êrh (和合二) *ts'ai shên;* the partnership god of wealth, depicted as two partners in business carrying a large coin between them. The real historical characters are said to be two rich business partners of the Han dynasty

Fu lu (福祿) *ts'ai shên*. The god of happiness and emolument, mostly worshipped by the farmers and merchant classes.

Wu lu (五路) *ts'ai shên*, the god of wealth for five ways. These five roads are said to be the north, south, east, west and central; also said to be the three ways of making a livelihood (scholars, military, artisans), with hills and rivers; the last two, because the wealth of the country is largely deposited in them, and includes mining and fishing.

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Ssŭ kuan (四官) *ts'ai shên* is the god of wealth for the four seasons of the year.

Huo (活) *ts'ai shên.* The living god of wealth; a low-bred priest dressed up as a god of wealth. He wears a high-crowned hat. In one hand he carries a tray containing a piece of white metal, and in the other a palm-fibre whip; he visits the houses of the people from the fifteenth of the first moon till about *ch'ing ming*, using the whip to drive away the demons who hinder the prosperity of the family. He never speaks unless he is spoken to.

Yin hun chih kuei wei (淫昏之鬼爲) *ts'ai shên.* It is said that the demon of lust is the god of wealth; this is a wide-spread idea, hence the saying 笑貧不笑淫, They laugh at poverty, but not at lust, that is, they will get rich at any cost.

Wu cho (五濁) *shên.* The god of wealth is styled thus because in mammon worship all manner of wickedness is said to be included and permitted to the devotees; business men have a secret language for talking about their prices before their customers; cow and pig dealers put their hands up each other's sleeves and talk by signs, all to deceive people.

It has been said that Tao Chai (盜蹠), the younger brother of Liu Hsia hui (柳下惠), is the real god of wealth; but the common people have a saying which runs thus: 敬財神不如餂勾子, It is better to flatter the rich than worship the god of wealth. A foreigner is not infrequently styled the god of wealth because it is believed that foreigners' wealth is unlimited.

Charms, Hua fu (畫符).

The charm to put over the door is made of paper or calico which is pasted or nailed up. Over the doors of headmen the writing is in large characters, common people use smaller. Yellow is the most common colour, but small charms often have a stripe of white running through them. In ancient times it was customary to nail a piece of peach-wood over the door at New Year time, believing that this

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wood warded off demons. The present-day belief in charms probably arose from this custom and is very general, and the superstition regarding them very deep; they are used in almost every phase of life.

Charms to be carried on the person are made up of all kinds of material, and worn on the shoulder, back or breast, to protect from disease, demons and every evil influence; even a cross is worn by Chinese children to prevent them from being kidnapped or harmed by foreigners. A few years ago there was a great anti-cigarette movement over an extended area in Ssŭch'uan; vile rumours were circulated about foreigners breaking graves and extracting skulls to make cigarettes, and doubtless many graves were tampered with by evilly disposed persons, whose chief object was to get the jade ornaments worn by aged persons when buried. The rumours also had it that foreigners were castrating children, and this caused thousands of children in our district alone to wear huge white crosses sewn on the backs, shoulders or breasts of their clothing. Some children wore two or even three of these cross charms to prevent foreigners touching them. The idea has become widely diffused that foreigners have a superstitious dread of the cross and will not trample on it, and I have seen lads run in front and write a cross on the road and then stand aside to see if the foreigner would tread on it.

Shao hui t'un fu (燒灰吞符), the swallow-ashes charm. Another charm is commonly made up of incantations against demons, written on yellow paper. This is burned, the ashes mixed with clean water and swallowed.

Wu fang chên chai (五方鎮宅) *fu*, the charm which protects the five corners of the house. This charm concerns the living only, and is written on yellow paper and put at the four corners of the house, a fifth one being placed at the foot of the family altar in the centre of the room. It is believed to keep the house free from demons.

Wu fang tien mu (五方奠墓) *fu*, a charm for the five corners of a grave. This is prepared and burned by geomancers to give repose to the soul of the dead; it is buried at the four corners and at the foot of the tomb.

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There is a charm written by the descendants of Chang T'ien shih (張天師), of Lung hu shan (龍虎山) in Kiang-si; it is believed to be one of the most efficacious of charms for warding off demons and healing sickness.

There is also a charm written by Ling kuan (靈官). It is said that there are seventy-two idols bearing this name, all deified after the death of different individuals who, when living, had a reputation for driving out demons and warding off evil influences. This charm is widely used and almost universally believed in wherever I have had opportunity of observation; it is generally in the form of a picture, but is sometimes placed in a small box, with a spring lid, which being touched, the *ling kuan* flies out. This is a very fierce and dreadful looking thing, which is the chief reason for its being so widely used and universally trusted.

Chu yao chan kuai (誅妖斬怪) *fu*, the kill-ghost charm, is kept in haunted houses.

Chao ts'ai chü pao (招財聚寶) *fu*, the collect-wealth charm, is often made of yellow silk and hung in the centre of the chief room of the house, or it is painted yellow on white calico.

Hsüeh fu (血符), the blood charm, is made by the sorcerer, who wounds his own brow and breast and lets the blood flow on to a piece of calico which is given to a sick person to wear on his body. At execution times people dip calico into the blood of the victim, and wear it on their persons. Large cash are also taken and stained in the blood and worn as a protection against evil influences; this practice is most common among devotees of the Lo Lo and Honan chiao.

An t'ai (安胎) *fu*, the settle-fœtus charm, is used by women who fear miscarriage, or whose beds must be moved during pregnancy; it is mostly carried on the person or tied to the bed curtains, but sometimes it is burned and the ashes swallowed.

Ts'ui shêng (催生) *fu*, the hurry-birth charm. This charm is prepared by the midwife, burned, and the ashes

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swallowed; it is used in cases of protracted labour where complications have set in.

T'ao (桃) *fu*, the peach-wood charm, which is hung up on the outside of the chief door of the house on the last day of the Chinese year, is simply a slip of peach-wood, but is widely used, being considered very effectual in driving away demons.

Ai (艾) *fu*, the artemisia charm, is used on the 5th of the 5th moon; it is a bunch of artemisia hung over the door of the dwelling-house to ward off evil.

Shan chi chao fu, the pheasant and mirror charm; a picture of a pheasant is hung in the house opposite a mirror, and when the demon comes and looks into the mirror he sees the pheasant, fears being pecked from behind and forthwith flees. This is said to be a very ancient charm.

T'ai shan shih kan tang (泰山石敢當) *fu*, the *t'ai shan* charm, or the stone warden charm. A stone from Mount T'ai in Shantung is believed to have great power in warding off demons, though any local hard stone may be used; on it will be written the above characters, "The stone from Mount T'ai dares to oppose." It is used on the streets especially at quick turnings where demons are likely to strike against it. It is largely used in country dwelling-houses and on public roads.

K'ai t'ien fu, the open-heaven charm, used in divination when the heavens are slow in response to the prayers of the family.

Chieh hui (解穢) *fu*, the purification charm, is used to purify an impure well or filthy water buckets, the charm being burned and the ashes dropped into these places. It is also used in silkworm culture at times when the silkworms become yellow instead of white, the ashes being scattered over them.

P'o yü (破獄) *fu*, the open-hell charm, used at wakes to burst open the gates of Hades and release the imprisoned soul. Then the call-spirit charm 招魂 *chao hun fu* is used, to help the soul out of Hades.

Lien hua (煉化) *fu*, the purge or purifying charm; also called the suicide charm. If anyone threatens to commit

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suicide this charm is used to drive away the demon. It is also used after deaths to purge away the bad acts of the deceased.

Chao hsien fu, the call-fairy charm. It is said that each celestial has a particular charm.

Shê kuei (攝 鬼) *fu*. The seize-demon charm is for haunted houses and is used both for wearing and for burning.

Ch'ien chiang (遣 將) *fu*, the dispatch-general charm. It is believed that there are in the spirit world thirty-six *shuai* (帥) and seventy-two *chiang* (將) or generals; and this charm can command the help of all these to ward off an attack by evil spirits.

Wu kuei fu, the five-demon charm. It is believed that the four points of the compass have their particular evil influences and one which controls the centre. This charm wards off these evil influences.

Ch'i sha (七 煞) *fu*, the seven baneful deaths charms. These seven deaths come from the following seven sources: heaven, earth, man, year, month, day, and hour.

San sha. The three baneful deaths come from the following sources, and are spoken of separately as *sui* (歲) *sha*, *ch'ieh* (刼) *sha*, *tsai* (災) *sha*, the evil influences of the year, robbery and calamity respectively.

Wu lei fu, the five-thunder charm, is used to break up an attack of ague or demon possession. It is burned and swallowed or worn on the person. The ague demons (擺 子 鬼) are said to be five in number, three cold and two hot; the two hot demons were originally named *mao* (毛), and the three cold ones named *chao* (趙). Legend has it that these five stole Lu pan's (魯 班) hatchet and chisels and on being pursued, two fell into fire and were burned and three fell into the river and were drowned. The patient blackens the face, adding patches of red over the eyes and nose; a high cap is put on his head and he goes out with a club in his hand and stands motionless in an open place. Sometimes people who want medicine for ague dare not even whisper the name of *pai tzŭ* for fear that when they speak it, it will come; they will simply give a description of the disease and sometimes hardly

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that. In some cases of ague a petition is lodged with the kitchen god, beseeching him to use his good offices.

The ague is known by these three names, *han ping kuei* (寒病鬼), *han hsia tzŭ* (瞎子), *han êrh ko* (二哥); the demon of the *han ping*, blind Han, Han number two, and is a serious sickness among the Chinese. When a person has it a staff is placed beside the wall and the sick man goes out and calls the demon, who, it is believed, takes the staff and walks out after him. When sitting in a house the custom is never to lean against the wall as this blind demon gropes around holding on to the wall and may get you.

Kuei shê (龜蛇) *fu*, the turtle and snake charm, or *shui ho fu*, the fire and water charm. The snake saves from flood and the turtle from fire; it is a picture of a red snake and a black turtle.

Chao yao ching (照妖鏡), illuminate-demon mirror, a round, brass mirror about five or six inches in diameter. It is worn by brides on the wedding day near the breast to frighten away demons who may accompany or meet them on the way; this is an ancient custom, but is dying out.

Chou hsien yin, or (虎符龍節) *hu fu lung chieh*. It is believed that the seal of the magistrate governs the demons to a depth of three feet below the surface of the ground. The proclamations issued with official seals are often defaced by cutting out the red seal mark. This is carried on the person to drive off demons. Most likely derived from the old-fashioned seals which had a tiger's head and a dragon's image on them; the seals of the present day do not have either. When a house is haunted it is not uncommon for a householder to beseech the official to stamp a few pieces of paper with his seal to hang up in the house.

P'ei ch'ih (佩赤) *fu*, to carry cinnabar red on the person, sometimes mixed with a medicinal preparation.

DOOR GODS (門神), *mên shên*.

There are many guardian spirits of doors of houses, offices, etc., as follows:

Wên and *wu mên shên*, the literary and military guardians of the door. These are put on the outside doors of dwelling

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houses, public offices and temples; the former is the picture of a civil official in the likeness of T'ien kuan, the latter, mostly seen on street doors, is generally a military official with shield and buckler, bow and arrows, ready for the fray.

T'ung tzŭ (童子) *mên shên*, the youthful door god, is the likeness of two youths with red cord tied round the hair.

Ho ho êrh hsien (和合二仙) *mên shên* is the door god of business partnership. It is a picture of four youths (two on either side of the picture), holding a large coin between them.

There is a female door god, *nü mên shên;* this is a picture of a woman, said to be one of the fairies.

Ch'in chün Hu shuai (秦軍胡帥), a picture of two military officials of the T'ang dynasty, one called Ch'in Shu pao and the other, Hu Ch'ing tê.

Lo chüeh (落脚) *mên shên*, a door god as large as the door. Only those in high office or with high degrees dare have this style of door god. Some have civil and others military officials in full dress painted or engraven on their doors the full height of the door.

Shên t'u yü li (神荼鬱壘), the mourning door god. In this case there is no picture, and all former door gods are washed or scraped off and the above four characters only are pasted two on each half of the door. Shên t'u and Yü li are said to be two brothers mourning for a parent.

P'an (蟠) *lung*, the coiled dragon door god, is only used on temple doors at the two season sacrifices. No private residence dare use it as it is typical of the emperor.

Hêng ho (哼哈) *êrh mên shên*, the Buddhist door gods, ferocious-looking, only to be seen on the doors of Buddhist temples. These two *hêng* and *ho*, are said to be parts of the goddess of mercy, who, on becoming a celestial, divided into seventy-two parts.

Tu chieh shou (獨角獸), the unicorn door god, can only be used by official families.

Chi kung mên shên, the rooster door god. This is a very ancient one, probably of aboriginal origin, and still used by the tribesmen in the mountain districts west of Kuan hsien. The rooster is believed to drive away ants and chicken blood

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drives away demons, hence the widespread use of cock's blood on the prow and stern of boats on the Yangtse. The Ssŭ-ch'uanese say that their province is a *chi lung hsüeh* (雞籠穴), a chicken coop; that is, it is surrounded by mountains, and when a coop is full the first thing to be done is to seize some chickens and kill them. This has been what other provinces have done to Ssŭch'uan in the past and what is feared in the present. So whenever trouble breaks out, chickens are killed and eaten wholesale to avert if possible this calamity.

Wu fu p'êng shou (捧壽), the five happinesses complete in old age. These five blessings are age, riches, peace, virtue, happiness. In this charm the character *shou* for old age occupies the centre with five bats fluttering around it; the five bats represent the five happinesses (蝠 for 福).

THE GODDESS OF MERCY (觀音), *Kuan Yin.*

Kuan Yin, the goddess of mercy, is said to have been the third daughter of Miao Chuang wang (妙莊王), she and her sisters being styled as follows:

Ta chieh Wên Shu (大姊文殊), Erh chieh P'u Hsien (二姊普賢), San chieh Kuan Yin (三姊觀音).

Miao Chuang wang is of aboriginal origin, and legend has it that he migrated from the Indian border to Ssŭch'uan and settled in Sui-ling hsien at a temple called Pei ch'üeh ssŭ, where his daughters became nuns. The temple where they lived was burned down; probably by their father, because of the lewd lives they were living; but legend says that the three nuns were unharmed. The worship and deification of lust is not unknown in Ssŭch'uan even now. The presence of the harlots' quarters in the city of Kuan hsien is said to preserve the good luck of the city. A few years ago when the police pulled down their houses and drove them away, several things happened which were reckoned unlucky and all was put down to the disturbing of these bad places. In some temples obscene pictures are still to be found; and the worship of the tribesmen in the Wa si region is still a worship of evil passions.

The goddess holds in her left hand a small bottle of dry dew, containing the elixir of life, which carries people over the

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sea to the bliss beyond, while in her right hand she holds a willow twig. In all probability this goddess is none other than the Queen of Heaven, worshipped by the tribesmen and Tibetans. There are among the Chinese many forms of this goddess, a few of which are herewith given.

Shui Kuan Yin, the water goddess. This image is put up in wells and by river sides. The idea is that she purifies the water and makes it fit for food. Sometimes the priests make her devotees throw cash at the image till they strike the same spot as their own pain is situated in; after the devotees have gone the priests fish up the money for their own use.

Kao Wang (高王) Kuan Yin; this form of the goddess is said to be derived from Kao huan kuo wang (高歡國王), who is said to have been condemned to death, but he invited the goddess to chant a thousand pages of the Chiu k'u ching or Save from suffering classic; and when the day of execution came, the sword broke in two, and from that time onward the goddess claimed this name among her many others.

Ch'ien shou Kuan Yin, the thousand-hand goddess, the omnipotent one. The origin of this form of the goddess is said to have been with a certain princess whose father's hand was diseased (probably cancer); she poulticed it with meat daily; but not content with this, she went to the goddess and begged her to heal the hand, which she did; this princess was afterward made into the "thousand-hand goddess," whose image is covered all over with hands, which are believed to be extended in all directions for the saving of people from suffering.

Ch'ien yen Kuan Yin. The thousand-eye goddess, able to see everywhere; the omniscient one.

Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin, the son-giving goddess. To her shrine crowds of women resort every year. She is depicted holding a child in each arm and many more clinging about her.

Nan Kuan Yin, the male god of mercy. That is, by a process of divination she may be changed into a male. This god is also called the *tz'ŭ hang tao jên* (慈航道人) and is believed to have charge of the boat of compassion which ferries people over the difficulties of life.

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Fêng po-lang Kuan Yin, the goddess of the winds and waves, and of the boatmen, who stills the turbulent waters.

Chin kang shan huo Kuan Yin, the diamond hill fire goddess. She saves people from burning houses.

Pai i Kuan Yin, the white-robed goddess. She is believed to be willing to visit the very poorest of homes and help people in their poverty.

P'iao hai Kuan Yin, the cross-sea goddess.

Wu lei fa wang (法王) Kuan Yin, the goddess of the five thunders, which issue from each of the points of the compass and one from overhead.

Tzŭ chu lin chung Kuan Yin, the goddess of the red bamboo grove.

PRECINCT OR LOCAL GOD (土地神), *T'u ti shên.*

Pên chai (本宅) or Chia shên (家神) t'u ti, the domestic precinct god; whose shrine is situated at the foot of the heaven and earth tablet. His two servants are Chao ts'ai (招財) t'ung tzŭ and Chin pao (進寶) lang chün, a pair of youths who gather wealth. He is styled the Lord of the family and also the old man t'u ti. In Ssŭch'uan the 7th of the 7th moon is his birthday, and his worship is conducted inside the house. He is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty at which time a *chia ta-tzŭ* (家搭子) or Mongol is said to have been billeted in each family; a conspiracy was formed and on the 30th of the 12th moon they were all killed Afterwards the houses were haunted, and to pacify the spirits the slaughtered Mongol was made into the precinct god of the domestic altar, his duty being to keep away evil from the house. He is said to be a dwarf, and if on the 7th of the 7th moon there should be a rise in the river that is spoken of as *chang ai tzŭ shui* (漲矮子水) or the dwarf's flood, and it is regarded as a lucky omen.

Miao mên or Shan Mên t'u ti. The local god of the temple door. The following scrolls indicate what this idol expects: 進門先拜我, 登殿莫欺吾. In entering first worship me. In ascending the altar don't deceive me.

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Ch'êng mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the city gate, is the deputy of the city god and one is placed at each city gate.

Ya shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the yamen. This shrine is usually inside the yamen and is patronized by the yamen runners and other public servants.

Chien ch'a (監察) t'u ti, the precinct god of the judgement hall. This idol is buried or covered with a flat stone in the centre of the first pavilion of the government office; the idea is that the idol is there to listen to the evidence given and the judgement pronounced.

Yang miao t'u ti or Ching sui fu jên, the precinct god of crops, looks after the growth of the grain; if caterpillars or other pests attack it, he goes to the rescue. The shrines are very common all over the country. The scrolls on his shrine are often thus: 作一方之保障, 佑四境以平安. The protector of whole district; keeping the four boundaries in place. If he fails in his duty it is not uncommon to see this idol beheaded, his shrine roofless and the headless body exposed to the weather as a punishment for his neglect. If the vegetable gardens are robbed he is blamed for it, or if slugs or moles eat the crops. Travellers suffering from sore feet or sore back put stones in front of these shrines all along the way, believing that they will get better for so doing.

Kao shan or Shan shên t'u ti, the precinct god of the hills who protects people from wild beasts.

Wu chin t'u ti, the precinct god of mines. He governs the five metals, viz., gold, silver, brass, iron, coal; the shrine is near the entrance to the mine.

Ho chieh (閘街) t'u ti; the precinct god of the street. His shrine may be at the end or in the middle of the street.

Ch'iao liang or Ch'iao t'ou t'u ti, the precinct god of bridges; if the bridge has a roof over it, the first name is used and the shrine is situated at the centre of the bridge; otherwise the shrine will be found at either end and the second name is used to designate it.

Yao mên t'u ti, the precinct god of the kiln; all lime, brick and tile kilns have this shrine at the entrance.

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Têng kan (燈杆) t'u ti, the lamp-pole precinct god. At the New Year season, from the 7th to the 15th of the first moon, a pole is fastened to the top of a high tree near the house and a lantern hung out at night. Sometimes a pole is set up by itself and the lamp raised every night of the year; this is mostly in connection with temples and ancestral halls, but in both cases the idea is the same; first, to scatter the orphan and wandering spirits: second, it is a prayer to the Pearly Emperor for peace and plenty throughout the land.

IDOLATROUS FESTIVALS (神會), *shên hui.*

The 輔德大王 or 城隍, *Ch'êng Huang*, the city god, is believed to be an exact counterpart of the civil official. His jurisdiction extends over all the spirit world, and his shrine is a miniature yamen; many people go to it to protest their innocency. The ridiculous side in idolatry may be seen in the temple of the city god, for here we find his wife, his son and heir his bedroom and bedding and toilet requisites; the priest spreads out the bedding at night and folds it up in the morning. The city god's wife is styled *niang niang* which is a title given to an empress and much superior to *t'ai t'ai* which is the style used for the civil official's wife. On entering this temple, on the right hand is to be found the *p'an kuan* (判官) or decider of fates in Hades, while on the opposite side is *hsiao kuei* (小鬼) who is head thief-catcher or *ling pan* (領班). Standing at the side in front are found the *ken pan* or lackeys, who are at his beck and call; while further down at the entrance are the *hou pan* (吼班) or callers who go in front of the official; also in the temple court is to found the precinct god of the yamen, *Ch'êng huang t'u ti.* This idol is worshipped by yamen people in general, while close by are the famous yamen runners, Ch'in San (秦三) and Wu Ssŭ (吳泗). Ch'in San is said to belong to the T'ang dynasty, Wu Ssŭ to Hsü Chên chün 許眞君; these are worshipped by yamen runners before embarking upon a difficult case. The chicken-footed god is a conspicuous idol, with black body and tongue hanging out; by his side are his wife and family. When yamen runners

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wanted to apprehend any one, they used to make vows to this hideous image and put opium on its mouth. The *ti fang shên* or local deity, who corresponds to the headman in the country, is close by; this deity knows where every demon resides. His body is white and, like the chicken-footed god, he has a wife and family around him and is worshipped by the yamen runners. In this temple there is also that unseemly idol known as *Ho ho wu ch'ang* (赫赫無常), to frighten people into remembering that their days on earth are uncertain, and if they do not repent their end will be destruction. In Kwan Hsien city temple there is a stone city god, which was dug up somewhere in the country; when it was brought to the city the magistrate refused to admit it, saying, as in each city there was only one magistrate, so likewise only one city god could be tolerated, but after a time it was admitted and placed in a corner of the temple. In the lower courts of the city god temple are the ten Buddhist hells, presided over by the *shih tien nien wang* (十殿閻王) or ten kings of Hades. These are supposed to give a history of the soul's travail from death till transmigration takes place. These are as follows:

秦廣王. The first of the ten hells, where the spirit goes at death. Here the records of lives are kept; if the individual is very good a pass is given into the Western paradise; if very bad, he is cast into the lowest abyss for ever; if he needs purging he is sent to the other nine kings of Hades and put through their sufferings and terrors till transmigration is reached. The pains in this first hell are hunger and thirst, and there is a mirror to show up the shortcomings of each person.

楚江王. In this court the unfilial have their limbs cut off or are sawn asunder. There are here sixteen minor places of punishment, among which are the black sand cloud hell, manure hell, impaled on pikes hell, hunger and thirst hell, burning thirst, blood hell, axe hell, grindstone hell, weigh up hell, chicken hell (where chickens peck their murderers), dust river hell, cut in pieces hell, double edged sword hell, fox and wolf hell, frost and ice hell. This hell is called the living hell.

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宋帝王. In this division of purgatory all have to pass over a bridge and many fall into the water; then there is the thousand knife hill, on which many fall and are impaled. There are sixteen minor places under this king; the following may be named. The salt hell, hemp rope and cangue hell, pierce ribs hell, scrape face hell, also extracting kidneys, liver, heart, eyes and skin alive hell; amputation of foot, finger and toe nails hell, suck blood hell, hang head downwards hell, break collar bone, break knee, etc. etc.

五官王. Here are to be found the oil caldron and fire pillar for adulterers. Under this king there are sixteen other hells, such as the slough hell, pikes, scalding, extracting marrow, crush bones, brush skin, nail skin, sit on needles, sear with hot iron, prick eyes, dust filling mouth, prick lips, pour medicine, slippery road and burying hells.

閻羅王. By the side of this king of Hades are placed two demons, one with a cow's and the other with a horse's head. Here is the cold ice, the sawing asunder and other sufferings, after which it is said that the wind of Hades flows on the broken and bruised spirits and makes them whole and ready for the next court.

卞城王. In this court is an iron bound city with no way out, and the tearing out of the tongues of those who have been liars. This is called the yelling hell.

泰山王. Here the god of thunder strikes some dead, while others are killed by heaping stones over them.

都市王. This is the dirty blood hell; many are ground on the grindstone; it is called the disturbed court and has sixteen minor places of punishment under it.

平等王. In this court those who have killed dogs are eaten by dogs, and those who have killed chickens are pecked by chickens, and those who have killed horses or oxen are tormented by them.

轉輪王. When the souls reach this stage they are given some soup, called *mi hu t'ang* (迷昏湯), which makes them forget their former sorrows and existence, and they are sent forth again into the world in all kinds of different forms. This is what is known as the revolving wheel of transmigration of souls.

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The festival of the city god is the greatest event of the year in most cities, and generally extends over one month, when theatricals are acted in honour of the event; and probably many hundreds of taels squandered in every city. In many of the market towns on the Ch'eng tu plain, city gods' temples are still to be found, and the explanation is that these towns were formerly district cities with resident magistrates; they still keep their festivals on the old dates, which vary in almost every place. When the date approaches the residents and shopkeepers are visited by the heads of a society, and every house is asked to contribute to the expenses of the festival. The streets are decorated with coloured and embroidered cloth called *p'êng ts'ai.* A coolie wheels a barrow through the streets with a fire tub on which are burning the branches of the cedar tree or *pai chih* (柏枝) (these branches are widely used for disinfecting houses after disease). Following the wheelbarrow come the *p'an kuan* and the *t'u ti;* these go round on a tour of inspection to see that the streets are fit for the idol procession on the following day. This is spoken of as *sao chieh*, sweeping the streets.

Cho (捉) *han lin*, to seize the wild spirits. This is done by dressing a beggar as a demon, and placing him at a fixed point in the country. Certain persons dressed as runners of the city god go out and apprehend this person, put a chain round his neck and lead him into the city in triumph. Great crowds of people stand round to see this performance. The belief is that unless this is done trouble will break out at the theatricals during the month.

[To be continued]

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D'OLLONE'S INVESTIGATIONS ON CHINESE MOSLEMS

BY

REV. G. G. WARREN

(Concluded)

South of Lingchow, the travellers passed eight mausolea of curious shape. They were the tombs of distinguished *ahong* and were Turkish in design. In relation to the practice that Moslems have of buying children and bringing them up as Moslems there is an interesting story connected with the region now being traversed. At the time of the Boxer Rising many orphans from Catholic establishments were thus purchased. Influenced by the legend of the minstrel of Richard I., the Catholic Bishop of Mongolia sent out a number of violinists with instructions to go up and down wherever they could playing familiar Christian tunes and noting down all houses in which any of the children showed signs of recognition. Several orphans were traced in this manner.

Ninghsia is a great city; its walls are 14 kilometres in circumference but hardly one third of the enclosed space is now occupied: the rest was ruined in the Great Revolt. All the old Moslems were massacred, and all the old records burnt, hence it was impossible to learn anything of former Mohammedanism.

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North of Ninghsia, Moslems were numerous, specially round Pinglo. Many were engaged in the transport of wool and skins in navigation. Arrived at She-tsui-shan, where the Yellow River enters the Mongolian desert, the members of the Mission availed themselves of the River. The crew of their boat were all Moslems. The town of Paotow on the north bend is a great commercial centre at which nearly everything is in the hands of the Moslems. At Kuei-hua chêng there is a Moslem community of 2,000 families. There, Chinese, Mongols, Manchus and Moslems all live in the one city but each in his own quarter. There for the first time an *ahong* was met, who knew that the Sultan of Turkey was acknowledged as Caliph. He had recently returned from Peking whither he had gone at the invitation of Ali Riza and Hassan Hafiz, and one of the mementoes he had brought back was a photograph of these two *ulemas* holding the green flag of the Caliph.

The chapter which follows this description of the Moslems of Kansu is devoted to a learned notice of the eleven Persian MSS. brought by the Mission from Kansu. This is followed by a series of translations of noteworthy Chinese documents and inscriptions. The notes of Islam in Peking and Canton are intentionally brief and scrappy.

The Sixth Part consists of a brief description of 36 works on Islam all printed in China. Most of this material is now made available to the English-speaking student in more recent reviews of this sort of literature.

Chapter XXX is taken up with an interesting note on the origin of the Chinese name "Hui" or "Hui-hui" or in the west, "Hui-tsou." First, the explanation frequently found in Chinese books which takes the word "Hui" in its ordinary Chinese sense of "Return" is rejected. Of course such a meaning lends itself admirably to doctrinal purposes for a nation which is exhorted to "return" to the True Religion and the True God. If this were the proper translation of "Moslem," as is occasionally claimed, it should have been the name of Moslems from the first. But, the name does not appear until the days of the Mongol dynasty. The author sets aside two usages

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discovered by Bretschneider in earlier books on the ground that the Annals of Liao and of Chin—the two books in question—were edited in Mongol times. In a work entitled *Chu T'ien Ta Tsan tsi kai* (i.e., "Résumé of Commentaries on the Great Praise in the Prayer to Heaven") by a "descendant from Arabians" named Ma An-li, having two prefaces dated respectively 1878 and 1863, there occurs the following: "Our doctrine passed from the West to the East coming by way of the land of the Ouigurs (Chinese 'Hui-ho'). The Ouigurs bordered on China on one side and Arabia on the other, and were followers of the Arabian Religion. Hence, the Religion was called by their name. Hence we Moslems were called 'Hui-ho' i.e., Ouigurs. But during the days of the Sung and Yüan, numerous Arabic scholars arrived in China. They at once perceived that 'Hui-ho' had no *meaning* to the ordinary Chinese. They therefore altered the second character and adopted the name 'Hui-hui' the sound of which was sufficiently near the former name and the sense of which was much deeper."

There ought to be little doubt that this explanation is the correct one. With regard to the depth of the meaning, there is an interesting comment in another Moslem work which interprets the word from its form—one "mouth" character enclosing a second (even this statement will be recognized by the Chinese scholar as somewhat forced) and thus showing the two great duties of the Moslem Creed: One mouth for the praise of God; one for the purity of Moslem food!

The final chapter of the work is of such importance that I translate instead of merely epitomizing.

Under this title, I wish to sum up, more categorically than I could wish, in a few statements what stands out as the impression left on us as the result of our investigations.

In the first place, the Moslems do not appear to us to be nearly as numerous as they have been usually reckoned to be. If, as is so often stated, they amount to twenty or thirty millions, they would form from one twentieth to one thirtieth of the total population of China. But they do not come near that proportion even in the districts which we visited and they are

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the districts where Islam flourishes most of all in the empire.

All figures that have been given, rest on mere assumptions. No recent census of Moslems has been published; no traveller has attempted to make one. One is content to make generalizations concerning the proportion of the faithful and the heathen observed in certain areas. Now, such a method offers no guarantee of accuracy. In the first place, such statements vary greatly. It may be that along certain routes traversed by Europeans, Moslems are as numerous as they are reported; but there are immense tracts where not a single Moslem is found. Then again, the proportions named offer no basis of certainty. If, for instance, the number of Moslems, being small, may be estimated here and there with some degree of correctness, this is not the case with the people at large. The numbers of the population as a whole are scheduled by official authority; but the counting of the schedules, if done, is only published in very round numbers. So it is that though Europeans are numerous at Peking, their estimates of the population of the capital vary from 200,000 to a million. In the provinces, there are still fewer means of checking such estimates. Thus it comes about that we were told the population of Yünnanfu according to one amounts to 40,000, to another, 100,000; of Chengtu, 200,000 and 800,000; of Lanchowfu, 200,000 and 600,000. In these circumstances even though in certain places one finds out the number of Moslems, no proportion between their number and that of the rest of the population can be fixed that would enable the numbers to be extended beyond the actual area numbered.

I see no element permitting any calculation, even in round numbers at the present time with any appearance of truth. All that I can say is that in the parts we passed through where Moslems are more numerous than elsewhere, they do not seem to form one per cent of the population. The proportion seems much larger in Kansu than in Yünnan; but much smaller in Szechuan, which has for itself more than four times the population of the two other provinces together. Such a

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proportion might give a total of four millions of Moslems for the whole empire.

It is quite evident that all ideas on Chinese Islam which are based on such figures as thirty or forty millions of people are worthless.

One constantly reads, notwithstanding the formal contradictions made by many travellers, notably by Père Huc, Francis Garnier, Jean Dupuis and many others, that Moslems form a type that can be recognized at a glance. I cannot protest too strongly against such an idea. To be sure, here and there you get a face that would pass for that of an Arab or a Turk; some of these I have been able to show the reader, but the mass of Chinese Moslems are just like other Chinese. That does not say that they are like some type that we imagine to ourselves is Chinese; for in truth, Chinese countenances present marked and numerous variations of type. Such variations are found amongst the Moslems as they are amongst others of the people.

This observation is important. Had Chinese Moslems all a Turkish or Arab type of face, it would follow that Islam had only been propagated in China by foreigners who had come to the land and had multiplied in their descendants, a conclusion that would intimate that the Chinese race did not lend itself to conversion, and this would greatly limit the action of the religion in the past and its outlook in the future.

The reality is quite otherwise. There can be no doubt that most Moslems in China are Chinese by race. They willingly marry Chinese wives who embrace their faith; their children do the same and consequently, after a few generations, even the foreign blood that was to be noticed at the beginning would be thinned out of recognition. Frequently, inheritance goes on with an adopted son who has not a drop of foreign blood in him. But, what is still more to the point, adult conversions are by no means infrequent. They are not the result of preaching, but through the influence of some important person on those dependent on him. E.g., Moslem officers convert many of their soldiers; literary officials make even more converts. On account of their own unfixity of

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tenure, they only influence those who share their vagrant fortune with them. We found several Moslems who were recent converts, and others who could tell us which of their ancestors it was who first embraced the faith. The number of such conversions varies with the particular epoch according to the power enjoyed by the officials. Just now (1909) conversions are rare, as the court, since the Great Revolt, has shown much distrust of Moslems.

The consequence of these actual facts, established by the facial aspect of Moslems, by their family traditions and by recent converts themselves, shows that the Chinese are not stubbornly opposed to Islam. This trait is the more remarkable when we consider how frequently the precepts of the new religion run contrary to Chinese habits and modes of thought; e.g., the proscription of pork, alcohol, tobacco and opium, and especially its opposition to ancestral ceremonies which are considered to be the very base of the social edifice, the pivot of all opinions. On this point one realizes vividly how profoundly the Chinese convert feels the influence of the religion and what sacrifices he must be prepared to make for it. He has not, then, that hatred of change with which he is so often credited.

From these observations one may go on to forecast that the future of Islam is bound up with the position its members are likely to occupy. Whenever a Moslem becomes master of a province (as Tu Wên-hsiu failed to be in Yünnan, Ma Hua-lung in Kansu and Yakoob Beg in Turkestan) the majority of the population will not delay to accept Islam. And if, in the chances of revolution, a Moslem emperor should come to the throne, not many generations would pass before all the empire adopted Islam.

On the contrary, if the government should continue to practise an attitude of distrust however adroitly hidden, and should not allow Moslems to attain any real ascendancy, the number of Moslems will simply grow from mixed marriages and adoptions with a slowness that will keep the general situation unchanged.

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On the other hand, I hardly see any reason for expecting any decrease in the numbers of Moslems, apart from such incidents as massacre. Above everything, Islam lends itself in heart and brain to that principal of association which seems innate in the Chinese. Moslems form a vast society of mutual aid; in it, no poor man lives without help; each man is ready to lend help to others in all kinds of enterprise. Such an association procures for its members so great advantages that there are few reasons for wishing to leave a faith which in itself is well able to retain its converts.

Any account of the possibilities of the development of Islam must be based on the history of the past. Conversely, the recognition of the actual state of affairs as they are and of the means of propagandism that are being used, casts light on certain matters in the history of the past that have been considered to be obscure.

Much of this obscurity arises from the fact that in China the method of propagandism has nothing whatever that is parallel to the only method in which Islam spread itself in Europe, North Africa and Asia. There, its only method was the sword. Chinese history, which gives us imperial edicts and other inscriptions concerning the arrival and spread of both Buddhism and Christianity maintains an impenetrable silence with regard to Islam. The inscriptions at Canton concerning the coming of Sahab Wakkas are late, and they fit in to neither Arab nor Chinese history. It used not to be doubted that Ibn Batouta, Abou Zeyd and others found myriads of Moslems in the ports which they reached, or that in 801, some 20,000 were reckoned in one army which reached Yünnan. One proof of this was asserted to be the Arab type of countenance. Granting all this, the silence of history was strange.

Another hypothesis is necessary: during the early centuries, there was nothing worth recounting. The propagation of Islam was slow and unmarked.

In the first place we have shown that the mention of 20,000 Arabs in an invading army not only offers no proof that there were then large numbers of Arabs in the empire;

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it points to the opposite conclusion. We have shown equally clearly that the proportion of Arab blood possessed by Chinese Moslems is but small and that in the very provinces in which most Moslems are found there is no trace whatever of its presence before the Yüan dynasty. More often it can be shown that its establishment did not take place till quite a recent epoch.

There can be no doubt, however, that in the seventh and eighth centuries, Arabs were numerous in Canton and other ports, such as Hangchow, and that they had more or less important colonies at Hsi-an and other cities. But there is no indication that these sea-voyaging merchants did much in the way of propagating their religion. Neither in Chinese annals, nor in Persian and Arabic works is there any mention of Chinese converts. Even to this day the number of Moslems in the coast provinces is small. Had they been the earliest converts we should have required to know why the development has been so slow. It is most probable that these Arab business men, mainly occupied with commerce, only cared to guard themselves personally in the exercise of their religion and to regulate themselves by their own laws without merging themselves in the general population. All records indicate that this was the probable mode of action.

On the other side, the 3,000 soldiers who came with Abou Giafar settled down with no intention of returning. They married and thus became an original source of actual Chinese Moslems. It is probable that Moslem merchants, themselves of different races but journeying by one route, were able to follow in their steps without realizing that they were foreigners and not Chinese, as were the Arabs who came by sea. For these merchants did not come in together; they gradually spread themselves in those parts where we now know there were Moslems already.

It was this very small nucleus, continuously although imperceptibly growing by new arrivals, by marriages and adoption, that gave birth to a true Chinese Islam without even attracting attention, for the movement was quite insignificant. It must be noted that the histories speak of the Ta-chih or

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Arabs (or, perhaps Persians) under the T'ang; then of the Hui-hou or Ouigurs under the Liao and the Chin, and even perhaps once under each of these two dynasties[1] of the Hui-hui or Moslems, but without any indication of there being *Chinese* Moslems. During this same period, on the other hand, these very histories note with much care the preaching of the Buddhists and the progress of their propaganda, as they do also concerning the Nestorians, the Manichæans and the Mazdeans; it is impossible to admit that the Moslems would have been passed over in silence if they had been of the slightest importance.

When we come to A.D. 1070, we find Shuo Fei-êrh (Zofeir or Sofar), the ancestor of Seyyid Edjill, followed by thousands of Moslems from Bokhara, settled with them on the borders of Mongolia and China. His descendant, Seyyid Edjill Omar, took a brilliant part in the Mongol conquest of China and organized the new province of Yünnan. But Marco Polo, passing that way the year after the death of Seyyid Edjill, makes mention of Moslems there, and this is the only mention of them in all his work. He states expressly that everywhere else "the people are idolaters." Does it not appear that the Moslems were taken to Yünnan by Seyyid? We have already stated (p. 35) that the two first mosques in Yünnan were built by him, and it is to him and his son that the Moslems of the province trace their origin.

The presence of a large number of Moslems in the court of Kublai and his successors, such as the minister Ahmet, could not fail to contribute much to the progress of Islam. In this propaganda, the descendants of Seyyid played a leading part; it was his grandson, with the same name and the same titles of office, who obtained an imperial edict in 1335 which recognized Islam as the True and Pure Teaching (Tsing

(1) Bretschneider, *Mediæval Researches*, I, 267, cites the exact reference under the Liao; Darby de Thiersant. *Mahometisme en Chine*, I, 6, does the same for the Chin (but other references in this book are not reliable).

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Chên Chiao), the name it has ever since retained.[1] Another edict in 1420, ordering the building of the first mosques in the capitals, Hsi-an and Nanking, shows how little Islam had spread.

The part played by the successors of Seyyid is naively affirmed by one of them, Ma Chou, one of the lights of Islam who writes, "His descendants received distinctions. *This is why* the descendants of the Prophet began to spread throughout the empire and their families to branch out and extend in the regions of the East. T'ai Tsu, the first of the Ming emperors, was so satisfied with their devotion, which they displayed as did their ancestors, that he spread these advantages to the west as well. An imperial decree authorized the marquis Hsien-ning, whose title was hereditary, to build temples in the western and southern capitals (Sian and Nanking) also in the lands of the Tien-nan (Yünnan) and of the Min and Yüeh (Fukien and Canton)."

In 1683 and 1684, Ma Chou twice requested the emperor to place him on a footing with Confucius. The emperor rejected such a daring demand. These requests are to be found in the Ts'ing Chên Chih Nan (I, 8ff.), a work of Ma Chou which is very celebrated amongst Moslems. This in itself is sufficient to show the preponderant and uncontested position occupied by this family amongst their co-religionists. It shows also that Islam owes to this family its present position in China.

From this time to the present, a period of 260 years, Moslem insurrections have succeeded each other constantly. 1648,1649 in Kansu, 1757–1759 in Turkestan, 1783 in Kansu, 1820 in Kansu and Turkestan, 1855–1873 in Yünnan, 1862–1877 in Shensi, Kansu and Turkestan, 1895 in Kansu. This continuous series of revolts proves the animosity of the Moslems against the Chinese; by what miracle would this

(1) Note by Translator: Havret states that this title occurs on the earliest extant Moslem inscription in Hsi-an, dated A.D. 742. See *Var. Sin.* No. 20, "La Stèle de Singan Fou," Pt. III, p. 19.

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animosity have been prevented from showing itself sooner had Moslems been strong enough?

Note that we know of no Moslem work, not even the name of one, before 1642. From then onwards, the issue of doctrinal works though restrained has been uninterrupted. It would seem, then, that up to that time there had been no call for such works. We add that in 1783, the emperor, surprised at the revolt of the Moslems, ordered Marshal A Kuei to examine the books of their religion. The reports of A Kuei being somewhat favourable, he appeared to be somewhat resigned on this particular matter. But his ignorance would not have existed if Islam had been of any importance.

Briefly (the history of Islam in China runs thus): No Moslem apostles; Arabs, very numerous, coming by the sea route for trade; but confined with exceedingly few exceptions to Canton and Hangchow; making no propaganda, and eventually disappearing almost entirely; a small body of Moslem soldiers coming by the land route and settling in Shensi after 757 and the prime source of Chinese Moslems, increased, perhaps, though in small proportions, by adventurers and merchants from Persia and Turkestan.

Nevertheless, some thousands of Moslems under a foreign sway do not account for a Chinese Islam. It was the Mongol dynasty which brought into China so many adventurers, soldiers, statesmen, priests, scholars and men of affairs from all Asia and even from Europe, which introduced for the first time a really large number of Moslems. In entrusting them with high office and in showing their religion an equal liberty with that shown to Confucianism, it gave them the position to propagate effectively their creed. Amongst them, a family directly descended from Mahomet took the lead and retained it—a lead purely political and in no sense sacerdotal. The numbers of Moslem increased rapidly. Nevertheless, we have to wait three centuries and a half before a *Chinese* Moslem literature is needed. At this time, the Believers found themselves strong enough, at least in Kansu, where they had been reinforced from the lands of the Levant by fresh arrivals, by encouragement, and at last by Mahomet's descendants, to

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attempt to make themselves independent. These attempts never ceased and produced successively in other provinces in a measure proportionate to the numbers of Moslems (increased by marriage, adoption and purchase, as we have pointed out) movements which gave some ground to hope for success.

What obscurity concerning the Introduction of Islam remains if this thesis be correct? It appears to flow quite naturally from the documents gathered in this work and from the traditions and observations made in various spots. Doubtless it might be changed by new discoveries establishing that apostles of Islam preached either in public or in private with even the least results, or even that Moslem foreigners came to China in sufficient numbers to constitute a race by itself. But such discoveries have yet to be made. It is somewhat designedly that I am carried on to make this theory in general lines instead of attempting to substantiate it by a detailed examination of all the documents that are now known; such an examination could only be made by a minute research along lines which do not enter the general plan of our work. But for the time being, without committing ourselves to any idea that the enquiry is closed, may we not provisionally accept such a conception which is not contradicted by any known fact and which does offer a clear and satisfactory view of events, any obscurity about which lies rather with matters that one has looked to find but which perchance have never happened? The most salient features of the Islam of today is its utter lack of organization, at least of any appearance of organization; the local communities, or parishes, are perfectly independent of each other and recognize no authority above them either in the province, or empire, or even in the whole world. The existence of a Khalif is ignored. Even if the Grand Sherif of Mecca is held to be the most venerable of the priests of the religion, no authority is imputed to him. The *iman* and *akong* of China owe any precedence or pre-eminence that one has over any other to mere personal knowledge and reputation and in no way to any recognized hierarchy. The officiating clergy are entirely dependent on their own congregation of the Faithful, who choose them,

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receive them and dismiss them without any other investiture than that which the parish itself affords.

Such at least is what seems to be the fact; and if a fact, it falls in well with the spread of a religion through the efforts of the laity, who as they establish themselves in any centre procure for themselves a sort of chaplain, or almoner. But it badly needs explanation if the religion of today is the result of the preaching and founding of priests, for they would have retained relations with their own teacher, their only ground for being priests, and they would have jealously retained their supremacy over the disciples they themselves had made and would have become to them as apostles.

Nevertheless, in connection with our researches into the "Old Religion" we have established beyond doubt that there are several "New Religions" flourishing in Kansu with branches in Shensi, Szechuan and Yünnan. These sects, which are distinguished by their cult of saints and of tombs, acknowledge the chiefs invested by God with special blessings which are transmitted generally by heritage. In Kansu, at least, it is clear that some of the "New Religions" are affiliated to brotherhoods of the Levant, specially with the Kaderiya. Indeed, the Persian books which we found establish the fact of Chiite influence.

These same books establish incontestably the scholarship of the *ahong*. We have also brought back with us several specimens of penmanship executed before our eyes in perfectly pure Arabic. Those travellers who have hitherto ridiculed Chinese Moslems on the depth of their ignorance are not entirely deceived. The mass of believers know nothing of Arabic and cannot read a line of the Koran. As regards Chinese works on Islam, they can only be understood by students of some culture, but Moslems who are well educated are either intending to become *ahong*, in which case they study Arabic, Persian and Turkish, in which languages, of course, all important Moslem literature is to be found, and these men have comparatively little time to devote to the study of Chinese; or they are intending to take office, in which case their studies are confined to the curricula laid down for the

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government examinations. Thus, the *ahong* are weak in Chinese literature and can neither be authors nor deep students; the officials are weak in the literature of their religion and know no Arabic. Hence it comes about that Moslem literature is not large and reflects rather Confucian than orthodox Moslem opinion; it enables us to know how much the laity know, but tells nothing from the priests' standpoint.

In fine, our researches point to somewhat new views concerning the relatively weak numbers of Chinese Moslems, concerning the very limited proportion of foreign blood amongst them, concerning the recent period of the spread of their religion, concerning the method of propagation, which has been due neither to any apostolate, nor to any immigration of believers from other countries, but simply to the political followers of certain important personages reinforced by social, rather than religious actions, such as marriage, adoption and purchase, and a strict solidarity in the promotion of the interests of Moslems; concerning the subordinate part taken by the *ahong*, who do not form a clergy; their real scholarship, limited, however, to a knowledge of the literature from the Levant; concerning the utter ignorance of the mass of believers and indeed to a less extent of the educated amongst them, who have, in fact, no way of coming to an understanding with the *ahong*, the *ahong* knowing so little of Chinese; the educated, nothing of Arabic; and lastly, concerning the influence of Sufiism, Chiism and brotherhoods.

At the same time we are careful not to assert that these matters are set forth scientifically. We present them as they appear to us as the result of our enquiry which, for the reasons I have given, we do not pretend to have been anything but superficial and incomplete.

Also, the only conclusion that appears to me to be legitimate is the need of fresh enquiry conducted by the means and concerning the matter which the very deficiencies of our enquiry have revealed.

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This is what I should sketch as the right method: It should be conducted by one who combines in himself the erudition of Chinese and Arabic lore. Knowing the difficulty of securing this condition, it may have to suffice that the Sinologue shall have to be accompanied with a Moslem really acquainted with all that concerns his religion, its varied sects, its brotherhoods, its history. Such a Moslem could converse fully with the *ahong* by means of Arabic, at least by writing it; his help would be indispensable for the examination of books from the Levant and for points of doctrine and ritual.

The enquiry should bear on the following points:

(1) The number of Moslems. This number is not difficult to find out. The Moslems do not live dispersed, nor are they unknown; they are always grouped in communities, the existence of which is known to all. These communities, with very rare exceptions, are found on the main routes of traffic, for the Moslems are merchants and carriers rather than agriculturists; moreover the main routes being few in number in all mountainous parts of the land, can be visited without excessive trouble. If any community should be too far from the itinerary, the information that may be gathered would be sufficient to leave no large part in error, for in every place the leader of the community and the *ahong* know perfectly the number of the Faithful. In the plains of China where research might seem beforehand to be less easy, Moslems are far less numerous and it is easy to get to know from missionaries, from officials or from other Moslems, at what places communities are to be found without any loss of time in searching them out.

In every place it would be necessary to copy all inscriptions relating to Islam and the principal events in its history. This would give an exact outline of the march and progress of propagation. One should secure a complete catalogue of all the Arabic, Persian and Chinese literature, the *ahong* possesses. Such lists as we have published might form the basis; but there would be much either to add or to omit, for most of the *ahong* have a mere dozen books; the richest have scarcely

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a hundred. One would at the same time, mechanically one may say, measure the knowledge of the clergy.

The translation of the principal works written in Chinese which we report on, it would be well to complete before beginning the enquiry. This would furnish the same information concerning the better instructed of the laity.

At the same time, the Moslem enquirer would be able to tell of the orthodoxy of the ritual, of the zeal of the Faithful, of the affiliations possibly existing between the sects and brotherhoods. The schools, the number of the scholars, the curriculum of studies, the careers followed by the students, should form the object of special attention.

Finally, not only should the Moslem officials met with be noted, but in each Moslem centre one should indicate the officials who have gone out, most of whom would be amongst the idolaters and could not be met with personally. One should get information concerning the leading families and should search out their genealogy. This would show whether they are traced back to a foreign ancestry—of such we found none except in Kalisu—or, at what period conversion took place, under what circumstances and also what part they themselves have taken in the propaganda. This part one should emphasize in regard to the more distinguished families and personages and should verify it when visiting places indicated.

Such a programme seems immense. In reality, it is not. I am quite sure that an active traveller, if he makes precise arrangements and makes his itineraries carefully, can visit all the communities in China with but few and insignificant exceptions about which enquiries would suffice. By allowing for a stay of two or three weeks in such centres as Chengtu, Yünnanfu, Hochow, Hsi-an, Peking and in a hundred other places of a day or two, one should need altogether two years, on condition of being aided by a Moslem from the Levant and two from China, of whom one should be an *ahong* who has studied the matter beforehand, and the other a good scholar. Both should be of use in introducing and as agents of information in two different kinds of ideas.

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It goes without saying that an enquiry so conducted could not answer every query, and there would remain a place for the study of infinite details. One would no longer go without knowing whether Chinese Islam sprang from a great people or from an autochthonous source ; from an ancient organization or a comparatively recent one ; from a faith without effect on pure China and continuing without effect, or, on the contrary, mainly from its own propagation ; from groups isolated from the rest of Islam, or from groups united with it by secret bonds.

Whether such an enquiry confirms or contradicts the new hypothesis inspired by our observations, we should not regard work as in vain if it be the means of provoking such an enquiry.

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A NOTE ON MULTIPLE BIRTHS IN CHINA

BY

R. F. JOHNSTON, C.B.E.

Mr. B. Laufer contributed to a recent issue of the *New China Review* an interesting article on "Multiple Births among the Chinese."[1] Among the various authorities cited by him he did not, I think, mention the General Topography of the Province of Honan (河南通志). The section in that compilation which is devoted to "Remarkable Occurrences" covers a period of very great length—namely from the time of the fabulous Fu Hsi (伏羲) up to the eighteenth century. No multiple births are mentioned until we come to the year 1432 A.D.; but from that date to 1732 (a period of exactly three hundred years) there are 26 cases of triplets recorded as having occurred within the province. Of the first case we are told that in the 7th year of Hsüan Tê, a Chêng Chou (鄭州) woman gave birth to three children and received an imperial bounty of grain and silk. This and the two following cases belong to the Ming dynasty (1432, 1526 and 1596). The 23 remaining cases occurred during the Ch'ing period, under the dates 1668, 1676, 1678, 1689 (2), 1694, 1701 (2), 1702, 1703, 1709 (3), 1713, 1718, 1723, 1724, 1725, 1727, 1728, 1729, 1730, 1732. In nearly every case it is recorded that gifts of food and cloth or silk were granted by the

(1) See Vol. ii, No. 2, pp. 109 ff.

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Throne. This custom of making imperial gifts to the parents of triplets reminds us of the "king's bounty" granted on similar occasions in England. It would be interesting to ascertain the earliest recorded instance of the practice in China.

With regard to this list of Honan triplets, the sex is not definitely stated in the four first cases, but in every other case we are told that the infants were all male. It seems probable as Mr. Laufer has pointed out, that the birth of female triplets was not recorded.

As all the Honan triplets are assigned to a comparatively short period of three centuries, we should not assume that no such births took place before 1432 but merely that they were not officially recorded.

Mr. Laufer has given us a list of thirty quadruple births in China for a period of over eleven hundred years—namely 473 to 1608. The Honan Topography contains no instances of such births. It may interest readers, however, to know that the following paragraph appeared in a Peking daily newspaper (順天時報) as recently as the 30th May this year. It states that the wife of a man named Shih, living outside the Anting Gate of the capital, had just given birth to four infants, boys and girls.

生產四胎. 安定門外下關三座橋地方住戶石某之妻某氏懷孕數月腹大如鼓茲於昨日忽然腹部疼痛知係臨產其家人將收生婆接到未逾片刻即產生嬰兒男女四個因此遠近人民均傳爲奇事云.

Wishing to ascertain the true facts of this case I sent a trustworthy messenger to enquire into the circumstances. From his report it appears that the announcement was true in every detail with the exception of the statement as to the sex of the infants. As a matter of fact they were all male. This is interesting in view of the fact that of the thirty cases of quadruplets recorded by Mr. Laufer no fewer than twenty-five, or over eighty-three per cent., consisted exclusively of males. My messenger, as a result of his enquiries, gave me the following additional information: The father is Shih Chên-t'ing (石振廷), aged 35. His wife, whose surname was

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Yen (閻), is 34 years of age, and had previously given birth to two sets of twins, all girls. Two of the four girls are still alive. She also gave birth to a son, who did not survive. The boy was her first child and was born when she was seventeen years of age. The quadruplet birth took place at 11:00 A.M. on the 11th of the fourth month (lunar calendar)—that is, May 28th, 1920. The midwife was a woman named Chai (翟), over fifty years of age. This last piece of information is given here not because it is in any way interesting in itself but because it is regarded by the neighbours of the happy parents as extremely important, though for what reason I have been unable to ascertain.

The mother's condition is reported to be very satisfactory. The youngest of the four boys died a few days after birth, but the rest appear to be quite healthy and normal. The father's views on the domestic situation have not been divulged; but any feelings of depression which may have assailed him on that fateful morning last month when he became a father in quadruplicate have doubtless been dispelled, to some extent, by the arrival of various congratulatory presents of money, grain and silk, which, in accordance with imperial precedent, have been bestowed upon the family by the President of the Republic and by local officials.

I may conclude these remarks (which should be regarded as nothing more than a footnote to Mr. Laufer's admirable essay) by alluding to a curious superstitious belief which I have found existing in Peking. The belief is (or was) that when male triplets were born one of the infants had to be put to death, in pursuance of a command from the Court; the reason being that if the three infants survived childhood, one of them would make an attempt to dispossess the ruling dynasty and seize the throne. I have not the slightest reason for supposing that any such barbarous practice ever existed in China. Most probably the belief in it is connected with folk-lore and old-world legend, perhaps not of Chinese origin. Professsor H. Usener, commenting on the stories of Christ's Nativity, remarks that "a massacre of innocents and, as the motive for it, fear of the threatened advent of a new ruler,

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were already current material for legend, as is shown by the romantic story of Marathus concerning the birth of Augustus (Suet. *Aug.* 94.)" (*Encyclopædia Biblica*, s. v. "Nativity"). Perhaps some of the readers of the *New China Review* have come across the strange Chinese belief to which I have alluded and may be able to throw some light upon it. It cannot be very general or widespread as it is not referred to, as far as I am aware, by any writer on Chinese superstitions, and is quite unknown to several educated Chinese residents in Peking whom I have consulted.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

CHINESE AND WESTERN CHRONOLOGY.—In the works of many sinologists the reign-periods of Chinese sovereigns are made to coincide exactly with the years of the Christian era. Thus, for example, the reign-period of K'ang Hsi is given as 1662–1722, that of his successor as 1723–1735, and so on. But Chinese sovereigns were not so accommodating as to die always at midnight on the 31st day of December of the year of the Christian era, so as to enable their successors to date their reigns from the 1st of January. It is best therefore, subject to qualifications presently to be made, to write the above dates 1662–1723, 1723–1736, and others in like manner.

This raises the question whether the dates of the Christian era coincide with the Chinese periods in question. Did, for instance, Yü the Great die in 2197 B.C.? In most cases we must reply in the negative. And for the following reasons. Firstly, the dates assigned to the long reigns of the very earliest sovereigns probably represent months or some shorter periods than years of twelve months as now understood (thus explaining reigns of a hundred years or more). Therefore, for example, 2953–2838 B.C. could not correctly represent the reign-period of Fu Hsi (the question of his mythical character does not affect the argument). The result of rectification in these cases would be that the reigns would be later than the

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dates given in the chronologies. Secondly, the reign of a successor is often reckoned by the Chinese as dating only from the beginning of the Chinese year following that in which the preceding sovereign died; and this beginning of the Chinese year may fall in another year of the Christian era from that given in our Western chronologies of China. This shows the further necessity of indicating the date of the actual as well as the nominal beginning of each reign. Thirdly, in regard to modern dates some discrepancy may be found to exist as the result of the adoption, in the year 1582 and during the following century, of the Gregorian in place of the Julian calendar by all the European nations except Russia, Greece, Servia, etc., and the change, from 1752 onwards, in reckoning the beginning of the year from the 1st of January, instead of from the 25th of March

For most practical purposes the dynastic tables as given in the late Mr. W. F. Mayers' *Chinese Reader's Manual* serve very well (care being taken to remember that the first eight dates are wrong and that some further mistakes, typographical and other, occur in the rest of the tables); but at times it may be necessary to know the exact synchronization of two years or shorter periods, Chinese and Western; and this is at present impossible.

In view of the above observations, it is clear that the tables of Mayers, the *Chronological Tables* of Mr. Theodore Wong, the *Chung hsi li nien piao* of Mr. Ch'ên Pao-ch'ên, the elaborate work of Arendt, even the still more elaborate *Synchronismes Chinois* of Père Tchang and *Concordance des Chronologies Néoméniques Chinoise et Européne* of the late Père Hoang,[1] and the few other existing similar works, would require revision and readjustment to make them synchronologically accurate. But realization of what is implied in the task of making the calculations and researches necessary to adjust exactly all the dates in Chinese chronology

(1) The latter work comes nearer to perfection on this subject than any yet published.

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so that they will coincide with those of our Western chronology (since it would involve synchronizing even the months and days) may well cause the mind to recoil. It would probably take the best part of a life-time, and in these unchristian days no one with the necessary knowledge and skill is likely to be willing to devote the whole or even the greater part of his working life to the accomplishment of a task which would be chiefly useful in facilitating the work of others. He would be the less inclined to do this since he would, in all probability, get no reward (beyond the satisfaction of accomplishment) or even thanks for his pains.

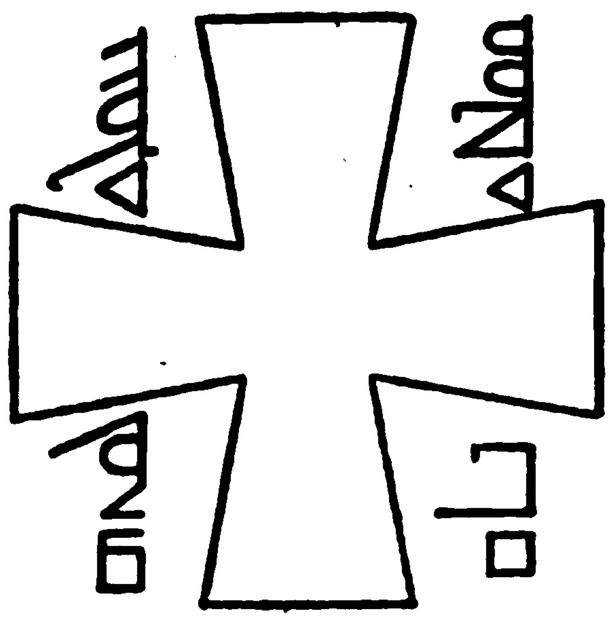
E. T. C. WERNER.

* * *

THE TEMPLE OF THE CROSS. The *Review* of July, 1919, in "Notes and Queries," contained a note by the writer with reference to a temple of the above name in the district of Fang-shan to the south-west of Peking. The name 十字寺 was therein misprinted 什字嗣.

The *New China Review* of October, 1919, contained an extremely interesting article by Mr. Christopher Irving under the title "A Chinese 'Temple of the Cross'" which dealt with the same temple. Mr. Irving had discovered two stones at the east and west corners of the terrace in front of the main hall of the temple bearing crosses of presumably Christian origin, which had evidently given rise to the name of the temple. These crosses had escaped the attention of the writer on the occasion of his first visit to the temple.

He has recently paid a further visit and discovered the existence, on the eastern of the two stones bearing crosses, of an inscription of which a rough illustration is here reproduced. This inscription, which had escaped the attention of Mr. Irving owing to the unfavorable weather at the time of his visit, appears to a non-expert to be a form of Mongol, and



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on the assumption that it is in an archaic form of that script a friend of the writer suggests that it may be read "Jibgolangto Borhanu Fu (?)," the last word being, on this supposition, one borrowed from the Chinese. The writer is given to understand that such borrowings do occur frequently in *Manchu* inscriptions and it is possible that the same practice has been followed in this instance. If the above transliteration and suggestion are correct, the inscription would read " Majestic Buddha's bliss," in which case the inscription would perhaps be one added during the early years of the Mongol conquest of China.

It is hoped that some reader of the *Review* who has knowledge of Central Asian scripts will confirm or correct the above suggestions as to the nature and meaning of the inscription.

* * *

In our last number, opposite p. 270, a Chinese picture was given, but reference to it was accidentally omitted. It is a portion of the same Winter Landscape of which two parts appeared in No. 2. The painting is in Mr. Strehlneek's collection, and we are indebted to that gentleman for the reproduction.

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

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Books for review should be sent to the Editor as early as possible.

Editor: *Samuel Couling,*

73 Chaoufoong Road, Shanghai, China.

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Plate.—"The Shaman or Wu."

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II October, 1920 No. 5

THE SHAMAN OR WU 巫

A Study in Graphic Camouflage

BY

L. C. HOPKINS.

In Part I, the only part as yet published, of his *Das Priestertum im Alten China*, Dr. Bruno Schindler has devoted considerable space and much care to the cultural significance of the ideas embodied in the Chinese words, *ling*, magic, and *wu*, shaman.

Dr. Schindler's work is so thorough, careful, and well documented, that it is bound to take its place when completed, as a leading authority upon the great subject of which it treats. It is much to be desired that eventually it may receive a competent French or English translation.

The investigations recorded in the following paper were incidentally suggested by pages 14 to 29 of this part of Dr.

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Schindler's work, which is entitled "Introduction and Sources" (Einleitung und Quellen). My inquiries centre round the graphic histories of the characters 靈 *ling*, magic, 巫 *wu*, shaman, 無 *wu*, not-to-have, 舞 *wu*, to dance, and a hitherto unknown symbol from the Honan Bone inscriptions, and lead to results which to my perhaps partial eye, seem interesting and suggestive.

* * *

The character 靈 *ling*, magic.

It will be well to examine before the others what the *Shuo Wên* has to say about this character, how it explains it, and how it dissects its complex structure.

In the first place, it is worth noticing that the character is the last entry in the long list of those ranged under the *Shuo Wên's* 6th Radical, 玉 *yü*, jade. This position sometimes in that work implies some doubt or difficulty respecting the character or its classification. Here at any rate the Entry-character is written as shown in Fig. 1 of the Plate, but the form at the head of this paragraph is added with the remark—靈或從巫, "*ling* is sometimes composed with 巫 *wu*," a shaman. The author analyzes his Entry-form as "composed with *yü*, jade, and 靈 *ling*, for the phonetic." According to this analysis, *ling*, whether written with *jade* or with *shaman* at the foot, is a Phonetic Compound, and not, as Dr. Schindler treats it, a Suggestive Compound.[1]

But how does the *Shuo Wên* explain the character? As follows:—"靈巫以玉事神也, which, as it stands, represents 'an inspired shaman serving the Spirits with jade.'" Tuan Yü-ts'ai in his edition emends this reading and prints 巫也以玉事神, "A shaman. Serving the Spirits with jade," thus omitting the initial *ling*, and by transposing the defining syllable *yeh*, making the *Shuo Wên* appear to explain the word *ling* as synonymous with *wu*, a shaman, though in

(1) He writes *loc. cit.* p. 14, "The fundamental meaning of the sign—it consists in substance of Rain+3 mouths q. d.—holes (?Flute)+ magic dancer (in some old variants the last is wanting),—is evidently 'through cries (Music) to make rain.'"

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ordinary Chinese literature and speech, the two words are *not* synonymous, *ling* being a quality rather than an agent.

Tuan has the following interesting note after the two characters 巫也, a shaman, of the text as emended by him:—

"All the editions have above *wu*, shaman, the character 靈 *ling*, but only by a repetition of the Entry-character which has not been suppressed. Hsü, in his original work, following the Lesser Seal Entry-character, used to repeat the latter in the *li* or modern script. When these modern forms were suppressed by later editors, there were some that remained. In this passage, the 也 *yeh* after 巫 *wu* having dropped out, the characters 靈巫 *ling wu*, inspired shaman, were treated as a clause, but erroneously, and the character 也 *yeh* is now restored." In support of this view Tuan then proceeds to cite from the 屈賦九歌, *Ch'ü Fu Chiu Ko*, *The Poems of Ch'ü Yuan and His Nine Songs*, several passages in which *ling* is certainly used as the term for a shaman or thaumaturgist, thus, 靈偃蹇兮姣服, "The shaman bends and bows in his shining robes."

"If," argues Tuan, "the people of Ch'u 楚 used the term *ling* for a *wu* or shaman, Hsü undoubtedly would also rightly have written 巫也 *wu yeh*, 'a shaman' [and not as the ordinary editions print, *ling wu*, or inspired shaman]."

To these observations we may add from Wang Yün's edition of the *Shuo Wên* his statement that nearly all the quotations of the *Shuo Wên's* explanation omit the word *ling* before *wu*, thus implying that *ling* is another term for *wu*, and Wang adds further that the binomial word 靈子 *ling tzü* was also used in the same sense. When used alone to mean shaman, *ling* may have been a customary abbreviation.

The foregoing exhibits what the *Shuo Wèn*, and two of its later editors, can tell us about this important syllable and its written symbol.

We are going to find, however, in the most ancient inscriptions both on Bronze and Bones more striking facts than those we have just discussed. We are going to discover the Shaman himself, and in more than one most efficient disguise.

• • •

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It is to be noted that while the word *ling* is not uncommon in the oldest inscriptions, always as an adjective, qualifying various objects and concepts, it is written in several different ways. Thus the phrase *ling chung* (now written 令 終), which is very difficult to render in terms at once short and adequate, but implies a posthumous power of influencing mundane affairs, is commonly written 靈 終, or rather 靈 冬, on the Bronzes.

In an inscription cited in facsimile in Hsüeh's *Chung Ting I Ch'i K'uan Chih*,[1] from the Ch'i Hou Chung 齊 侯 鐘 (No. 5), we find the laudatory expression *ling kung* 靈 公, "influential Duke," occurring in two adjoining columns of the text, and the two words side by side. In the first of these columns the character is written as in Fig. 2, but in the next column as in Fig. 3, the variation in scription being thus emphasized by contrast.

Nor is this the limit of the variational range. Another type employed to write *ling* is Fig. 4. One instance is recorded from an inscription on Bronze,[2] and correctly ranged by Wu Ta-ch'êng, and by the author of the *Choyokahu Yi Kan*, under 靈 *ling*. Correctly, that is to say, in so far as this exceptional form is used to write the word *ling*, magic, but *not* correctly to be deemed a variant of the character 靈. And the test of this last statement is furnished by the Honan relics, which admit both types for the same sense, but in such dissimilar forms that neither can possibly be a modification of the other. Thus on a miniature broadsword of bone in my collection (H. 247), we find the form 靈 in the expression 靈 劍 *ling chien*, magic sword, see Fig. 5, and again on H. 437 in 靈 璧 *ling pi*, magic disk.

But the more common character in the Honan miniatures for *ling* is that shown in Fig. 4, the graphic significance of which has been fully discussed in an article contributed by

(1) 鐘鼎彝器款識, Ch. 6.

(2) See the 歸 父 盤 in the *Chün K'u Lu Chin Wên*, Vol. 6, p. 29, where the character is erroneously transcribed as 受 *shou*, to receive.

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me to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for April, 1915,[1] and as its graphic significance does not affect the points here under discussion, I need only say that I there suggested that this hitherto little known and unexplained symbol is the pictographic predecessor of the character afterwards written 鈴, and equally pronounced *ling*, meaning a handbell. It would in that case, when found representing *ling*, magic, as on the Honan relics, be another instance of a "borrowed" character.

The two variants, then, found for *ling*, magic, on the Honan bones, are 靈, and the character shown in Fig. 4, but we do not meet the complicated and singular form represented in Fig. 2.

Of this, seven examples are extant, three from the Ch'i Hou Po Chung 齊侯鎛鐘, and four from a set of 13 Bells known as the Ch'i Hou Chung 齊侯鐘, all these 14 Bronzes being apparently, from their names and other features, cast at the same time in honour of the same Marquis of Ch'i. The range of variation in these seven examples is small, and the type is thus well attested.

This type appears to consist of three elements, an upper, a middle, and a lower. I believe, however, that the middle and the lower constitute an integral ideographic group. Taking them in their order, the upper element is evidently 靈 *ling*, which on the whole and *pace* Dr. Schindler, I consider is purely phonetic. The middle portion of the composition is of capital interest. I cannot doubt that in it we have the most archaic version of the character 巫 *wu*, a shaman, and in this view I am supported by the opinion of the learned Japanese author of the *Choyokahu Yi Kan*, who observes,[2] "on examining the shape of this old Seal-character ( ), the lower part is also a variant form of 巫 *wu*," but he stops there, and in the analytic explanation that follows I am speaking for myself alone.

First of all, let us strip away the lowest part 𡈼, which I will deal with later. There remains then the element shown

(1) Archives of an Oracle, Part 2, pp. 290–1.
(2) Chüan 28, p. 19.

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in Fig. 6. This approaches in a general way the archaic characters now written 交 *chiao*, to join, and 文 *wên*, lines, decoration, and like them depicts a frontal view of the human figure. At the sides are seen, detached from the arms (as I imagine by a sacrifice of naturalism on the altar of graphic compactness), on the left, the hand pointing upwards, on the right, palm downwards, the two together symbolizing the gesticulations and posturing of the shaman during his inspired "dancing." The significance of the two short lines attached to each leg I do not quite seize.

There remains to be explained the symbol which appears as 亦.

Now this, in form, is the earlier scription of 亦 *i*, also. At first sight it appears to throw no light upon the central element above it. Yet it does throw a light, and a fiery one too, as I hope now to show. But we must struggle through much smoke before we can reach the clean flame.

The *Shuo Wên* explains the Lesser Seal phase of the symbol 亦 *i* (see Fig. 7), as 人之臂亦也, "the armpits of a man," and employs the same form 亦 in its explanations of the characters 胳 *ko* and 肢 *ch'i*, both of which are rendered by 亦下 *i hsia*, the armpits, *lit.* "under the armpits."

It is generally admitted by Chinese students of their writing that 亦 *i* was the older mode of writing 腋, the armpit, now pronounced in the northern dialects *yeh*, and that the latter character is a popular form. And no doubt *i* and *yeh* are mere variations of the same sound, and in fact there is still a phonetic vibration as it were between these two syllables.

The *Shuo Wên* then proceeds to analyze the character itself as follows, 從大象兩亦之形, "Composed with 大 *ta*. Depicts the two armpits." That of course refers to the short strokes at the sides, which as Tuan Yü-ts'ai comments, 象無形之形, "depict the form of what has no form," that is, indicate what is invisible.

Wang Yün is even more explicit in his note that "the dots marked beneath the two arms just mean that the armpits are here," 以點記兩臂之下謂亦在是耳. They are in fact, in his view, arbitrary symbols, corresponding to our use

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of 𠂤 arrows, in analogous circumstances. It is clear then that 亦 was once used to write the word now written 腋, armpit. But the most ancient Bronzes prove that it was equally available to write the homophonous word *i*, meaning "also."

I have been anxious to give a full statement of the *Shuo Wên's* explanation of this character 亦 *i*, which may be considered the traditional and orthodox one, inasmuch as I am about to challenge it fundamentally. Despite its plausibility and reasonableness, I have been slowly driven by the evidence to believe the figure to have had a totally different origin.

If we examine a number of the most archaic forms of characters containing the symbol for fire, 火 *huo*, we shall discover a certain proportion in which, in place of 火, occurs this sign 大, already shown to be the earlier scription of 亦 *i*.

Thus, it appears in some old forms of 狄 *ti*, the non-Chinese tribe of that name, Fig. 8; of 爨 *hsieh*, concord, Fig. 9; of 鑄 *chou*, to cast metal, Fig. 10; and of 褮 *ying*, not in the Dictionaries of Giles or Couvreur, but explained by the *Shuo Wên* as 鬼衣也, "spectral clothing," meaning according to Kuo P'o, tattered clothing, Fig. 11. The same form is seen in 尞 *liao*, to set on fire, especially of a bonfire in honour of Heaven, of which the Lesser Seal is Fig. 12.

We have, therefore, two ascertained facts regarding this character 大. First, it was used to write a word now pronounced *i* or *yeh*, meaning "armpit," as well as another homophonous word meaning "also"; and second, it was used either (1) as a variant of the character 火 *huo*, fire, or (2) as an independent, though in shape closely related, character for some word of different sound, but having a meaning fitly represented by a picture of flames.

Is it possible to find a form that meets these pictographic requirements, and at the same time serves to represent a word fulfilling these phonetic conditions?

It is possible; and the pictogram and the associated syllable that I now put forward, meet, I submit, the triple necessities of shape, sound and sense.

To begin with the shape. I have elsewhere shown that a horizontal stroke crossing a vertical one is sometimes a

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later and stylized development of a primitive, spindle-shaped cylindrical or oval design. Such, for example, is 十 *shih*, ten, changed from the original 𝑂, representing a leaf.[1]

Following this clue, we should from 亦 reach a hypothetical form as in Fig. 13. Is there such a form? Again, yes there is. It occurs in an archaic version of the character 𤇾 *kêng*, bright, Fig. 14, found in the invaluable Mao Kung Ting 毛公鼎, or Caldron of the Duke of Mao.

This figure, or one not essentially different from it, was I believe the original of the element in the various characters specified above, where other examples of the same characters usually have the normal form 火 *huo*, fire.

Coming to the sound of this restored symbol, we find that in its later scription viz.: 亦, it is not pronounced *huo*, or any variation of that sound, but *i*. We want, then, some word pronounced *i* or *yeh*, but having such a sense as could be fittingly represented to the eye by a picture of flames. Does such a word exist? Once more the answer is in the affirmative. Although not found in the *Shuo Wên*, Kanghsi cites from other dictionaries a character 㷆 *i*, and on the authority of the *Yü P'ien*, gives the meaning of 火光 fire-light. Kanghsi also adduces from the *Chi Yün* dictionary the statement 或作焱煬, "sometimes written 焱 [normally pronounced *yen*] and 煬."

Accordingly it is this word *i*, fire-light, which in my belief was the syllable primitively written more or less as in my hypothetical restoration shown in Fig. 13, and later as 亦, later still by 亦. And when ultimately the borrowed senses of "armpit," and "also," had obscured the true meaning "fire-light," (a fate to which homophonous words were constantly exposed in Chinese), the Phonetic Compounds cited by Kanghsi were devised to represent by a different method the primary meaning once illustrated by 亦 *i*.

Such is the explanation I venture to put forward to account for the presence of the symbol 亦 at the foot of the

(1) The Chinese Numerals and their Notational Systems. Part pp. 759–60, in J. R. A. S. for October, 1916.

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archaic character 靈 *ling*, under discussion, as well as for the occurrence of 亦 in the various characters mentioned above, where the sign is otherwise inexplicable either on phonetic or ideographic grounds.

But assuming that 亦 did in fact convey ideographically the sense of fire-light or flame, *why* was it sought to attach this idea to the image of a posturing shaman?

The answer to this question can best be given by a reference to De Groot's great work *The Religious System of China*. Here in the chapter devoted to "Possessed Mediums, Exorcists and Seers," Vol. 6, p. 1292, the author describes the present-day practices of these persons in the Amoy country:

"But, as we all may understand," he writes, "for the acquisition of immunity from evil nothing on such occasions is so useful as passing through the element Fire, which is the very mightiest devil-destroying part of the Universe. Therefore a ceremony is performed which is denominated *táh hé* [踏火], 'treading fire,' or *kia*^{ng} *hé lō* [行火路], 'walking on a path of fire' . . . the *sai-kong* [師公] advances with a rolled-up mat.' . . . Then with agility and quickness, he pushes the roll right through the glowing mass, virtually splitting it up into two halves, in this way 'opening a fire-path' *khui hé lō* [開火路], which thus, while pushing, he is himself the first to tread."

And some such ancient ceremony is, I do not doubt, indicated by the pictogram we have been studying. The more ancient may have been also the more drastic probation of the shaman. But essentially it must have been the same, and have exemplified the belief in the cleansing and purgatorial powers of Fire.

If then we have discovered in the more elaborate central portion of our archaic character *ling*, an early sketch of a *wu* or shaman, we should see in this modern form 巫 *wu*, and equally in the Lesser Seal scription, Fig. 15, from which the modern is derived, a curtailed and disfigured remnant of our dancing shaman, and must accordingly supplement the explanation given by the *Shuo Wên* of 巫 *wu*, which is as

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follows; the Entry-character in Lesser Seal writing being Fig. 15, immediately after this we read, 祝也女能事無形以舞降神者也象人兩褒舞形與工同意古者巫咸初作巫. The English of this is, "An Invoker. A woman who can serve the Invisible, and by posturing bring down the spirits. Depicts a person with two sleeves posturing. Analogous in construction to 工 *kung*, handicraft. In ancient times Wu Hsien was the first shaman."

This suggestive passage requires a few notes and comments.

Hsü Shên treats *wu* as equivalent to 祝 *chu*, an Invoker, as De Groot renders the word. It does not appear that a *wu* was necessarily a woman, though there were female *wu*. Consequently Tuan Yü-ts'ai and Wang Yün in their editions consider that 女 *nü*, woman, was not in the original text. If they are right, as very probably they are, we should translate instead of "a woman who can, etc.," rather "one who can."

The words "depicts a person with two sleeves posturing," followed by "analogous in construction to 工 *kung*" must be noticed. If the element 〈 〉 stands for the two sleeves, obviously the remainder 工 represents the person who postures, and it must therefore be a modified version of the central part of Fig. 2, which shows the outstretched arms and legs, and in which the lateral additions are the two hands rather than two sleeves. The words 與工同意 are rather a trap for a novice, and indeed for any reader not acquainted with the *Shuo Wên*'s technical phraseology, for they do not have the sense they may seem to have, viz.: "Same meaning as 工 *kung*, handicraft," a statement that would be absurd. But in the *Shuo Wên* 同意 *t'ung-i* always means "analogy, or analogous, in formation." In this instance both 巫 *wu* and 工 *kung* have in common the form 工. And as this form in 巫 *wu* is shown above to be derived from a human figure with extended arms and legs, it is probable that Hsü Shên's remark implies that the primitive shape of 工 may also have been a human figure. But that point may be left unpursued here.

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We have, however, another variant of 巫 *wu* to consider, for the *Shuo Wên* adds as the *Ku wên* scription, the more elaborate compound shown in Fig. 16, where the old form of a separate character and word 廾 *kung*, consisting of the two hands held upward, is placed at the foot of the character, and apparently two *mouths* are inserted below the "sleeves."

Recent editors of the work, and others, have treated the *Shuo Wên's* alleged *ku wên* or "ancient forms" with scant respect, deeming them to be drawn from the debased script of the disorganized centuries at the close of the Chou dynasty, known as the period of the Contending States. So Chên-yü in particular has called attention to the lack of confirmation of most of this class of characters shown by the Honan relics. And if this so-called *ku wên* form of *wu* stood alone, we should not need to concern ourselves with it overmuch. But it is rather curious that in the Entry-character (therefore, normally, the Lesser Seal version) of 筮 *shih*, divination by means of plant stalks, and in two other compounds of 巫 *wu*, we find not the latter form, as we should naturally expect, but the *Shuo Wên's* alleged *ku wên* type. Perhaps this was a lapse of memory on Li Ssŭ's part, for Homer sometimes nods.

I hope that so far in the foregoing pages I may have carried conviction to readers that in Fig. 2 we have identified the earliest known pictogram of a shaman or *wu*, and that between and beneath his legs is drawn a figure of fire or flames.

* * *

In what follows we shall be treading on less firm ground, but a hypothesis is not necessarily an illusion, and I shall trust that future discoveries may either confirm my conjectures or prove how and why they are erroneous.

The thesis now proposed is that not only is the shaman represented in the character 巫 *wu*, and seen in his ceremonial functions in the most archaic type of 靈 *ling*, but that disguised out of all recognition he is present also in 無 *wu*, not-to-have, and furthermore that it is no other than he, who with

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large and emphatic feet, is posturing in the compound 舞 *wu*, to dance.

First, we will investigate the character 無, and as the essay is not one exactly of transparent simplicity, we will reconnoitre the ground in advance.

There are in the *Shuo Wên* two Lesser Seal characters requiring attention in this regard. One is the figure shown in Fig. 17 (under 林 *lin*, the 208th Radical), and is 無. The other is shown in Fig. 18 (under 亡 *wang* or *wu*, the 457th Radical), and has not survived into the current modern writing, but in the Han li, 漢 隸, or "Han dynasty modern script," it was transcribed in the mode shown in Fig. 19.

Now the first of these two characters, viz.: 無, is not explained in the *Shuo Wên*, as we should have expected it to be, by a negative, but by the words *fêng yeh*, 豐 也, abundant. It is the second and now obsolete character to which the negative sense is attributed by the explanatory words 亡 也 *wang* (or *wu*) *yeh*. But though the syllable *wu*, having the sense of abundant or luxuriant, is now written sometimes 蕪, sometimes 廡, yet in the days when Hsü Shên flourished, the simple 無 was certainly often thus used. What the *Shuo Wên* does not state, but what is a very material fact all the same, is that the character 無 was also commonly employed on the oldest Bronzes as a negative (its sole modern use), as for instance in the recurring phrase 無 疆 *wu chiang*, "without end." And, be it also noted, the *Shuo Wên's* compound character, which includes 亡, is never found on archaic vessels or the Honan Bones.

This reconnaissance having been carried out, we must next ascertain the *Shuo Wên's* analysis of 無 *wu*, "abundant," and the further annotations added in the present text, which it may be remarked here, has proved a prickly problem to some of the later editors, so much so indeed that one of them, Wang Yün, irritably exclaims that "the explanation of the character *wu* is totally incomprehensible."

And certainly as it stands, the text, whether it is all from Hsü Shên's hand, or has been sophisticated by later glosses, is none too simple. It runs, 從林爽或說規模字

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從大卅數之積也林者木之多也卅與庶同意商書曰庶草繁無. Before rendering this in English, I should mention that Tuan Yü-ts'ai thinks the 3rd character should be repeated, and that the 12th character from the end ought to be the Lesser Seal form of 無 *wu*, and not two 口 *k'ou* crossed by a horizontal stroke. However, taking the text as it stands, without Tuan's emendations, we should render it as follows:

"Composed with 林 *lin*, a forest, and 爽, the latter, according to some, being the character *mu* of *Kuei-mu*, a pattern, model, composed with 大 *ta*, great, and 卅 [acc. to the *Kuang Yün Dictionary*, to be read *hsi*, *sip* in Cantonese], a high number. *Lin* is a number of trees, and 卅 *hsi* [or 爽, acc. to Tuan Yü-ts'ai] is analogous in formation to 庶 *shu*, numerous. The Books of Shang [part of the *Shu Ching*] say, 'the various plants will be abundantly luxuriant.'"

The several clauses of this statement have given rise to much discussion, not all of which we need pursue. What emerges is that Hsü Shên, basing himself on the Lesser Seal form, believed *wu*, abundant, to be a compound of 林 *lin*, a forest, and another element as to the significance of which he evidently was in doubt. Many examples from old Bronzes can be adduced in support of Hsü's belief that 林 *lin* is part of the character 無 *wu*. But quite as many exist in which we do not seem to find it. Figs. 20 and 21 illustrate the first group, and Figs. 22 and 23, the second. It must remain in some doubt therefore whether *lin*, a forest, was really an original part of *wu*, or not.

In any case we have to consider the more enigmatic but more interesting element 爽 which the author of the *Shuo Wên*, tentatively and at second hand, suggests was a scription of 模 *mu*, a pattern. He does not actually say so, but if this were certain, it would also imply that the character 無 *wu* would be a Phonetic Compound, consisting of *lin*, a forest, as the Determinative, and *mu*, pattern, as the Phonetic. Tuan Yü-ts'ai, however, classes it as a Suggestive Compound.

Now this ambiguous second element is not found elsewhere in the *Shuo Wên*, neither as an Entry-character, nor in any part of the explanatory text. But it appears in the Supplement

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to Kanghsi (under the Radical 大), where it is cited from the two Dictionaries 篇 海 *P'ien Hai*, and 類 編 *Lei Pien*, and said to be spelt 莫 胡 *mo-hu*, to be pronounced 模 *mu*, and to mean 法 *fa*, 刑 *hsing*, and 規 *kuei*, fashion, mould, pattern. These two Dictionaries, however, were compiled at a much later date than the *Shuo Wên*, and may, in this entry, have been founded upon the explanation in the latter work.

But if we had the series of archaic examples of 無 in which 林 *lin* was uniformly present, or could plausibly be claimed to be present, I should prefer a suggested analysis by Wang Yün in his *Shuo Wên Shih Li*, *chüan* 17, p. 9, as a better one. His suggestion is that the character consisted of 大 *ta*, great, as the Determinative, and 𣏌, a known *Ku wên* form of 某 *mou* (now used as so-and-so, but alleged by certain authorities to be the ancient scription of 梅 *mei*, plum), as the Phonetic.

What, however, militates equally against this and the other derivations above propounded, is the existence of a very ancient type, where in place of 𣏌, we meet 𣏌, in which 木 *mu*, wood, is certainly not present. Examples are seen in Figs. 24, 25 and 26. It is from this type of the archaic character that I have derived what I believe to be the clue to the true constructional significance of 無 *wu*. I call attention specially to Fig. 24. It consists of a central and principal element, representing a not yet fully linearized human figure in frontal view, and of two identical lateral adjuncts on the right and left, the significance of which is not apparent at first sight. But the *Chou Li* may throw some light on it. Under the caption of 樂 師, Yo Shih, or The Music Master, that classic enumerates the six classes of dances officially recognized and taught. They were the 帗 舞 *fu wu*, or Parti-coloured silk Dance, the 羽 舞 *yü wu*, or Plume Dance, the 皇 舞 *huang wu*, or Phœnix-feather Dance, the 旄 舞 *mao wu*, or Yak-tail Dance, the 干 舞 *kan wu*, or Shield Dance, and the 人 舞 *jên wu*, or Man Dance.

Accordingly I incline to see in the two lateral adjuncts, one of these symbolic objects with which the posturer or dancer was equipped, perhaps the plumes for choice, while

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the obviously human figure with outstretched arms is the dancer himself, and a dancer of the ancient cult of 巫 *wu*, or shamans, exercising his thaumaturgic powers. Hence, it also follows that the modern character 無 *wu* is really nothing but a pictogram, hopelessly disguised, of a dancing or posturing human figure, and, as I submit, also an ancient variant of 巫 *wu*, a shaman.

But at this stage it may be objected by a student of Chinese that the argument, for what it is worth, points quite as much, if not more, to these archaic forms being the originals of the modern character 舞 *wu*, to dance, as it does to their being the earlier shapes of 無 *wu*, not-to-have, and 巫 *wu*, a shaman.

Against such an objection I have nothing to urge. In fact I believe that the ancient forms already illustrated and discussed are the common parent of all three characters, 無, 巫, and 舞. I hold specifically that the *words* now pronounced *wu*, shaman, and *wu*, to dance, are merely slightly differing applica, tions of the same idea embodied in the spoken word *wu*, which only in the later stages of the written language have become differentiated. And I further believe that the independent but homophonous words, *wu* not-to-have, and *wu*, abundant, luxuriant, have simply borrowed an already existing character originally designed to express a dancing shaman or *wu*.

This hypothesis will seem less improbable after investigating the earlier history of the written character 舞 *wu*, to dance. The *Shuo Wên* analyzes the Lesser Seal as composed of 舛 *ch'uan*, opposed (a figure of the feet heel to heel), and 無 *wu*, as the Phonetic. It inserts as an "ancient form," a character 𣐈, composed of 羽 feathers, and 亡 *wu* or *wang* for the Phonetic.

But when we come to examine the actual inscriptions of the most archaic Bronzes accessible to study, in the facsimile collections published by Chinese scholars, we do not find either of the *Shuo Wên's* types. We find instead, in one instance, the word *wu*, to dance, written with 無 *wu*, to which the old form of 辵 *cho* has been added as a Determinative (*Chün Ku Lu Chin Wên*, Vol. 7, p. 69); in another instance,

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an instructive one, we find the ordinary archaic form of 無 *wu*, used once in the term now transcribed 大 舞 *ta wu*, apparently the name of a Dance, and once, in the same inscription, for 無 *wu*, not-to-have, in the common expression 無 疆 *wu chiang*, limitless, without end. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 27). And again, twice, in two slightly obliterated examples which seem to be rather written forms of the ordinary character 無, but with the sense of 舞 *wu*, to dance. (*Ibid.*, Vol. 9, p. 24).

These are crucial instances and confirm the view that the early writers did not distinguish in writing between *wu*, not-to-have, and *wu*, to dance.

* * *

I hope I shall not be regarded as a victim of shamanistic obsession if I bring this paper to a conclusion by disclosing a final avatar of the 巫 *wu*, as he appears, in my belief, upon the Honan relics.

Fig. 27 reproduces two separate but adjoining entries upon a bone fragment in my collection, H. 638. They are marked off from each other by an incised horizontal line. The characters were originally filled in with vermilion ink, which is still quite bright in parts.

Before proposing a translation of these two short legends, it will be necessary to discuss briefly two characters in them presenting difficulties of identification, though these do not materially affect the point I wish to make about 巫 *wu*.

The first difficulty is caused by the archaic form 屮, and Lo Chên-yü's transcription of this into the modern character 之 *chih*. For as to this Lo is not consistent. In Part 5 of his invaluable work the 殷 虛 書 契 考 釋 *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih*, which he calls 文 字 *wên tzŭ*, or Glossary of Characters, he prints as the Bone form of 之 *chih*, the sign shown in Fig. 28, and no other (p. 57). But in Part 6, headed 卜 辭 *pu tz'ŭ*, or Oracular Sentences, a large collection of complete inscriptions rendered as far as possible in modern characters, he always equates the archaic sign 屮 with 之 *chih*. I have never been able to accept this identification. Nevertheless I so far concur with him as to see in it a word having a verbal force, and some such meaning as to offer prayer or

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sacrifice, most likely both, to spiritual powers and ancestors. Lo expresses himself on this character as follows (p. 86): — 右言之于或但言之言于者六十有六之者遘也之于某猶特牲饋食禮簋辭云遘其皇祖某子矣, "The foregoing comprises 66 passages with 之于 *chih yü*, sometimes with only the word *chih*, sometimes with only *yü*. The word 之 *chih* is equivalent to 遘 *shih*, to reach or approach. The expression *chih yü*, to visit so-and-so, is equivalent to the rite of offering a single victim to him. In the phraseology of divination by the *shih* plant, it is said, 'So-and-so, the son of his ancestor in heaven, approaches him.'"

With the above reservations as to the actual word represented by this ancient character, and for the sake of the argument, I provisionally adopt the transcription 之 *chih* in the translation below.

The second difficulty is met in the form , the third character in the lower legend. This at first sight appears to be *wu* (or *wang*), the negative verb, there-is-not or not-to-have, always used on the Honan Bones where 無 *wu* is written elsewhere. But such a negative sense is unintelligible in such a context as we have here. In fact our form must be here (and often elsewhere on the Bones) a slight contraction of = 作 *tso*, to make, a contraction I may add, which has been carried even further in one variant, cited by the *Choyokahu Yi Kan*, ch. 2, p. 15, viz: .

So much then for the difficulties, and now for the transcription and translation.

In the upper register I read 酌巫之雨, *hu wu chih yii*, "Bade the shaman make-offering for rain." In the lower, 酌巫作雨, *hu wu tso yü*, "Bade the shaman make rain."

Tso yü 作雨, is a recognized phrase for thaumaturgic rain-making as the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu* proves.

Accordingly I think we may safely conclude that the linearized human figure with the trifid hands is the predecessor and parent of the later *wu*, and the current sign for the shaman during the period when the inscriptions on the Honan relics were composed.

And so Goodbye to the Wu and his dancing.

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THE PU TZŬ-HSIA TRADITION IN SHANSI

BY THE

REV. A. W. HUMMEL

There is a phrase in Chinese literature, Hsi Ho chiĥ T'ung (西河之痛), the great sorrow of the West River. It is an allusion to the unhappy experience of Pu Shang (卜商) or Pu Tzŭ-hsia (子夏), that disciple of Confucius who, according to the Book of Rites, wept himself blind at the death of his son. The scene of this misfortune is laid in Hsi Ho (西河), a place still indefinitely located far up the banks of the Yellow River whither Tzŭ-hsia had retired after the death of his Master. He was forty-four years younger than Confucius, and if we take the accepted chronology, he must have survived him at least seventy-three years; for as late as B.C. 406 we find him presenting to Prince Wên of Wei (魏文侯) copies of the classics, and teaching the prince the intricacies of ancient music. We know from the Analects that Confucius highly respected Tzŭ-hsia's views on literary criticism, and for that reason perhaps delivered to him the texts of the Odes and of the Spring and Autumn Annals. Tzŭ-hsia has to his credit in the Analects and elsewhere a number of utterances of high moral import. But these unfortunately are compromised to a degree by other views which were too narrow to receive the commendation either of the Master or of the other disciples. A comprehensive study of the words and

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acts of Tzŭ-hsia produces the impression that for all his literary acumen his best thoughts are generally what the literary critic would call the "disengaged" thoughts of his Master rather than the off-spring of his own deep moral insight. But so much may be affirmed with more or less truth of all the disciples. The twenty sections of the Analects, Prince Ito is reported to have said, are in the last analysis wholly the thoughts of the Master himself.

The story of this aged man grieving so immoderately over the loss of his son has had a peculiar hold upon the imagination of his countrymen, not only because it undoubtedly violates their finest sentiments of propriety, but even more perhaps because it exhibits a weakness common to the great and the lowly alike, providing "that touch of nature which makes the whole world kin." Somewhat like Landor's "poor, proud Dante," Tzŭ-hsia must have combined a sensitive heart with a keen mind. In a spirit fundamentally proud it was easy to develop that propensity which lasted even into old age, for nursing his grief in solitude. During his long sojourn in Hsi Ho, Tzŭ-hsia lived the life of a ragged scholar, practising his favorite principles alone, 獨行其道, if we may use a current Chinese phrase. It is said that his presence was a great civilizing influence in a region far off the beaten track and lacking in the refinements of literary culture. Late in life he retraced his steps for a time at least to the scenes of his young manhood, for we have preserved in the Book of Rites a dramatic interview which he had with Tsêng-tzŭ, his old friend and fellow disciple. Tsêng-tzŭ himself is reputed to have been forty-six years younger than Confucius. Therefore at the time of this interview he and Tzŭ-hsia must have been practically the sole survivors of that earnest company once so intimately associated with the great Master. If we bear in mind the reputation which Tsêng-tzŭ had for filial piety (being one of the twenty-four examples), and the fact that he was the author of the Classic of Filial Piety, as well as of ten sections of the Book of Rites, we can better comprehend the reasons which lie at the bottom of the following plain-spoken interview:

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"When Tzŭ-hsia lost his son he also lost his sight. The philosopher Tsêng condoled with him and said, 'I have heard it stated that when one's friend has lost his sight it is only fitting that one should weep for him.' Tsêng-tzŭ thereupon began to weep. Tzŭ-hsia wept too and murmured 'Heaven, I have not offended Thee to have come to this pass.' Tsêng-tzŭ, hearing these words, was stirred to anger and said, 'Shang, how can you say you committed no fault? You and I together followed the same Master on the banks of the rivers Chu and Ssŭ. Later you retired away up to the Hsi Ho country, causing the people to suspect that you had had some discord with the Master. That was your first offence. Furthermore, when your parents died no one was aware of your grief then. That was your second offence. But when you lost your son you grieved so excessively as to lose your vision too. That was your third offence.' Thereupon Tzŭ-hsia, letting his leaning-stick fall to the ground, bowed down and said, 'Those were my faults, my faults indeed; too long I have lived a solitary life apart from the society of my friends.'"

This is the story that has come down to us. For many centuries attempts have been made to locate geographically the scene of Tzŭ-hsia's unfortunate experience, but never with the assurance of absolute certainty. The problem is all the more confused because of the fact that from very early times the name Hsi Ho was attributed to more than one locality along the western arm of the Yellow River. It is not the intention herein to attempt the solution of this problem. In the opinion of some it has long been solved, and in the opinion of others it is still much in doubt. The writer's sole purpose in this article is to present the traditional claims of one region with which he happens to be in some degree familiar. Whatever may be the worth of those claims as historical evidence, they yet reveal the powerful manner in which place names have been influenced by history.

As the designation Ho (河) was first applied to the Yellow River exclusively, and only later to rivers in general, it is quite natural to interpret the earliest references in the

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Shu Ching (書經) and elsewhere as west of the Yellow River in modern Shensi. The Hsi Ho of the ancient state of Yung Chow (雍州) was most probably in this region. But as already stated other places in North China acquired the same name; and whether or not the Hsi Ho to which Tzŭ-hsia retired is to be identified with that mentioned in the earliest records is not quite so clear. It should be stated, however, that the Tz'ŭ Yüan, or Chinese encyclopædic dictionary, apparently recognizes only one ancient Hsi Ho, which is said to have occupied the territory now embraced in the region of Tungchow (同州) in modern Shensi. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, writing in 95 B.C., quotes a report that the Tungchow region contained a stone cave (石室) in which Tzŭ-hsia is said to have taught, but other records deny the existence of such a cave in that locality.

In A.D. 222 the name Hsi Ho Chün (西河郡) was applied to that part of the so-called T'ai Yüan (太原) or Great Plain of central Shansi of which Fênchow has long been the departmental city. An ancient name for Fênchow itself is Hsi Ho Chên (西河鎮). It is still so carved on one of the city gates, and used in classical references. Also fifteen miles south-east of the same city is a village known to-day as Hsi Ho Pu (堡). The local chronicles maintain that the name Hsi Ho Chün was applied to this region in the later Han period for the reason that it had borne the name Hsi Ho in still earlier times, and because it contained the artificial stone cave (石室) to which according to tradition (相傳) Tzŭ-hsia retired when he lived in Hsi Ho. This cave is at the base of a mountain which for twelve hundred years at least has been variously known as Yeh Ch'üan Shan (謁泉山), Chich Chüan Shan (竭泉山) and Yin Ch'üan Shan (隱泉山). The Record of the Sui Dynasty (隨國集記) (A.D. 581–618) mentions this stone cave, and adds that beside it stood a temple dedicated to the memory of Tzŭ-hsia. The cave, and a duplicate of this temple is still in existence. One of the oldest Chinese topographical books, the *Yüan Ho Chün Hsien Chih* (元和郡縣志), compiled at the time of the T'ang

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dynasty by Li Chi Fu (李吉甫), repeats the tradition that this is the cave which Tzŭ-hsia frequented. The well-known T'ang poet Sung Chih Wên (宋之問), who was born in Fênchow and died A.D. 710, alludes in his poems to the local Tzŭ-hsia traditions as the accepted history of his native place. In all later local chronicles the stone cave, overlooking as it does the fertile Hsi Ho plain, is accepted as one of the surviving links which connect Tzŭ-hsia with the present day.

In an article on Pu Tzŭ-hsia (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1667) Giles says that Tzŭ-hsia retired to Shansi. If he refers to Hsi Ho, he presumably means the Hsi Ho of the T'ai Yüan plain, and not the Hsi Ho of Shensi. The capital of the Wei (魏) state to which Tzŭ-hsia went was at An I (安邑) in southern Shansi near the present city of P'ingyang. We know furthermore that the Hsi Ho in question was during the time of Tzŭ-hsia's sojourn under the jurisdiction of Prince Wên of Wei (魏文侯). That much is confirmed by Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, the historian, who puts the following words into the mouth of Wu ch'i (吳起) the able defender of the Wei state during the reign of Prince Wên, "I guarded Hsi Ho, and the Ch'in troops did not dare to look eastward" (起曰守西河而秦兵不敢東鄉). This statement would seem to imply that the Hsi Ho of our inquiry was east of the Yellow River, that is to say in Shansi; unless indeed it can be shown that the Wei troops were actually strong enough at this time to cross the river where it is swiftest, and with the stream at their rear defend against the Ch'ins that territory around modern T'ungchow in which it is alleged that Hsi Ho was located.

Those, on the other hand, who argue for the Hsi Ho of Shansi have not only to explain its anomalous position with respect to the Ho (河), or Yellow River, but its location northward of the Wei capital of some one hundred and seventy-five miles. In reply to the first difficulty it may be assumed that the Hsi Ho of Shansi took its name as west of the River Fên. It is also possible that anciently a strip of territory which embraced land on both sides of the Yellow River was known as Hsi Ho, and that after the rise of the Ch'in state the name was retained only for that remnant

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of territory still lying to the east of the river on the T'ai Yüan plain. Or again the name may have arisen as relating to that long western arm of the Yellow River rather than west of the river itself. This would be a natural mode of speech from the viewpoint of those regions nearer the mouth of the river. However distant, on the other hand, the Hsi Ho of Shansi was from the Wei capital there nevertheless appears to be considerable evidence in local tradition and place names to support the view that it formed the northern limits of the Wei state and was an integral part of it. That geographical work of the T'ang period which we mentioned above 元和郡縣志, alleges that the Fênchow region was originally a part of the ancient Chin (晉) state, and that when this state was dismembered it belonged to Wei, with the name Hsi Ho. The same work is also authority for the statement that the tomb of Wei Wên Hou himself is located in the department of Fênchow two miles outside the west gate of the important market city of Hsiao I hsien (孝義縣). It states furthermore that the grave of Tuan Kan Mu (段干木), a famous local scholar and pupil of Pu Tzŭ-hsia, is situated ten miles north-east of the same city. Less than one mile south of Fênchow city is a village which bears the name Wên Hou Ts'un (文侯村). And twenty miles north-east of Fênchow is a mountain called Hsiao Wên Shan (孝文山); a hsien city called Wên Shui (文水); and a river called Wên Yü Ho (文峪河). All these places are located in the Shansi Hsi Ho, and are interpreted by the local annals to refer to the Wei Wên Hou of post-Confucian days. In the mountain pass which leads from Fênchow to the Yellow River (the most accessible of all the passes between Shansi and Shensi) is a village named Wu Ch'êng (吳城) which is alleged by tradition to bear the name of Wu Ch'i (吳起) who is said to have used it as a military encampment when he guarded Hsi Ho.

The Hsi Ho of Shansi furthermore offers many place names which relate to Pu Tzŭ-hsia and his misfortune. In the foothills some five miles south-east of the above-mentioned stone cave is a village called Ai Tzŭ Ts'un (愛子村), Loved-His-Son Village, and again ten miles westward is another

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village called Hsiang Tzŭ Yüan (想子垣), Meditated-on-His-Son Village. Six miles south of the cave is a historic village called Ta Hsiang Li T'sun (大想里村), Great Longing Village. This village claims not only to have been connected with Tzŭ-hsia but to have been the ancestral home of the notorious Li K'o (里克) a minister of the Chin (晉) state who died in B.C. 650; hence the significance of the additional character 里 in the name of the village. Ta Hsiang Li Ts'un boasts the largest of all the numerous temples in this locality which are dedicated to Pu Tzŭ-hsia. In the temple precincts is a school called the Pu Shang College (卜商書院) for training youths to emulate the virtuous learning of The Great Teacher of Hsi Ho (西河大士). For many centuries it has turned out eminent scholars, and still continues the best literary traditions of this entire region. The oldest of the existing stone tablets in the temple dates back to the Yüan dynasty.

Another village, interesting both for its name and its traditional associations, is Sang Tsao P'o (桑皂坡), situated five miles south-west of Fênchow city. The local scholars assert that the original name of this village was not Sang Tsao P'o (Mulberry and Date Slope) but Sang Tzŭ P'o (喪子坡), Mourned-for-His-Son Slope. Curiously enough the latter pronunciation is the one invariably used by the inhabitants of Fênchow, who apparently never took kindly to the change. That the original name should have come to be regarded as inauspicious and therefore taboo is highly probable. This assumption is borne out by the unhappy experience of a posterior T'ang statesman named Sang Wei Han (桑維翰) who died in A.D. 946 (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1670). This personage when a young man is reputed to have been debarred by the Grand Examiner from taking his first examination for the *chin-shih* degree because his name, 桑, had the same sound as the word for mourning, 喪. Now, the village of Sang Tsao P'o is known in local tradition as the scene of the philosopher's greatest grief—the place where he buried his son. The visitor is led a five minutes' walk outside the village to a loess shelf on the slope of the

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hills which is known to all the neighbourhood as Li Erh P'o (離兒坡), Took-Leave-of-His-Son Slope. There he is shown a moundless grave marked only by a flat stone beneath a peach tree. The stone, being of inferior quality, is now indecipherable and offers no clue to the authenticity or otherwise of the tradition in question. It is difficult to discover any reason, other than some ancient and deep-seated tradition, why this declivity was thus rescued from the oblivion to which the many similar slopes in the same neighbourhood were consigned.

It is needless to press this evidence from tradition further than simply to state it. Place names whose antiquity it is in most cases impossible to determine now with any degree of exactitude offer, of course, but fragmentary evidence in any attempt to settle definitely the location of the Hsi Ho of Tzŭ-hsia's time; especially is this true when they relate to individuals who have kindled the imagination as Tzŭ-hsia has done. In some instances the names undoubtedly arose after the classics had already made him famous; in other instances they may be but the surviving embers of an ancient literary controversy in which the wish was father to the thought. Many villages in China bear fanciful names which are but abstruse literary allusions and have in themselves no historical basis. Nevertheless traditions both so ancient and so numerous as the ones we have enumerated can scarcely be ignored in any serious attempt to fix the location of this ancient chronicle of adversity. However slender the evidence for the Fênchow traditions may have seemed to a few critical minds, local confidence in their historicity has never diminished. Temples have been maintained to perpetuate the virtues of Tzŭ-hsia and poets have pitied his grief unmoved by any currents of historical criticism. He is still the first great teacher of Shansi and the inspirer to excellence in literary pursuits.

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AN APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF CONFUCIAN ETHICS

BY

WILLIAM S. A. POTT

To undertake within the limits of a short essay to orient the Western student of Confucian ethics, which is largely to be identified with Chinese ethical thought as a whole, would seem to be an unduly ambitious project. And yet, with due indulgence for general and perhaps sweeping statements set down without careful elaboration and substantiation, the task may not prove altogether impossible. By avoiding the Scylla of dithyramb and the Charybdis of laborious dialectic and exegesis, and seeking to envisage the Confucian ethic in the light of the movement of Western ethical speculation, it may be possible to achieve some measure of clarification and articulation of ideas which the writer feels he requires as perhaps many others do. And there are other dangers than those of dithyramb and dialectic that such an interpretative task involves. These are more subtle but none the less real dangers in all comparative studies. We refer to the temptation to indulge in what might be called a pseudo-simplicity that is apt to assert itself and influence us whenever we would be clear. Desire for dosage in tabloid form leads to a sort of homœopathic treatment of complex systems of thought which

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has a specious plausibility, but which by ignoring and suppressing so much, does real violence to the actual wealth of aspects and facts. In the second place, the beguiling business of detecting and noting down resemblances to the neglect of important differences constitutes another serious difficulty that frequently vitiates conclusions. This failing seems to be present to a large degree in the writings of many Chinese students who have had their advanced training abroad, and it leads to so much that is misleading that it is hardly less inexcusable for being natural. Too often indeed one is so intrigued by this pursuit of piquant parallels that it almost ceases to be merely inadvertency and degenerates into ingenious *tours de force* to gain a point. Stultification alone can result.

After all it is not wholly surprising that there should be similarities in the eventual products of human thought, and to this the special field of ethical thought offers no exception. Many of the similarities are actual and real; others are only fancied. But the problem from the comparative standpoint is not one of ultimate results. It is primarily one of intents and motives, of the genesis and history of the conditions that have brought about the results. Thus conclusions superficially alike may actually differ *toto cælo* because they have different implications and a varying import. Resemblances then become quite incidental. To discover, for example, rationalistic elements in the Confucian ethic, or for that matter any of the other familiar features of Western thinking, is but to cover it over with our own Western tourist's labels, so to speak, without penetrating to the *raison d'être* that actuates and motivates the whole Confucian thought.

If these preliminary observations be not without foundation we may go on to remark that one very important characteristic of our Western ethical tradition, and the characteristic *par excellence* that differentiates it strikingly from the ethics of the Chinese sage, is its marked self-conscious character. And this has been at once its strength and its weakness. We trace the ancestry of Western ethical speculation to Socrates. And the term "speculation" is significant, for in

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the Confucian ethic there is an absence of any speculation. Instead of speculation we find confident affirmation. And this constitutes at once its strength and its weakness. To be more specific, the Athenian society upon which Socrates laid the prosaic and severe injunction "Know Thyself" was beginning to disintegrate. The customary religion and its practices, the customary rules and social habits, were beginning to lose the hold they formerly had on men's minds. To add to the social instability and moral confusion of the times, a class of clever teachers known as the Sophists were going hither and thither preaching and teaching their peculiar form of individualism based upon the folly of custom and the futility of reason. In the midst of such a state of affairs came Socrates, believing that in the proper exercise of human reason it was possible to attain to universal and objective norms of thought and conduct; and he devoted his life and earned a martyr's death in attempting as a self-styled intellectual midwife to live out this conviction and bring truth to light. For Socrates we know that virtue and knowledge were synonymous, and his ethical theory therefore, if he can be said to have any theory, for he never definitely formulated one, consists precisely in theorizing about life and its proper excellencies. So far so good, but by a peculiar irony of history or psychological failing, the Socratic function of free rational inquiry became in the hands of his followers narrowed and limited to an attempt to discover *the* highest good or *summum bonum* that would have an exclusive and prior claim over any particular minor goods, which indeed could not be goods until made so by their conformity and harmony with the higher fixed and self-sufficient standard.[1] It has been said that these thinkers were fascinated by the afterglow of custom, always on the side of stability. However that may be, a sort of cataleptic rigidity did result to hinder the free movement of Western ethical speculation for two thousand years and more. This is the reason for our so-called types of

(1) Plato and Aristotle cannot be included in this statement without considerable qualification.

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ethical theory with which every student of Western ethics has some familiarity. At least if he has been through the mill of a systematic course in ethics he will possibly have unpleasant reminiscences of Hedonism, Rationalism, Eudæmonism, and the rest. The foregoing is not intended to be so much a criticism of a good deal of the scholasticism and logic-chopping in Western ethics as a warning to the student of Chinese ethical philosophy that this cannot be approached from the same standpoint or it will be entirely meaningless. Its history has not been the same and accordingly it does not fall into the same constant terms of mental discourse that Western ethical speculation in its development from Socrates on has evolved for itself.

Thus Western ethics has, we repeat, been always acutely self-conscious. To discover rational grounds and found ethics on intelligence is sound procedure. To lose perspective, however, in the pursuit of its method has been its weakness. In losing perspective it loses pertinence to the actual conditions and needs of society and so fails to come home to men's business and bosoms. The mistake is of course quite natural. The function of analysis and discrimination in the interests of systematic understanding is always legitimate and at the same time always liable to perversion. In thought as in tactics we divide in order to conquer—because of the parsimony of thought. It has been said that abstraction is a method by which mortal intelligence makes haste. Certainly it is true that our procedure has ofttimes to be algebraic so that even our dreams and fancies when thought on become silhouettes. The error is that we have followed the method too exclusively in our study of ethics so that it has become sterile and led us nowhere, profited society hardly at all and been in the end self-defeating. Unlike Chronos who begot his children only in the end to devour them, Western ethical philosophy has begotten a method by which it is in imminent danger of itself being destroyed. Religion and philosophy, we are told, are not always beneficent and important, but when they are, it is precisely because they help to develop human faculty and enrich human life. This is what our Western ethical

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speculation has largely failed to accomplish. As a certain modern philosopher has put it, " it seldom occurs to modern moralists that theirs is the science of all good and the art of its attainment; they think only of some set of categorical precepts or some theory of moral sentiments, abstracting altogether from the ideals reigning in society, in science and in art. They deal with the secondary question, What ought I to do? without having answered the primary question, What ought I to be? They attach morals to religion rather than to politics."[1]

The discussion of certain features of Western ethical speculation may seem to have been a long and unwarranted digression; and yet it has been more or less necessary in order to show how the Confucian system differs so radically from it. For if we now direct our attention to Confucian thought we shall observe that it has always been very closely related to society and government, not only in intent and direction, as was the case with Socratic thought and the thought of Plato and Aristotle, but also in origin and point of departure. Not only was good government and a good society the aim and goal of Confucius, but the principles for the most perfect social arrangement and the highest social welfare were reckoned as having been already discovered and handed down from the society of an earlier day. We are inclined sometimes to regard the Confucian ethic as nothing but a rhapsodical celebration of a special sort of superman, the Princely Man, and of the importance of the cultivation of lofty private character. It is of course more than this, for this was properly only a means for a social end,—the welfare, happiness and prosperity of the people. It was addressed to those who would rule, and it was something that all those who ruled, from the Son of Heaven down to the most insignificant magistrate, should practise if he would ensure the happiness and contentment of those he governed. We have suggested that the weakness of western ethics has lain in the absence of a proper sense

(1) Santayana: *Reason in Common Sense*, p. 30.

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of direction, and its strength in its Socratic method of free inquiry and careful scrutiny. The case of Chinese ethics would seem to be exactly the reverse. Its weakness has lain in its method or absence of method, and its strength has been that it has never strayed and lost sight of the practical goal of ethics, the improvement of social relations. It may be superfluous to labour the point, but the avowed wishes of the author of the Confucian system was to be no innovator, but only a transmitter, a transmitter of custom, usage and traditional principles that the ancients from the time of Yao and Shun had bequeathed to succeeding generations. Confucius considered his task to be to synthetize, in order to conserve and make effective, the heritage from the past. For him therefore the problem was entirely different from that of his contemporary in Greece, who considered his mission to be the erection of a new foundation for morality based on man's rational nature. The former arrested ethical development in China, albeit on a very high plane, for twenty-five hundred years; the latter initiated a history of ethical thought, and, if it subsequently betrayed often its worthy origin by becoming inconsequential in its refinements, this is no discredit to its founder. Thus the foundations being so different it is small wonder that the two superstructures present such a stubborn resistance to any sort of mental dove-tailing. The problem for us is not a question of fitting the parts of a puzzle together in some ingenious fashion, but of trying to appreciate two separate and distinct pictures that are full of disparities. To realize this the better we have only to remember that while both of the artists were repudiated and rejected, Socrates was put to death because of his novelty, the well-known threefold charge being that he introduced new and false gods, that he corrupted the youth by his radicalism and that he made the worse appear the better cause like the Sophists with whom he was wrongly identified.

The fact that the merit of Confucian ethics consists in its ever-recurring relevancy to society it is gratuitous to further elaborate. No charge of irrelevancy such as Western ethics is open to can be laid at its door. It has always been strikingly

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relevant to the society from which it drew its inspiration and sanction and upon which it has set such an indelible stamp for these hundreds of years. The question now is whether in the transformation and transition of that society under the pressure and influences of other and different forces, material and spiritual, both good and bad, it can remain relevant. Certainly not without a great deal of inner adjustment if indeed at all.

We have raised a large and important question of the relation of Confucianism to democracy. This topic deserves special treatment by itself, and we therefore only allude to it here. The question is becoming an increasingly vital issue for thinking Chinese. Their alignment as so-called radicals on the one hand and so-called conservatives on the other proceeds more and more plainly, and manifests itself in a hundred ways. Whether the spiritual unity and moral integration achieved by Chinese Society while Europe was still barbarian has any inherent and pregnant pertinency to China in the twentieth century is worthy of the careful reflection of thinking people.

Such a cursory historical survey, however brief, might appear still more incomplete without some reference to the religious, metaphysical, and cosmological notions implied or expressed in the ethical philosophy of Confucius. These features of his thought are also of such importance as to deserve special treatment, and they have therefore been intentionally omitted here. Suffice it to say that the features constitute a quite indispensable background for any ethic, whether they be explicit as in many of the systems of the West or largely implicit as in Chinese ethics. The metaphysical and cosmological elements of the Confucian ethic furnish a sort of *leit motif* which only serves to accentuate its differences from our chief Western disciplines.

The interest of this essay has been to attempt to indicate briefly how historically different methods of procedure have led to correspondingly different results, to point out the respective merits and defects of Chinese and Western ethical thought on this basis, and finally, by referring to the

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increasingly critical attitude of the Chinese themselves toward Confucianism, to suggest that a more vital ethical theory and teaching may have now an unprecedented opportunity to flourish, even along with the wicked, like a green bay tree, instead of being shaken like a reed in the wind.

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BOOK V—IDOLATRY. (*Contd.*)

Ch'êng huang ch'u chia (城隍出駕), the city god goes for a ride. In front of this procession the following may be seen.

Ta chu (燭) *hui*, the big candle society, which provides a huge candle carried in front of the idol.

Ta hsiang (香) *hui*, the big incense society, which provides a large stick of incense to be carried between two men in the procession.

Yin ch'ai (陰差) *hui*, for providing runners, or men dressed as demons, to go before the idol. Those who act these parts are often people who have made a vow at the shrine. Among them are those who wear chains, or the cangue, or hang lamps on their flesh, or carry incense; some are dressed as the celestials of the eight caves (八洞神仙); others as the deciders of fates in Hades (四值功曹) and still others who *k'o t'ou* at each step as they go.

Luan chia (鑾駕) *hui*, or imperial carriage society. This displays various pewter articles carried high on poles; such

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as a man's hand, a melon, official seals, hatchet, spear, etc. These are to show forth the glory of the idol.

Tuan hsiang p'an (端香盤), to carry incense urns. The gentry and merchants dressed in their best clothing, wearing their official hats and high boots, walk in front of the idol, some carrying incense urns, others gold fishes or silver and other precious metals. The proper order in the procession is as follows: incense, flowers, lanterns, water, fruits, tea-leaves, cakes, precious stones, silver and pearls. These are all brought out as the people's offering to the city god.

The Lung têng hui, a dragon lantern society; Shih têng hui, the lion lantern society; Lung hu hui, the dragon tiger society; Chin hua hui, the gold flower society; Shih kung hui, the nourishment society, and many others join in the great throng, and thousands of people with sticks of incense in their hands follow in the idol procession. The celestials, personified by men, who come out with the city god, are as follows:

Lü Tung-pin (呂洞賓), a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. He is worshipped by the sick, and carries a sword for defence. The eight celestials are said to represent male and female, old and young, rich and honourable, poor and destitute.

Han Chung-li (漢鍾離). This celestial carries a fan with which he fans the souls of the departed in Hades and restores them to life.

Lan Ts'ai-ho (藍采和), said to be a woman, who carries a basket of flowers and assists florists.

T'ieh Kuai-li (鐵拐李), believed to have been a beggar who died and rose again from the dead; he carries a crutch and a melon and is said to assist physicians.

Ts'ao Kuo-chu (曹國舅), said to have been a rich man; he wears official garments and hat, in his hands he carries castanets, and he is the patron of mummers and actors.

Chang Ko-lao (張果老), an old scholar who carries a bamboo pencil-case and ink pot and helps scholars to obtain a good style in writing.

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Han Hsiang-tzŭ (韓 相 子), a youth who is said to have been the apprentice of Lü Tung-pin; he carries a flute and is the patron of musicians.

Ho Hsien-ku (何 仙 姑), a woman who stands on the floating petal of the lotus flower with a fly whip in her hand, and helps in house management.

Têng kan hui (燈 竿 會), lantern pole festival. The lanterns are of several kinds, such as *san kuan têng*, three lamps hung out at New Year time representing the Taoist trinity.

Wu ku têng, five lanterns lighted in a temporary building to represent the five kinds of grain and the desire for a good harvest.

Yen wo têng, wild goose lantern, a number of lanterns strung on a rope and hoisted high in the air to represent a flock of wild geese on the wing. In some places a pole is erected with cross poles every few feet on which lanterns are hung. These geese are believed to have the power of determining the seasons.

T'ien têng, a sky lantern. This is a single lantern erected in a temple and on river sides, kept lighted all the year round and called *wan nien têng*, ten-thousand-year lantern.

Han lin têng, the orphan spirits' lantern. This is a lantern lighted in a building prepared for the purpose, especially to lighten the benighted spirits.

Yü huang hui (玉 皇 會), the birthday of the Pearly Emperor, the 9th of the first moon; the Buddhist devotees worship him and offer gifts on the shrine.

Wên Ch'ang hui, the festival of the god of literature, who is now one of the patron idols of the secret society, owing to the Confucius Society being gradually amalgamated with the larger Society. This is held on the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

Kuan yin hui, the birthday of the Goddess of Mercy, held on the 19th of the 2nd moon.

Hua shên hui, the birthday of the god of flowers, who is said to be Wu Tsê-t'ien (武 則 天) of the T'ang dynasty. The date is the 2nd of the 2nd moon.

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Lao chün hui, the birthday of the founder of the Taoist sect, who is said to have been born at the Ch'ing yang kung near Ch'engtu, where a great annual fair is held in honour of his birthday on the 15th of the 2nd moon. This is perhaps the most famous fair in the province, large numbers of people go to worship at the shrine of the Sage and also at that of his mother, which is next door, and at the shrine of the celestial Chang san fêng of the Ming dynasty. Li lao chün is made more famous by being reputed to be the ancestor of Li Ping of irrigation fame.

San p'o hui (三婆會), the Goddess of Mercy festival. This is *san hsiao* (三霄) or the *Sung tzŭ Kuan Yin;* this birthday falls on the 3rd of the 3rd moon.

T'ung tzŭ hui, the baby festival. This is often held on the same day as the last-named feast; the custom of *ch'iang* (搶) *t'ung tzŭ*, scrambling for small images, is still carried out with great gusto.

Fo tsu hui (佛祖會), the birthday of Buddha, held on the 8th of the 4th moon.

Lü tsu hui, the birthday of one of the celestials, the god of the sorcerer, those who manage the magic pen.

Tung huang hui, the birthday of Yo Fei, who became the god of the eastern peak. This is a Taoist festival and is held on the 28th of the 3rd moon.

Tan tao (單刀) *hui*, the birthday of Kuan ti, ancestor of the Secret Society; being a native of Shansi the people toward the north make much of this festival.

Lang chung ([illegible]中) *hui*, the birthday of Chang Fei. This is the day for butchers, soldiers, and archers, and falls on the 22nd of the 3rd moon.

Ts'ai shên hui, the birthday of the god of wealth, the patron deity of the silversmiths, cash shops, and business men in general.

Yüeh wang hui, the birthday of the god of medicine, worshipped by doctors and medicine shop keepers. This falls on the 28th of the 4th moon.

Wang yeh hui, the boatmens' god festival. Said to be Yang Ssŭ wang (楊泗王), of the Sung dynasty. His title is

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Chên Chiang wang (鎮江王); the date is the 6th of the 6th moon. The festival is kept by boatmen, raftsmen and all who trade on the waterways.

Ling tsu hui, the festival of the witch, wizard and sorcerer, on the 16th of the 6th moon.

Yen ti hui, the birthday of the god of fire; in some cities a great procession parades the streets on this date.

Lu pan (魯班) *hui*, the birthday of Lu pan or the carpenters' god, said to have been the son of a statesman of Lu who lived in Ch'ü fou (曲阜) about 500 B.C. He is said to have been clever at inventions and is now worshipped by carpenters, masons, hewers, sawyers, and carvers.

Lo (羅) *tsu hui*, the birthday of Lo tsu the barbers' god. On that day the barbers have one of their few holidays. It falls on the 13th of the 7th moon.

Ts'ai lun hui, the birthday of the paper-makers' god, a general holiday for the paper factory employees.

Mêng t'ien hui, the birthday of the pencil-makers' god. The workers have a holiday on this day.

San huang hui; this is the festival of the fortune tellers and quack doctors.

Hsuan yüan hui, festival of the tailors' god.

K'ung Tzŭ hui, the birthday of Confucius. In schools the tablet of Confucius is worshipped. Chair-bearers also worship the sage because they believe that he invented the sedan chair.

Ch'i pao hui, the festival of the miners of gold, silver, brass, iron, pewter, coal and lime. This is a great feast ; pigs are killed and crackers fired off in honour of the god of precious things.

Shan wang hui, the birthday of the god of the hills, worshipped by woodmen.

Ch'ai wang hui, the wheelbarrowmens' festival. Ch'ai was an ancient emperor who only ruled a few months. Barrowmen also worship Kuan ti who is said to have been a barrowman in youth.

Lao lang hui, the actors' festival.

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Shuang ling hui, the yamen runners' festival. At this time the chicken-footed god and the local deity come out for an airing. This falls on the 4th of the 4th moon, and the yamen runners worship the above two deities who assist them in sifting out difficult cases.

Niu wang hui, the birthday of the ox king. The general holiday for oxen; few if any do any work on this day, the 1st of the 10th moon.

Ma wang hui, the birthday of the king of horses. Yamen runners and horse-fanciers make a good deal of this festival.

Tu K'ang (杜康), the festival of the god of wine, worshipped by the distillers of alcohol; I Ti (儀狄), who lived about the time of Hsia Yü wang is said to have been the first famous Chinese brewer, and he was executed lest his art should be propagated among the people.

Ma t'ou niang, the silk-worm god, worshipped by all who rear silk-worms.

Chien tu shên, the god of the professional gamblers. He is set on the table, in worship incense, candles and crackers are used, a chicken is killed and a bow made toward the table and the image.

Wên shên (瘟神), the god of pestilence. It is believed that he saw a demon poison the well, and jumped in and drowned himself to keep the people from drinking the water.

Hsien nung shên, the farmers' god, said to be Chou Wên wang, the ancestor of Hou chi. Some people still write *Hou chi hsien nung* as a tablet and worship it.

T'ai tzŭ, the actors' god. Said to be T'ang Ming Huang, whose image is kept on a chair on the stage to keep the actors from laughing.

Chin ching (金精), the gold essence or silversmiths' god. The pure gold is believed to be a spirit.

Lu yü (陸羽), the tea growers' god. This was a personage belonging to the Sung dynasty who was able to grow good tea.

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Ch'i yu (嵜尤), the salt god festival, said to be Hsüan yuan. Tradition has it that he was the first rebel, and his blood became salt.

Jih yu shên, the rambling god of the day who is believed to have only one foot.

Yeh yu shên, the rambling god of the night, who is believed to have only one hand.

Chiang t'ai kung, the fishermans' god, who is believed to be Chou Wên wang and the originator of idolatrous practices. Though a scholar, he fished till he was eighty years of age with a straight hook and rice as bait.

FIRE AND PESTILENCE FAST (醮會), *Chiao hui*

The feast of All Souls is held yearly from the first to the fourth moons, and is strongly believed in as a protection against fire and pestilence. It is called *Ta ch'ing chiao* (打清醮), *Wên ho* (瘟火) *chiao*, and *P'ing an* (平安) *chiao*.

The fast may last from four to fifteen days. There is no killing of pigs, oxen and chickens or any live stock, *chin t'u* (禁屠), and so rigid is the fast sometimes, that it is hardly possible to buy an egg.

Strings are stretched across the streets and yellow paper flags, with fringed edges and holes punched through them are displayed, *yang fan* (揚幡), to call the spirits to enter the hall of the fast.

A list of contributors to the expenses of the feast is made out, with the names of the priests invited, and the particular deities to be invoked. The altar is sometimes set up in a temple, but sometimes in a booth for the purpose. The idolatries practised and the rites performed are much the same as in sorcery. In each family the kitchen god is specially worshipped.

A boat is made of a bamboo frame covered with paper, for carrying away the demons of fire and plague. At the end of the feast it is carried out and destroyed. The following is the tablet pasted on the door of the temple where the fast bureau is situated; at the close it is carried away; 火 壇

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分遞四值功曹傳送土地); to the piazza where the offerings are burned, also to the spirits of the four points of the compass, and to the precinct god.

The tablet *Wên ho p'ai*, to the god of fire and pestilence is set up at the door of each house where they have contributed to the funds of the fast. It is presented by the managers of the fast and is carried out along with the other paraphernalia at the close: 當年太歲瘟火二部至德尊神各家本宅廚竈神君. To the spirit of pestilence and fire of the current year. To the kitchen god of each family.

Ch'ao fan (朝幡). To visit the streamers. Each 10 or 20 families besides having streamers stretched across the street, have a small flag staff set up in their vicinity, some 15 to 20 feet high; during the day a long yellow streamer is suspended from it, and at night a light is displayed there. The officiating Taoist sorcerer visits each of these poles morning and night throughout the fast. On the first visit he burns an official dispatch to the god of fire and pestilence, and afterwards burns paper each morning and evening and kneels and worships the fire spirit of the vicinity. The tablet written and pasted on the pole is as follows 幡桿使者樹幟大神. To the angel of the pole, the great spirit who unfurls the flag.

It is said that this fast was instituted by a priest at Niang tzŭ ling named Ch'ên Chung-yen soon after the Chinese subjugated the Chin Ch'uan (金川) district; at that time, whole armies of Chinese and aboriginal troops were slaughtered, making the disembodied and orphan spirits very many; and this mode of appeasing them was adopted.

Each family who pays a contribution toward the expenses of the fast, also hands in at the same time the names and birthdays of the heads of the family to the officiating priest, who finds out from the Yü chang shêng shên (羽章生神), whether the year will be propitious for them or not, in order that precautions may be taken.

The names of contributors are sent by dispatch to the Pearly Emperor. This dispatch is burned in front of the fast

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bureau. Similarly, he receives a list of the classics chanted and the incantations done during the fast.

Two tablets are written and given to each family, one for the kitchen god, another for the fire and pestilence god. Candles and incense are also distributed to each family. The kitchen god in each household is worshipped by burning *ch'ien ma* cash horse: (this is one difference from the ancestral worship where *chih ch'ien*, paper money is used); then the fire and pestilence boat begins to parade the streets.

Before the boat reaches the house a tub of water is placed in front of the door, and a lighted lamp is placed inside the tub; then someone blows out the lamp, which implies that the fire is extinguished. When the epidemic boat reaches each house a man with a broom goes and sweeps a little in front of each door, collects what remains of the tablet candles, incense, paper money, etc. and throws them into the boat; this is called *sao t'ang* (掃蕩). The boat, after fulfilling its purpose of collecting all the fire and demon influences of the district is then taken to the river side and set fire to, and pushed out on to the water which carries it quickly away.

To *san chên chai fu* (撒鎮宅符), is to give a charm of protection to each family which has part in the fast. A charm is written on yellow paper, of varying size. These character charms are all made up by sorcerers for the special purpose; they are the seal of the *san ch'ing*, of the Pearly Emperor, of *Tou k'ou* (斗口), or the *Ling kuan* charm.

Small paper lamps which have been soaked in oil are then lit and sent off on the river in the dark to light the orphan spirits of the drowned.

Ch'ien sung shêng chia (餞送聖駕), is to disperse the spirits to their abode with an offering.

Food and warning are given to the demons *shih shih fang chieh* (施食放戒). A row of candles is set up by the wayside (this is called *ch'a lu cho* 插路燭) to lighten the demons to the spot. The candles are made of lengths of bamboo four or five feet high, and are sometimes eighty or more in number; they are wound round with paper soaked in oil and pitch. After they are lighted some rice gruel is

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placed at the foot of each candle; so that the spirits may have both light and food, along with the exhortation to repent and forsake their evil works. T'ang pa tzŭ are scattered, sweetmeats, which are scrambled for and eaten by everybody; the belief being that they who eat them will be relieved from bad dreams and the danger of becoming crazy.

The idols of the temple where the fast has been held have to be pacified, lest they may have been offended or jealous; and this ends the yearly fast for preventing fire and pestilence.

A fast to the god of fire, Ta (大) *ho chiao*, is proclaimed when there has been a conflagration in the neighbourhood, or certain omens point to one being imminent. In the case of a conflagration the family in whose house it started may be fined and beaten by the official and people, kept from receiving any monetary help disbursed or may even be driven from the district. In cases of thieving during the conflagration the goods are rarely taken home for seven days till the danger of fire connected with them is quite removed. So great is the fear of fire that when distributing relief, no one will dare to take the relief unless they have really suffered, lest they themselves should be implicated. Those who are thus burned out of house and home are not allowed to enter any person's house for seven days, lest they should bring the fire demon with them; for this and the following things the fire demon has to be appeased.

If a chicken goes on the roof, it is very unlucky and a sign that fire is likely to come, owing to the red on the rooster's neck, which is like fire. The chicken when caught is beheaded, and the head thrown over the roof of the house; some will not even eat the chicken for fear of fire.

To spill oil or alcohol in the house or on the street is believed to be very unlucky and a certain sign that fire will break out. Any coolie spilling oil on the street is fined or his oil confiscated to pay the expense of pacifying the fire demon.

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Rooks chattering in the night is said to be a sign of fire. Sometimes the rooks are driven away, but never killed, as they are reckoned to be very lucky birds.

Rats removing their young from a house, a snake twisting round a bamboo to get to the sun, a shower of meteors or a meteor falling are signs that fire is likely to break out. In order to drive away the fire demon the following black arts are resorted to:—

Shua shui lung, to play the water dragon. The dragon is made of a plaited bamboo framework about one foot in diameter and perhaps 21 feet long. Each family prepares a bucket of water and throws it over the dragon to drown the fire demon.

Ch'ien sung huo hsing, to take away the fire star. This is supposed to be the planet Mars, which is also said to be the star of evil rumours. When this affair is carried out in detail many of the ceremonies of the former fire and pestilence ritual are gone through.

Ta wên chiao, to pacify the pestilence god. In times of cholera the people became very excited and everything possible is done to appease and deceive the demon. They even go to the length of having the New Year in the middle of summer. The fresh door-gods are put on the doors, new scrolls are written and pasted on the door posts, the idols worshipped and incense burned, with the idea of cheating the demon and making it believe that it is midwinter and thus cool weather.

A dragon made of light bamboo covered with green cloth is carried through the streets and into the homes of the people; each family receives it with incense, candles and paper, while the men who parade it are rewarded with money. Many of the incantations and ritual given under the fire and epidemic fast are practised in this also.

Again an epidemic boat is made, with a man *shao kung* (艄公) at the bows and a woman, *shao p'o*, to steer, while in the centre of the boat sits the demon. The beard of the fire demon is red, while that of the pestilence demon is green. The god of the pestilence is said to have been K'ang t'ien

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chün, whose tablet is as follows, 當年行瘟天子至德尊神. To the god of pestilence who governs the current year.

A fast of praying to heaven is held *Lo* (羅) *t'ien* or *Ch'i* (祈) *t'ien ta chiao* in times of distress or at regular intervals from three to fifteen years in different cities. When the fast is proclaimed it is generally a very rigid one, with much ritual, sorcery and chanting, and may last from seven to fifty days. During the recent rebellion, before the establishment of the republic, this fast was proclaimed in many places to ask for protection from the government soldiers.

Huang ch'ung (蝗蟲) *chiao* is a fast held in the country to keep the locusts and caterpillars from the crops. If this fast is held in a temple the local precinct god is notified by the burning of incense and putting up of fresh scrolls at his shrine. Five-coloured flags are put up at the corners of the field; this is said to be equivalent to invitation to the rooks to come and devour the pests. The old custom of walking round the fields beating a gong or drum is still to be found; it is said that the caterpillars fall to the ground at the sound. Farmers say that one of the chief benefits of a heavy thunder-storm is to make these pests drop off by the thousand.

FASTS FOR RAIN AND FINE WEATHER,
(祈晴禱雨) *Chi ch'ing tao yü*

In times of drought or very wet weather the official issues a proclamation forbidding the butcher to kill pigs or oxen, chin tu (禁屠). The idea is that the taking of life is an offence against the gods.

In times of drought an altar is put up at the Lung Wang miao, the temple of the dragon king. In times of flood it is erected at the Huo shên miao, the temple of the god of fire. At this altar the district magistrate makes obeisance morning and night.

When fasting for fine weather the north gate of the city is closed; when fasting for rain, the south gate; because it is said in the eight diagrams, the North belongs to water and the South to fire.

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To shoot the mists, ta wu, (打霧). In times of continued wet weather, soldiers are told of to shoot at the mists. The people put great faith in this practice.

In wet weather the official has to worship the sun tablet in some temple, and all the people have to worship a tablet to this luminary at the doors of their dwellings.

In times of drought the Dragon king is worshipped and each home has a tablet put up beseeching his help; also the water dragon is brought out. This is a plaited bamboo frame joined together with sackcloth, which is paraded through the streets by young men; each house prepares a bucket of water and a ladle and as the dragon passes it is drenched with water. Another method is to *hsiao kou*, to laugh at the dog. The custom has its origin in the saying, if you laugh at a dog the weather won't be fine. In times of desperation for lack of rain, a dog is dressed up as a bride, put in a chair and carried through the streets and every one laughs at it, hoping that by doing so rain may come.

Officials go barefooted and pray for rain; this is said to be an example of an official suffering for his people.

In some cases the Ch'êng huang or city god is stood in the sun. I have known of the district magistrate getting angry at the prolongation of the drought and demanding that the city god give him an explanation; he said, "You govern the dead, and I the living; let us both stand in the sun and the one whose head splits first must bear the blame of the drought." The result was that the idol's head was cracked by the sun.

Men also go to the dragon pool and carry home a bucketful of water, which is worshipped at the altar. At the pool a chicken is sacrificed and its head thrown to the dragon. On the return journey twigs are stuck into the hair of those who go on this errand.

The *pang* (蚌) *pang yü* or *wa* (娃) *wa yü*, is a human-headed fish, a kind of mermaid; it is caught and kept in a tank of water till the rain comes. This is a rare fish, but it

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has come under my notice on two or three occasions, when thousands of people have run mad after the creature.

When the magistrate is not in favour with the people, they may attack the yamen and demand water for fields or rain.

Another method is to throw the egg. A water butt is prepared and filled with water, and decked round with cedar and willow branches. An egg is selected, over which "thunder" incantations are read morning and evening for three days, after which it is thrown up into the air with the belief that the rain will accompany it on its downfall.

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BOOK VI. TIMES AND SEASONS, (四季) *ssŭ ch'i*

THE SEASONS OF THE YEAR (二十四節)

Ying ch'un (迎春). Meeting the Spring is the farmer's annual holiday. Great crowds go to the city to see the spring ox and the official procession. On the morning of the day, the various small officials of a district city make their way to the magistrate's office, where they get their pay for that day. Later in the forenoon, the magistrate, dressed as a court official, with 16 men bearing his chair and 16 pulling it, comes out in state. Even the yamen underlings ride horses and wear degreed men's hats on this occasion. They proceed to the east gate and meet spring in the form of an earthen ox and an image spoken of as the *mang shên* (芒神) or ox driver. The spring ox is taken to a field on the east of the city, attached to a plough and taken a few times up and down the field, with the magistrate after it; the magistrate then approaches the real plough and buffalo, which has been prepared and decorated for the purpose; this is called *kung ching* (躬耕), personal ploughing. After worshipping the spring ox and driver, he returns to his office by the south or west gate. That day he gives a feast to all his underlings who have congratulated him on being the priest of spring. This is the only day in many officials' lives when they really can be great. Sometimes he rides in an open chair with

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garlands of flowers and branches over and around him. The day costs him some hundreds of strings of cash and is one of the gala days of the year.

The ox is made by special instructions from the official, and great interest is taken in all the details of colour both of the ox and the driver. If the ox is yellow, the people say that the year will be a fruitful one, and a bumper harvest is expected. If it is red, fire and calamity will be rife; if white, mourning will be very plentiful; if green, plague will ravage the country; if black, sickness and disease will be plentiful. The spring will early or late according as the tail is uplifted or downhanging. If the ox is lying down it is also an indication of a late spring. If the garments of the driver are stripped off and trousers tucked up then an early spring is expected, but if its shoes are on and down at the heels the spring will be late. If the clothing is properly on with girdle and garters complete, then the spring will be an ordinary one.

The ancient custom of making a mud ball in the shape of a drum during the winter and breaking it at the opening of spring *chi t'u ku* (擊土鼓) is probably the origin of the spring ox.

Li ch'un or *ta ch'un* is to begin spring. This is the day following the meeting of spring, and the crowd is much smaller. On this day the farmers will not sweep their floors for fear of sweeping away Mother Earth who has to bring forth her fruits, neither will they disturb her by sowing or digging. The spring ox and driver having been taken the day previous to the yamen court, the official, dressed again in the robes of the priest of spring, makes an offering to them, after which he strikes the first blow at the ox which is speedily demolished by the crowd and carried off to the homes and the fields of the people. The calf inside it is taken and carried to some family which has no sons. The driver is burned and the whole cleared out of sight and the ceremony is now over. Among the rustics all this is very important, and some even believe that if there was no spring ox there could hardly be any harvest.

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Yü shui (雨水), Spring rain. At this season flowers are transplanted and trees grafted. Aged people, who need to *chieh hsien* (接限) do so with the greatest benefit, they believe, at this season. (See *Sorcery*.)

Ching chih (驚蟄) the time of moving insects. At this season snakes come forth from hibernation and bees emerge from their hives. The silk-worms' eggs are now taken on to the bodies or into the beds of people, to be hatched.

Ch'un fên, Spring equinox, a general holiday for farmers, called the master's gathering 當家會. No one goes into his field or garden on that day lest he should be troubled with birds and insects through the year. On this date the king of birds is worshipped.

Ch'ing ming, clear brightness. At this season, great crowds of people visit the graveyards, *shang fên* (上墳) and put flags on the graves. These flags are said to show the grave is still attended, but in some places their purpose is said to be to call the spirit. Incense and paper are burned, and food prepared at home is carried here and eaten picnic style. Many go to weep at the graves, but many more go for a day's pleasure, to drink wine and play at "Morra," and many become deeply intoxicated. It is believed that the departed ancestors present themselves and partake of the offered food. At the New Year and the 7th moon feast the spirits of the ancestors return to the home, but at this season, the living visit the habitations of the dead. In Kwan Hsien this feast is spoken of as *lao wa* (老鴉) *hui*, or crows' festival.

At this time the city god goes to relieve the orphan spirits *shang ku* (賞孤), by burning the cash paper. On his return journey, the district magistrate goes to meet the idol procession.

Han shih (寒食) *chieh*, the cold food feast. This is an ancient feast held the day preceding *ch'ing ming*. Formerly no one lighted fires in the house on this day, in remembrance of a certain *Chieh Chih t'ui* (介之推) who was a henchman of one of the princes of the Lieh Kuo period. When on one occasion the prince was about to die of starvation, Chieh Chih

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t'ui cut off a piece of his own flesh and gave it to the prince to eat, and thus saved his life. When the prince got to the seat of power, he forgot his faithful henchman, whereupon he fled with his mother, having a willow twig stuck in his hat, to a certain Mien Shan 綿 山. When the prince eventually recollected his friend and benefactor he sent men to seek him Though it was reported that he was hidden on a certain mountain, they could not find him. So in desperation they set fire to the brushwood on the mountain to force him out, but he would not yield and was burned to death; and ever since that time some remembrance has been kept of him; though no one refrains from lighting a fire on that day as formerly, still many people wear a twig of the willow tree, either in the hat or hair, in remembrance of him.

Ku yü, rice rain. This is the time when the rice seed bed is sown. Rain and sunshine are both needed at this time.

Li hsia, beginning of summer. Summer is believed to come from the scuth.

Hsiao man, small fullness. That is the *hsiao ch'un* or spring crop is ready for reaping in order to clear the land for the summer crop.

Mang chung, hurrying to plant the rice crop. This is the busiest season of the year, with reaping and ploughing, harrowing and planting.

Hsia chih (夏 至), the midsummer solstice. At this season the male and female principles are unequal and therefore have to be avoided.

The people now begin to count the days till the dog days or 三伏天 commence. If the three *fu* 伏 are complete, there will be 30 days, but they rarely are complete, the autumn coming in before these days have run through their course, but after autumn there are still twenty-four autumn tigers 秋老虎 following on the *san fu*. In each Chinese moon there are three *kêng* (庚), that is one in every ten days; after midsummer three of these *kêng* are counted and then the dog days begin, and may last from 21 to 29 days.

Hsiao shu, small heat, and *ta shu*, great heat; these two cover the period just spoken of as the dog days.

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Li ch'iu. The beginning of autumn, which is believed to come from the west. The people are pleased if it is very hot on this date as it means there will be dry grain in the granaries. Again, if this day should happen to be a *chia* (甲), it will rain for 120 days, if a *ping* (丙), it will be fine for that time.

Ch'u shu, the finish of the heat; after this date the water is drained from the general crop of rice.

Pai lu, white dew. Cool weather arrives.

Ch'iu fên, mid-autumn equinox.

Han lu, cold dew. At this season the farmers sow turnips, plant cabbages, sow tobacco seeds, the tobacco seedlings standing all through the winter, ready to be planted out in the spring.

Shuang chiang, descending frost. The military official goes out at this time to meet the frost which is said to appear as a horse-headed woman. This is the time when all nature dies, and the officials follow after Heaven's idea and carry out such executions as may be necessary.

Li tung, the beginning of the winter, which is believed to come from the north.

Hsiao hsüeh, small snow, and *Ta hsüeh*, great snow. These two periods cover a part of the winter in which it is said the pot cannot be heated.

Tung chih, midwinter. The ancients kept this as New Year. At this season the people worship their ancestors 始祖, and the officials worship the tablet to the reigning emperor. This is said by many to be the root of the year. At this season the family hog is killed or the meat purchased with which the La jou (臘肉), or New Year bacon is prepared. From midwinter begins the counting of the nines until eighty-one days is reached. In this connection the following stanzas are in common use.

The first and second nines, the hands are blown for cold.
The third and fourth nines, the frost kills pigs and dogs.
The fifth and sixth nines, the frost kills the old ox.
The seventh and eighth nines, the hands still hug the clothes.

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Nine-nines are eighty-one, the farmer ploughs his land.

Hsiao han and *ta* (大) *han*, small cold and great cold. These two periods cover part of the eighty-one days of cold. This period has also a saying- 小寒大寒凍死老蠻, small and great cold freeze the old aboriginal to death.

New Year (過年) *kuo nien.*

As soon as the last moon comes people begin to be anxious as to how they are to collect and pay off their debts; much scheming and quarrelling and even suicide is the outcome.

Tao ya (倒牙). The last meat day of the year. Workmen and apprentices are expected to receive pork twice each month; and an apprentice after he has eaten 72 of these pork feasts is supposed to be a full fledged workman. This is the last of these *tao ya* for that year and it falls on the 16th of the last moon.

On the 20th of the last moon the official seals up his official seals *Fêng yin*. The seal is put on a table and incense and candles burned in its honour; the official then bows down and worships it. Afterwards it is taken and put into its own case; this case is then enclosed in two others which are locked and sealed, after which it is again worshipped and put away for the New Year holidays. During this period no important official business is transacted, except for cases of preserving peace and life.

K'ang (炕) *la jou*; smoking the New Year bacon has to be done after midwinter; if done before the meat will not keep good. The poor buy a piece of pork and make their bacon; but the rich kill their own pigs. This is an important affair in the country districts; before the pig is brought forth for the slaughter the master of the house puts cash paper on the ground where the pig will be killed; three sticks of incense and two candles are stuck in the ground round about the spot. When the pig is brought forth the master of the house kneels and worships it, saying, "We are going to kill you for use at

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the New Year season, but in the next life may you become a man." After killing the animal the bucket containing the blood is taken and offered to the family gods, the cash paper on which some blood has dropped is placed on the family altar. This is called *hsien hsüeh ch'ien*, offering blood cash. The pig's blood, after being offered to the idol, is taken and made into black puddings.

After the 20th of the 12th moon the evil influences which have been governing the year are removed, and any and every part of the house may be turned topsy-turvy; so the housewives take advantage of this liberty and have a house cleaning. After the dust is swept down, the windows are papered with fresh paper for the New Year season.

The kitchen god is sent off to make his yearly report to the Pearly Emperor. Before he goes sugar candy and tea are offered to him and some even make a written petition regarding the affairs of the family. This petition called a *tsao shu*, kitchen god petition, is burned at his shrine. He is supposed to leave on the 23rd and come back on the 24th of the last moon, but in some places it is the last night of the New Year before the returning ceremony is observed; when he does come back there is much idolatry with a great deal of importance attached to the event.

Owing to business being largely suspended for some days, and the general need of money by everybody, great quantities of idolatrous and eatable supplies are laid in during the last week of the year. Among the rich plenty of sweetmeats are prepared in the home by a specially engaged cook.

Gratuities are given to servants and assistants at the close of the year.

About the 24th there is a feast to wind up the year, *t'uan* 團 *nien*, when the whole household is expected to be present. Before eating, the ancestral tablet is worshipped and the food is offered to the ancestors. It is implied that the spirits of the ancestors return to the home at this season; for this reason no outsider is permitted to partake of this meal, but friends and acquaintances are sometimes invited by the less superstitious.

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Spring scrolls, *ch'un tui-tzŭ*, are put up on either side of the door and on the lintel. A good business is done during the last few weeks by the scholars, who write scrolls for the small sum of from 12 to 30 cash per set.

Fresh door gods are pasted up by nearly every family.

Five sheets of lucky paper or tin foil, *hua ch'ien* or *hsi ch'ien*, are hung up over the door; these remain till business is about to be begun when they are taken down and burned.

The barbers are busy at this season, but after the 16th of the last moon many of the formalities of barbering are dispensed with and only that which is necessary to make a person clean is done in the barber's shop.

Paper clothing and money for the ancestors are burned on the last day of the old year.

In the hill districts the people go to the graves and invite the spirits of their ancestors to return on this last night of the year, when a fire is lighted for their comfort in the chief room of the house and offerings of food prepared for them; but even when the spirits are not invited their presence in the house is implied by every act.

To fire off crackers, *fang huo pao*, is part of almost every act of the New Year season.

On the last night of the year, the younger generations make obeisance to the elder, while the elders make the juveniles presents of money to pass the New Year season.

The rich also make presents to the poor, the gentry to officials; the officials to gentry, etc. The presents are carried in an open tray with a card accompanying. Official presents generally consist of pears, scented rice, oranges, tea and sea dainties. At this season such men as the keepers of the city gates, the night watchmen, street police, come with a present which is only for show and, in return, they expect their annual gratuities.

A card is taken round late on the last night of the year and pasted on the doors of friends and acquaintances; taking leave of the old year, *tz'ŭ nien t'ieh tzŭ* (辭年帖子), or *mên chien* (門箋). In the morning some doors are pretty well covered with them.

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Very early on the first morning of the year the head of each household goes outside his dwelling and offers paper and incense, tea and wine to the New Year.

There is a custom of going out for a walk before dawn, *ch'u hsing* (出行), or *ch'u t'ien fang* (出天方). If any one is met, no words pass, and what one hears is an indication of what his year will bring of good or bad luck, peace or quarrelling. This custom is also spoken of as *chieh hsi shên*, to welcome the pleased spirit. The almanac tells the direction in which the spirit may be met.

Picture gods of wealth are taken round from door to door and sold for a few cash, the vendor using lucky words and good wishes for the year.

People mutually pay calls, *pai ta nien*, on the 2nd of the moon, and receive and give cakes and sweetmeats.

On the 5th, newly married people go to visit their relatives, *pai hsin nien*. The 5th of the first moon is also known as *p'o wu* (破五), breaking the fifth, after which a good many people begin work and business.

At the New Year season everyone wears his best, and everyone tries to have something new for fear of otherwise becoming a beggar during the year. Flour balls or *t'ang yüan* (湯元) are eaten so that worldly affairs may be good "all round." Dough strips are eaten by almost everyone and are a favourite kind of present, because it "eats long," which may mean long life or abundance of wealth. In the same way stale rice is often eaten at this time, as it is a good omen of plenty in the barns for the coming year. Beggars are often given money on their first asking, as an omen that money will be easy during the year. See under *Superstitious Dread*.

Gambling, *tu po* (賭博), is one of the many curses that come to an idle Chinese population. Up to the 5th, no one pretends to try to stop it. After that date an official proclamation forbids it,, but everyone knows this is merely for official self-protection in case of trouble; nearly everyone gambles at this season from the highest officials down to the poorest of the people, and many youths are ruined by it.

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The season is an opportunity for visiting, *tsou jên hu* (走人戶), much taken advantage of by the women and girls, who are largely confined to the house at other times of the year; no one goes empty-handed as that would be very unlucky; but presents of cakes, sweets, bacon, etc. are often handed round several times during this visiting season.

After the 5th some shops begin business, but very often only half the shutters are taken down. No credit is given and no past debts will be asked for. The first customer will be allowed to have the goods at his own price, as it would be unlucky to turn away the first comer without doing business.

A lamp is lighted at the door of each house. In some places the residents are fined if they neglect this custom; the idea is that if the streets are lighted no demon will come to do damage.

The Dragon Lantern festival is held on the 15th. A lantern in several lengths is made, with a head after the likeness of a dragon's. Each length is supported by a light pole and carried by a young, lusty fellow. The different lengths are joined together by red calico, and are swung round and round so as to appear somewhat like a worm writhing. The dragon is the king of the scaly tribe and hence is feared by all the demons. First it is carried to a temple and the idols are worshipped; afterwards it is paraded through the streets and carried into any courtyard that will receive it. The streets are lighted with many-coloured lanterns, and the dragon lantern, lighted up, is paraded round the streets with two men carrying a *pao* or precious thing in front. Huge crowds collect, and a rowdy evening is the result with much stealing, hustling and jolting. This is a very ancient custom, and the chief idea is that the dragon drives away pestilence.

The lion lantern, *shih têng*, is made up by two men walking with bent backs; one manages the head and the other the tail. A huge cloth with a lion's head painted on the front and a tail sewn to the other end makes the lion. After having visited the temples, the procession parades the streets with a priest in front leading the lion. The priest carries a brush in his hand. If invited, they enter any house to drive

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away pestilence. On the streets high platforms are made of square tables piled one on top of the other, and on these the lion-actors perform acrobatic feats of jumping, rolling over to the ground, standing on the head, etc.

The ox lantern is an ox-head painted on a bamboo sieve, with a cloth body and tail. It is used in country towns with the idea that it will bring a full harvest for that year.

A rabbit lantern is pulled along the street by two persons; one, dressed like a Tibetan, leads the rabbit, and another, dressed like a Tibetan woman, drives it. This is connected with the idea that the Tibetan is not only wealthy, but also brings in wealth.

There are also fish, turtle, tortoise, prawn and crab lanterns; the *ao shan* (鰲 山) lantern has camphor mixed with the oil and sheds a pretty green light.

There are displays, which are both elaborate and expensive, of *yen ho chia* (烟 火 架), fireworks. In many of these fireworks much medicine is mixed with the oil; the idea seems to be the driving away of pestilence from the home or community.

The *ch'ing ch'un chiu* (請 春 酒) is a feast generally given by a landlord to his tenant farmers from the 5th to the 10th of the first moon. Sometimes it is held later and may even be in the second month.

Riddles are written and hung up over the door of the house, and in the light of the lantern festival, people guess the meaning and then, if right, jump up and pull them down; rewards of fruit and sweetmeats are often given to those who make a right guess.

At this time the people eat flour balls with treacle inside; these balls are now called *yüan hsiao* (元 宵). There seems to be a kind of concert held in the home, and young men and maidens sing and trip in the form of the figure eight both on the street and in the home. The ballads they sing are called *nung an ko*, farmers' peaceful ballads; but they have now lost that ideal and have degenerated into mere *yin ko* (淫 歌) sensual songs.

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Opening accounts, *k'ai chang*, is not done till after the *hsi ch'ien* (禧錢) has been burned. When this takes place much idolatry is observed, crackers fired off and all to get what is spoken of as *k'ai chi* (吉) *chang*, a lucky start in business for the New Year.

Official seals are released *k'ai yin* generally on the 19th of the first moon. A similar ceremony is observed as at the sealing up time.

To visit the graves of ancestors before the 15th of the first moon is called *shang nien fên;* this is done by those who for any reason were hindered from doing so during the last moon of the year. Those graves not attended to before the 15th are known as *yeh kuei fên* (野鬼墳). The reason graves are mostly repaired in the last moon is because the influences controlling the year are in abeyance during the last days of the old year.

To steal some person's vegetables, *t'ou ch'ing* (偷青) on the 15th of the first moon, is lucky.

Children return to school, *shang hsüeh*, any time after the 8th of the first moon ; they have to pay their respects to the master by bowing and knocking their heads, and giving a small present of money. In the case of a gentleman inviting a private tutor for his home he has to make a written agreement the year before as to what salary he will give and when and in what currency ; and what present he will give at the feasts. This is called *hsia p'in* (下聘). A common salary for a master of the old school is anything from 40 to 80 strings of cash with board and lodging, with few holidays except at the 5th and 7th moon feasts. When the time arrives to welcome a new tutor, the gentleman sends a chair and servant to escort him. On his arrival a feast is spread, the tablet to Confucius is worshipped by the head of the house with the three-fold *k'o t'ou*. The scholars must also bend and worship the tablet to the sage of learning and wisdom on beginning their studies.

Then (大人做生意, 娃娃檢狗屎) adults go to business and the children to gather dog manure. This is, every one must get to work.

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MID SUMMER FEAST (端陽節) *tuan yang chieh*

This feast is held on the fifth of the fifth moon, this being the time when the sun is believed to be overhead, and the dragon festival is observed.

The story of Ch'ü yüan is well known, he was a statesman of Ch'u, accused to and cast off by his prince, he saw his country ruined, sat down and wrote the poem *Li sao* then went and committed suicide by drowning. The people sought for his body and afterwards started the dragon boat festival on this date to commemorate his merits. The dragon boat is long and narrow with a dragon's head and tail; it is well manned and simply flies over the water. In the centre of the boat is a drum, with a man to beat time to the rowers, a clown rises up and down making fierce grimaces, and armed men stand on the prow of the boat brandishing their weapons to frighten the demons so that they may give up Ch'ü Yüan. This festival has, however, become degraded by the influence of Sui Yang Ti (隋煬帝, A.D.605), and is chiefly composed of and managed by the inconstant and vagabond set, who amuse themselves by throwing plums at the women of the crowd.

One of the ideals of this feast is to take a bath, *hsi tsao*. People wander round the country to find special herbs and different kinds of grasses *yu pai ping* (遊百病), which are taken home and boiled and the concoction used for the healing of disease, or they are mashed into a salve for boils called *pai ts'ao kao* (膏). Others bathe in the water in which the herbs and grass have been boiled. Even prescriptions prepared on this day are believed to be more efficacious than those prepared on other days.

A small bag is carried near the breast in which incense, camphor and other medicines are put to draw away disease; the shapes of these bags are varied, being like frogs, monkeys, tigers, and cats, or like a red pepper-corn.

Frequently the bodies of children are smeared all over with hartall wine, *hsiung huang chiu*, as it is believed it will protect from snake-bites.

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Hsiung huang suan (雄黃蒜), garlic dipped in a preparation of hartall, is hung at the door. Mashed garlic and hartall wine is sprinkled on the floor and door posts of the house to keep away snakes and ants; it is said that if a snake touches hartall its body will decompose. A few ounces of pork is dipped in this hartall and then hung up over the door.

This practice of hanging artemesia over the doorway seems to have some foundation in history. It is said that in the T'ang dynasty, a rebel, Huang Ts'ao (黃巢) who ravaged the country, captured a woman fleeing with two children; the woman carried the big child on her back and made the little one walk. The rebel chief asked the reason for this and she explained that the big one belonged to the elder brother of the family and the little one to herself, but the elder brother's child being the more important she carried it on her back. Seeing her piety he gave her a spring of artemesia and sent her home, telling her to put the sprig over her door, and when the rebels came to the place they would not harm her.

Nearly every one stops work at least half a day, and in the afternoon houses are almost deserted, every one going out to the country to walk off their sickness. All business is suspended and theatricals are held in the country temples.

An old custom was to put millet in a cow's or sheep's horn *chüeh shu* (角黍), and drop it in the river to find Ch'ü Yüan. This custom has now changed into eating *tsung tzŭ* (糉子), or glutinous rice balls, rolled up in bamboo leaves. They are eaten by almost every family and are freely given as presents on this occasion.

It was a custom in Ch'êng-tu for men to throw plums at women of doubtful character; the plums were afterwards taken home in the hope that male issue might be given. The custom has been stopped for some years in Ch'êng-tu.

This is a time when teachers' salaries are due, and school fees paid. Teachers give scholars fans and scholars give money to the teachers. Presents are freely exchanged in many walks of life from the magistrate to the humblest citizen. People like to dress well at this feast, and policemen and beggars expect their gratuities. It almost seems as if it

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was the children's feast, because they get a great deal of attention at this time.

The image of Chang Tao-ling the ancestor of the Taoist popes, a fierce-looking idol, is carried out in an open chair with a canopy to keep off the sun or rain.

He is said to be riding a tiger probably because of the *t'ien shih* (天師) belonging to Lung hu shan in Kiangsi province. When he comes out it is in style of an official, with umbrellas, flags and boards as evidence of his position, but besides these, there are many persons dressed up as his underlings and assistants. Thus, two children, each on horseback, carry the credentials of the idol, *ch'ih shu* (勅書) and the seals of office.

P'an Kuan, the decider of fate in hades, rides a horse in front of the idol. He is masked and in his hand he holds the book in which the fates are written. During the procession he is supposed to take note of all he sees and record it in the book.

The *T'u ti*, precinct god, rides behind the decider of fates and is supposed to impersonate the *Shan mên t'u ti*, who is said to control the demons of the city. On this day he comes out on a tour of inspection.

There are four judges of appeal in hades, *ssŭ chih kung ts'ao* (四值功曹). One judge holds power for a year, another for a month, and another for a day, and the fourth for one Chinese hour, (two hours). These are the messengers of the idol to run at his bidding and are all impersonated on this occasion.

The five thunders *wu lei*, are represented by five men riding on horses with a frame and drum (for thunder), slung on their backs, with a chisel which represents lightning in one hand and a kind of clapper in the other.

The five poisonous creatures, *wu tu* (五毒), are snakes, toads, spiders, centipedes and scorpions. These are made of paper and tin-foil and carried through the streets before the idol, alternating with the five thunders.

The chickenfooted god, *chi chüeh shên*, is represented by a man with a hideous mask and a garment covered with

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chicken's feathers. His mission is to call people to repentance. The true characters are said to be 機覺, and the meaning 知機警覺; that is, "know of this opportunity and repent."

Some persons paying their vows hang lamps on their bodies, *kua shên têng*. Thus, a son may have made a vow that if a sick parent got better he would walk in the procession of the idol with a certain number of lamps hung from his skin. This custom is said to be derived from the *jan têng Fo* (燃燈佛), the "light lamp Buddha"; when these men walk the streets a dozen or more persons walk alongside of them with split bamboos which they shake and rattle all the time to keep people from coming near their persons, as if they were sacred.

Others of less note pay vows by having a sword handle glued to the abdomen and the point glued to the backbone, giving the appearance of being stabbed through the body, *k'ai ch'ang p'o tu*. It is believed that this custom had its origin in the aboriginal tribes, who have an image of this kind.

Seventh Moon Feast (中元) *chung yuan*.

T'u ti (土地) *hui*, the birthday of the precinct god is celebrated on the 7th of the 7th moon. On that day new paper clothing is put on him and incense and candles are burnt at his shrine. The meats offered are afterwards eaten by the family. At all the temples there is careful observance of this day.

The *Yü lan* (盂蘭) *hui*, is a Buddhist festival observed on the 14th of this moon for the transmigration of orphan spirits. It is believed that the doors of hades are opened and the imprisoned spirits set at large from the 10th to the 15th. Those who have no home to go to roam about the streets and country. Many people will not go out at night during these five days.

To give forth rules of behaviour to the freed demons, *fang chieh* (放戒), or *li yu kung chieh* (利幽公戒), the priests erect a stage with many lighted lanterns. Some chanting takes place at which the spirits are admonished to

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keep the laws, and the priest afterwards scatters *kuei tan tzŭ*, which consists of bread and cakes. These the people scramble for and eat. After the 15th the spirits again return to their own place.

A sacrifice is made to the orphan spirits by the heads of guilds and societies. Sometimes over 100 taels is spent, and if the guild is rich even 1,000 taels may be lavished on these orphan spirits.

Wine, meat and even whole tables of feasts are offered to the ancestors, who are said to return to the home at this season. This is one of the most binding of all the idolatrous festivals of the year.

The likenesses of departed ancestors are hung in the chief room of the house. Some keep paintings, others have busts. Some keep them always hanging, others only display them at this season.

All the necessities of the spirit world are burned in paper in huge piles in front of the doors about the 13th of the month. This is a very important affair in the eyes of the people. On the 15th cash paper is burned.

MID AUTUMN FESTIVAL (中秋節) *chung ch'iu chieh*, The Eighth Moon Feast

This is the third time for collecting debts, equally important with the 5th moon, but of course less so than the time before the New Year.

Yüeh kuang hui, is the moon festival. On the evening of the 15th the moon is worshipped. At this particular season the moon is said to give forth different kinds of light and some declare that the heavenly beings can be seen in the moon. It is also said that Wu Kang (吳剛) can be clearly seen at this time hacking away at the *Olea fragrans*, but the tree still stands. A lunar eclipse at this season is very unlucky.

Little round cakes are made called moon cakes, the centre of which is black, being made of lentils, boiled soft and then baked. Some cakes are white in the centre, being made

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with flour and sugar, some are red, made from flour and rose-water. At this time walnuts, pears and pomegranates are presented, all being round like the moon, and it is hoped by offering these that the family affairs will be prosperous "all round."

Sha chia t'a tsŭ, 'to kill the Manchu of the family' is an expression which, some say, refers to the Tartars of the Yüan dynasty, others say it refers to the Ch'ing dynasty. It is commonly believed that a Manchu was billeted in each home. A plot was made to kill them on the 15th of this moon, the secret sign being a ticket giving the date to be put inside the moon cakes. The plot was carried out, and the family Manchu became the *t'u ti* of the family. In this eighth moon the anniversary of his death is observed. The black hearts of the moon cakes are said to represent the hearts of the Tartars.

On the evening of the 15th children put a lighted stick of incense on to the end of a bamboo pole and lift it high in the air. This is called *shua hsing hsü* to play at stars. Similarly branches of the pumelo-tree are taken and sticks of lighted incense fixed to the twigs and held high in the air. This practice is now gradually falling into disuse.

This is the time when teachers' salaries are due and children take presents to them. The teacher gives the children pencils. The head of the beggars, keeper of the city gate, and night watchman all collect their dues from the shop-keepers and private residences. The fifth and eighth moon feasts and the New Year are the great feasts of the Chinese people.

The Ninth Moon Feast (重陽節) *Ch'ung yang chieh*

The ninth of the ninth moon is called *Ch'ung yang* or a double nine. Rice for distilling is mixed with chrysanthemums; the wine thus made has a good flavour, but any wine is supposed to be better when distilled on that date.

Bags filled with dogwood seeds are carried to protect from sickness and give long life. Scholars carry their food to

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some high place, where they make poetry and afterwards feast and drink wine.

The birthday of Hsü Ching yang (許旌陽) of Kiangsi is kept; he was an official in Ssŭch'uan and is now deified and worshipped in the Kiangsi guilds. Legend has it that he had a bamboo stick on which he rode each evening to his native province to visit his mother; she, disturbed by the frequency and suddenness of his visits, broke his magic stick, and it took him a full month to get back. Meanwhile his public business was in sad arrears and the country in disorder. So he got the precinct god of his yamen to help him.

The birthday of Chiu Huang is celebrated; he is one of the nine stars of the Northern Bushel. These first nine days of this moon are spoken of as the Chiu Huang (九皇). If it should rain on the first of the ninth moon, it is likely to rain the whole nine days. During these nine days most people eat pulse or herbs, and at eating-houses flags are exposed with *chiu huang su shih* (素食) written on them, 'vegetarian food for the feast.' At this time no animals are killed and yellow flags are hung up everywhere, much chanting is done, such classics being used as the *pei tou ching* or the *chiu huang ching*. The delusion is that those who abstain from eating meat on these days have as much merit as those who are vegetarian for life.

If the family has moved or repaired the house during the year a ceremony of *kung t'ien an shên* 'worship heaven and pacify the family altar' is believed to be necessary for the peace of the living and is called *Hsiang shih* (祥事), while *Tao ch'ang* (道場) is for the dead.

To *chieh shou* is to add life and length of days to another person. This has its origin in the time of the Three Kingdoms when a certain Chao Yüan worshipped the Northern Bushel and said that he was willing that years should be taken from his own life and added to his parents'. Now there is the custom at this season of worshipping the Northern Bushel in order to obtain long life. The constellation is believed to be the chariot of the Pearly Emperor and is situated in the centre of the sky and revolves once a year, the four

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seasons being subject to its influence, hence the ancient custom of meeting spring at the East, summer at the South, autumn at the West and winter at the North.

On the evening of the ninth all trace of the feast is removed and burned at the door of the house, and soon the shambles are well stocked with pork and other flesh.

TENTH MOON FEAST (下元節) *hsia yüan chieh*

Shang yüan is the feast on the 15th of the 1st moon while *hsia yüan* is the feast on the 15th of the 10th moon. This probably has its origin in the time when the Chinese New Year was held about mid-winter.

On the 1st of this 10th moon is the festival of the Ox King *niu wang hui*, the birthday of the king of oxen. This festival is reckoned very important in the country districts as the ox is said to be the foundation of all farming operations, and is therefore worshipped by many. In many of the temples and shrines chanting is carried on, theatricals and fests are held in honour of the occasion. There is also a *ch'ang nien hui*, farm servants' fair. On this day theatricals are given; these gather people together at various temples, when some hiring is arranged between masters and servants.

The city god goes to the necropolis, where piles of paper money, houses and clothing are burned as a provision for the orphan spirits during the cold weather.

On the first of the 10th moon, the city god's wife, accompanied by the city god, is carried out into the country to certain places which are said to be her maiden home, to pay her yearly visit to her parents. This is one of the most absurd of idolatrous practices.

[To be continued]

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NOTES AND QUERIES

NOTES ON *Li-min* AND *T'a-fang*

We have again to thank Mr. Arlington for much interesting information about the phrase 黎民 *li-min;* but it does not include what was asked for: one native authority for the statement that the phrase may mean "rustics" or "husbandmen," or one example from a native author where "husbandmen," or "rustics" is the only possible translation.

The further notes on 塌坊 *t'a fang* are interesting and valuable also, but they do not seem to help us far towards determining the sense of 塌 *t'a* either in *t'a fang* or 塌貨 *t'a huo.* And the natives consulted surely forgot themselves when they said that 層 *ts'ĕng* or "storey" would have been used instead of 間 *chien*, if the buildings had been "towers." I do not feel sure that even in America the sky-scrapers run to "a thousand or more *storeys*," but in mediæval Hang-chou 樓 *lou* or "towers," buildings or groups of buildings of two or three or even, possibly, of ten storeys may have contained a very large number of 間 *chien* or "divisions." Writing far from books I cannot be sure, but I think one text of Odoric or Marco Polo attributes ten or twelve storeys to the houses of Hang-chou.

C. M.

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THE CHARACTER 痹 *pi*

[See vol. ii, pp. 148–9]

I cannot recommend any one to "correct" my Dictionary, under the above character, by inserting "diseases of the nervous system" as its primary meaning.

The definition "rheumatism," which I have given, is based (1) upon the 說文 *Shuo Wên*: 濕病也 "the dampness disease," and (2) upon the 正字通 *Chêng tzŭ t'ung* (quoting the 內經 *Nei ching*): 風寒濕三氣雜至合而爲痹 "the heterogeneous combination of the three influences of wind, cold, and damp, causes"—wha[illegible]-diseases of the nervous system?

The latter authority goes on to enumerate three kinds of 痹 *pi*: (1) 行痹 *hsing pi* "moving *pi*" (? neuralgia), when the influence of wind predominates, (2) 痛痹 *t'ung pi* "painful *pi*" (? rheumatism proper), when the influence of cold predominates, and (3) 著痹 *chu pi* "stationary *pi*" (? lumbago), when the influence of damp predominates, etc. See *K'ang Hsi*.

Huai-nan Tzŭ says 谷氣多痹 "*Pi* is very common in valleys," and the common colloquial for "rheumatism" is either 風濕 "wind damp" or 風寒 "wind cold." If sufficient evidence is forthcoming, "diseases of the nervous system," a modern term expressed by 神經病 *shên ching ping*, may be added.

H. A. GILES.

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

A Chinese Methuselah.—According to the 續通易知錄 Kuang Ch'êng-tzŭ 廣城子 who lived during the reign of Huang Ti (2698–2598 B.C.) reached the ripe old age of 1200 years. Huang Ti is said to have visited him with a view of learning the secret of his longevity, but without much success. Although Huang Ti reigned for 100 years and lived till the

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age of 111, he was still dissatisfied. Man is never so old but that he thinks he can live for one year longer!

* * *

According to the 北周蘇綽傳 or Biography of Su Ch'o, presumably the Su Ch'o mentioned in Giles' *Biog. Dict.* 1777, Su's mother is credited with being the first in China to use vermilion. It is stated that in keeping a record of her daily expenses she used vermilion to mark the "debit" and black ink to mark the "credit" side of her accounts. A knowledge of this fact may be of interest to antiquarians. She lived during the Southern Ch'i dynasty (A.D. 479–501). The Chinese probably first used chromate of lead or antimony vermilion.

That they had a knowledge of cinnabar at a very early period is shown by the following quotation taken from Kuan Chung (Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1,006), minister of the Ch'i state in 685 B.C. 管仲曰上有丹砂下有黃金. In the 書經, chap. 禹貢 it is clear that the sentence 礪砥努丹 refers to 硃 vermilion. I can find no record when the 硃筆 was first used.

* * *

According to the 五禮通考 the system of the Nine Official ranks 九品法, was introduced during the reign of Huang Ch'u of the Wei dynasty (A.D. 220).

* * *

Giles' *Dict.* No. 4926; the *hu* 笏 was introduced by Wu Ti of the Northern Chou, in the 4th year of his reign (A.D. 564). *Vide* 禮記玉藻.

* * *

It may be of interest to note that K'an yü 堪輿, Giles' *Dict.* No. 5854, in ancient times referred to astrology, fortune-telling etc., and not to *fêng-shui*, commonly translated "geomancy." In the 漢書藝文志考証, which quotes the 金匱 on the 五行 or five elements, we find that the Han Emperor Hsiao Wu Ti (140 B.C.) ordered a conference of

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all the diviners or *chan chia* 占家, divided into the following classes: 五行家, 土星家, 建除家, 叢辰家, 曆家, 天人家, 太乙家, with a view of fixing on a lucky day for his marriage. According to the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*, the Emperor Huang Ti composed a book with the title *ch'ing wu* 青鳥, said to refer to the colour of heaven and earth. But is it quite certain that he referred to *ch'ing wu* in the sense of *fêng-shui* or geomancy? The insertion of 地師 or *k'an yü* by later writers is probably a gloss. It will be noted that the *hsing-chia* 形家 or geomancers are not mentioned as being included in the Emperor's conference. Strange to say *hsing-chia* has also lost its ancient meaning, as very few Chinese except the best scholars know what it means. It appears to me that as geomancy is, strictly speaking, divination by means of figures and lines, the Emperor did not refer to *k'an yü* in that sense—if he used the term at all; and therefore, excluded the *hsing chia*. The dragon spirits of hill, lake, river etc., have much more to do with *fêng-shui* than mere divination. "Dragonology" would be a better and more appropriate term. Although the dragon is an emblem of Imperial sovereignty, it represents among the people a very elemental force and has a profound psychological significance. That it is in no sense considered a mythological monster, all foreigners who have had any real intercourse with the Chinese very well know.

* * *

Readers of Giles' Biographical Dictionary may be interested to learn that Yo Fei (No. 2501) had a daughter, who went in person to present a petition to the Emperor praying for her father's release; but being refused admission to the palace by the guardians of the gate, she returned home heart-broken and, clasping a silver tankard (an heir-loom) to her bosom, jumped into a well and was drowned. From this incident she is known as 銀瓶小姐; *Vide* 湖壖雜記. There is a small temple or shrine commemorating the event erected to her memory at Hangchow on the very spot where she took her life. The well is inside the temple. A stone tablet dedicated

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to her memory was placed in the temple by the Emperor T'ung-chih in A.D. 1868. The temple is known as the Hsiao Ngo Ching 孝娥井 "Filial Ngo's Well," her maiden name being Ngo.

The temple is within a few minutes walk to the eastward of the Hall of Justice. The remains of Yo Fei and his son Yün are not in the tumulus on the West Lake, but lie buried in a large temple near the Chung An Ch'iao 衆安橋 in the city. The tumulus at the south-west corner of the West Lake contains only Yo Fei's and his son's regimentals and was built long before his body was found.

Yo Fei's temple or Ancestral Hall in the city was built on the very spot where his body and Yün's and also that of his 4th son Lei 雷 (who also was put to death by Ch'in K'uei) were discovered; buried, it is said, beneath a pile of conch-shells by the warden of the gaol Wei Shun 魏順. The tumulus by the West Lake was built during the Sung dynasty (A.D. 1163), and the Ancestral Hall in the city during the reign of Hsien Fêng (A.D. 1851–1862), and repaired by orders of Tung-chih in 1870. This temple contains the images of Yo Fei and his five sons, wife and daughter. Nothing has been done to it since 1870, and it is fast falling into decay. The Chinese appear to forget their "loyal heroes," especially when subscriptions are required to keep them in memory!

* * *

The founders of the Chinese Republic apparently had great faith in the efficacy of their gods when they selected the characters *Chung Yang* for Central Government; (Giles' *Dict.*, No. 12,860 中央). It is supposed to be the abode of the gods of the earth and forms the centre of the 八卦之宮 or Eight Palaces of Divination, divided into the following: 坎宮, 坤宮, 震宮, 巽宮, 乾宮, 兌宮, 艮宮, 離宮. Collectively they are known as the 九宮. The whole are under the jurisdiction of 太一, god of the Pole Star. At the present time of writing the gods under whose aegis the Republic was founded

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appear to have deserted it altogether. *Cf.* Giles' *Dict.*, No. 5231 ; "Chaos was the ruler of the central zone," 中央.

* * *

Giles' *Dict.*, No. 13,721 | 商 does not necessarily mean a "dilatory discussion," but is equivalent to 婉言 "to entreat," etc., *e.g.*, 再四婉商 "pleaded again and again."

* * *

Giles' *Dict.*, No. 3,578, 豐本 does not mean garlic but the leek, 韭 : so called in ancient times when used in sacrifice to ancestors as a symbol of numerous progeny. *Vide* 禮記, chap. 曲禮. *Cf.* Giles' No. 2,279.

* * *

The *Huai* 槐 tree, *Saphora japonica* (Giles' *Dict.*, No. 5,028) has a legend connected with it not mentioned by Giles. It is intimately connected with, and is in fact the origin of the *t'ang ming* or family-hall name, (Giles' *Dict.*, No. 10,760), from the following circumstances : Wang Yu 王祐, an official of the Tsin dynasty, although he had performed various meritorious deeds, yet failing in his ambition to become a Minister of State was determined that one or all of his three sons should reach that coveted position. He therefore, as a token of his pledge, planted three *huai* trees in front of his *yamên*. One of his sons, Wang Tan 王旦 actually became a Minister of State, thus fulfilling his father's wish. Hence the saying : 晉公堂下植三槐 or, as another version has it : 王祐知子必貴手植三槐.

The poet Su T'ung-po has an ode on the 三槐堂 eulogistic of 王祐 who was, from the incident above quoted, the originator of the family-hall names.

* * *

A character not given in Giles' *Dict.* but frequently seen on sign-boards, is 鑫, generally read *hsing*, but in Cantonese *yum*, and said (though without authority) to be the equivalent of 興. It is mostly used in names, and in Cantonese not otherwise. The origin of the character is interesting : according to the 正字通 續字註 a man named Sung Yu 宋

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友 had five sons to whom he gave the names of *Hsing*, *Sên*, *Miao*, *Yên* and *Yao*, 鑫, 森, 淼, 焱, 垚. The last character is probably intended for 堯; and being the name of the emperor Yao was *taboo*, the 几 symbol being eliminated. According to the 南康郡志 there was a magistrate at Yühang 餘杭 in Chekiang named Huang Hsing 黃鑫. As will be noted, the names are all formed from the characters composing the Five Elements, triplicated.

* * *

Giles' *Dict.*, No. 2,283, 就醫 "to put oneself under medical treatment" is rather misleading unless fortified by the remark, "in a hospital or at a doctor's office." To undergo medical treatment at home is 請醫, never 就醫.

* * *

Giles gives no examples under No. 9,944 of 褥: *e.g.*, 褥駕納祜 "May you enjoy good health and happiness" (used in letters). 褥 is also read 嗚 and means heavy (wadded) clothing, *e. g.*, 衣厚褥褥.

* * *

The important phrase 媒孽其短 "A victim of evil speaking" is missing under No. 8,282.

* * *

Under No. 3,933 靺 | it is not stated that the original name of the tribe was 勿吉 or 黑水 | |. They were separated into seven different hordes during the T'ang under the name of 靺 | ; and later under the name of 渤海. They were annihilated by the *Ki-tans* about A.D. 920.

* * *

No. 9,230 should have the rhyme 康 added. Giles makes no distinction between No. 9,200 and 9,230 in the number of strokes. The former should be written with only six strokes and the latter with eight. No. 9,200 although the vulgar form is the favourite form of writing it by ninety-nine out of a hundred Chinese, and probably by the hundredth also. The correct form of No. 9,200 is 𣎴, not 𣎴. In the sentence

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軿輬 it is read *p'ĕng* 烹. That 輜 軿 does not mean "carriages of all kinds" may be seen from the following: 后妃謁關必乘安車輜軿, 今立車無軿非所敢受命也.

軿 is really a *light* vehicle as opposed to 輜 a *heavy* one. For philological purposes it is well to note that 軿 is also read *p'u* (2) meaning to send a present, and *pu* (4) indicating the present sent. It has also the *colloquial* meaning of "scrape together" as funds: *e.g.* 東凑西軿. While on the subject of the *pien* sounds, it should be noted that No. 9,201 is used with No. 9,231 in the combination 駢脅 ribs joined together. The 國語 has 晉文公駢脅; whereas the 左傳 has 駢脅.

* * *

That 江東 is metaphorically used of "friendship" is not stated by Lockhart; see *Ch'êng Yü K'ao*, p. 61, No. 1; from which is derived 過江兄弟 "brothers in affliction."

* * *

Under No. 822 Giles omits the historical and recondite sentence 黃絹幼婦外孫 | 臼 analyzed thus:—黃絹二色絲: 色絲二絕. 幼婦二少女: 少女二妙. 外孫二女子: 女子二好. 舊臼二受辛: 受辛二辭; which forms the sentence 絕妙好辭 "a beautiful and ingenious composition!" This is taken from the inscription engraved on the back of the tablet of Ts'ao O (Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 2,007) which was the subject of a debate between 曹操 and 楊修 recorded in the *San Kuo Chih*.

* * *

That 金鷄 "lady-bird" No. 2,032 is also a *fêng-shui* term is not mentioned by Giles. It is the *peak* of the end—on view of a Chinese roof; *i.e.*, the peak of the 金字. Houses so built that the 金鷄 of the house is in a direct line with the door-way of the house opposite is considered unlucky. Hence the *fêng-shui* term 金鷄獨立, 白虎在堂 "When the *chin chi* stands alone, (in direct view of the door-way opposite) a

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white tiger is placed in the hall"—that is, a paper tiger is pasted on the wall to counteract evil influences. See Giles, No. 4,920.

* * *

According to the author of the *Sui-yuan-sui-pi*, Chao Kuo, Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, 169, was not, as is generally supposed, the first to substitute oxen for labour in ploughing. He states that the 呂氏春秋 has the following sentence: 季春出工牛示農耕早晚 and also that the 史記律書 contains the following: 牽牛以耕種萬物. Our author states that these books were written long before Chao Kuo's time.

* * *

Dr. Giles should have mentioned that 頓首 No. 12,221 is used by men only, and is equivalent to "Yours respectfully." The corresponding phrase used by women is 檢衽 No. 7,142.

* * *

The issue of 印契 (stamped-deeds) dates from the Sung Emperor Kao Tsung, and in the 5th year of his reign (A.D. 1132), *V.* 宋史食貨志.

* * *

Kuo Tzŭ I (Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 1,075) was created prince of Fên Yang. See Giles' explanation under *Dict.*, No. 3,518. And 淮伯濟 of the Wei State was also king of Fên Yang 汾陽王. *V.* 魏志.

* * *

Giles makes no mention either in his Dictionary or *Biog. Dict.* that the 金 |, No. 10,882 was an invention of 周公 (*V.* 史記; 尚書 and 書經).

* * *

Mr. E. von Zach, *China Review*, Vol. xxv, p. 142 should have added to his remarks that 莘野 was the name of the place where 伊尹 used to plough; also that 阿衡 was his official rank. It was not his name; (See Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 913, where a similar mistake is made). This is necessary

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in order to understand the 千字文 sentence, 磻溪伊尹, 佐時阿衡 (磻溪水名, 呂望釣於磻溪; 伊尹耕於莘野; 佐時謂呂望爲上將; 阿衡官名, 謂伊尹爲阿衡).

* * *

No. 4,813 | 璣 is also the star α in Lyra of the Spinning Damsel and used figuratively of women. 玉衡 No. 3,912 also means a citadel, palisade, etc., hence the term 璿璣玉衡 means in a metaphorical sense "Your ladyship's beautiful mansion."

* * *

No. 5,352 is the complimentary address of women and is mostly used in eulogistic scrolls presented to them.

* * *

Under No. 7,977 Dr. Giles by a curious chance states that 莫愁 is "a term for a prostitute." *Mo ch'ou* is really the *name* of a famous courtesan or sing-song girl, a native of 石城 an ancient name for Nanking. The 莫愁湖 in Nanking is named after her; also several songs. She is said to have given birth to an illegitimate child (阿侯, a term we do not find in Giles' *Dict.*). *V.* 清一統志 and 舊唐書音樂志.

* * *

Similarly to the above, only that she was a virgin of spotless reputation, Ts'ao O (Giles' *Biog. Dict.*, No. 2,007), had her name given to the river she was drowned in. There is a temple erected to her memory in the Ts'ao O village on the banks of the Ts'ao O river close to Pokwan, but on the Shaohingfu side of the river.

TWO NOTES GATHERED IN CONVERSATION WTIH AN OLD PEKINESE FRIEND

Golden-Fingered Li. Li was a young and earnest doctor who lived in the reign of Tao-kuang. Every year he sat daily from the first day till the nineteenth day of the first month in

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the Po Yung Ku, tending the poor and the sick who thronged the temple courts, charging them no fee and curing many.

One year late on the night of the nineteenth when the crowd had all gone home and he himself was about to go, he being then standing in the midst between Father Sun and Mother Moon, he saw come into the court before him a bent and aged beggar man. The old man went slowly round the fringes of the yard peering into the faces one by one of the fasting priests, strivers after immortality, who had sat there immobile, without food and without drink since the morning of the first day. Li stood watching him and his heart whispered, "The old man is a spirit and has come to prove the priests"; and when, his inspection over, the stranger left the temple, his heart whispered, "Follow after the spirit." So Li left the temple to follow in his wake.

The old man went westwards over the plain by boggy road and broken fieldpath, by sandy stretch and stony gully, till he reached the hills, and there he climbed forthright by thorn and rocks and crag—and whithersoever the spirit led him thither Li followed after. His bones were bruised and his skin was barked, and the wild beasts snapped their jaws at him, but he never stayed nor halted.

When the old man reached the summit of the hill he sat down to rest and Li knelt and bowed his head before him, praying that his heart's desire might be granted. The old man said "Why do you kneel and pray to me, an old and broken beggar man?" But Li answered, "My heart whispered to me that you are a spirit and that I should follow where you led. I pray you grant me my prayer." The old man asked him what was the desire of his heart, and he answered, "To have power to cure all who come to me maimed and sick."

Thereupon the old man, gazing earnestly on him, made dirt upon the ground and commanded him to eat the dirt; and his stomach turned within him and he could not, but knelt upon the ground there stirring the dirt with his finger and trying to harden the purpose of his mind to do this thing the spirit bid him do. And looking up he saw that the old

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beggarman was gone and that the dirt was no longer on the ground before him and that he was alone upon the hilltop. As he turned to go home, the rising sun shone upon his hand and he saw that the finger with which he had stirred the dirt was turned to gold and the voice of his heart whispered "Chin t'ou Li, Golden fingered Li ; because your faith was great and because you followed steadfastly your prayer is granted and all who come to you sick or maimed shall go away cured, but because your flesh was weak you shall bear this mark through life until you die."

So he went his way back to his home and it was so as his heart had whispered. Year by year he sat from the first day of the first month till the nineteenth day in the court of the Po Yung Kuan, seeing and healing all who came to him, and he died in the first years of Kuang Hsü an old and honoured man.

The Winter Solstice—If, shortly before the hour of the winter solstice, a hollow stick, or a bamboo with the joints pierced, be planted in the ground and filled with fine, dry ashes of burnt grass, these ashes will, at the moment of the solstice, rise from the tube and be scattered in the air.

This is because the vital forces of the earth, reviving and rising through the past weeks, have reached the surface ; Nature has sprung to life and with the new-born sun a new year is born.

J. C. H.

The Rev. W. E. Soothill, M.A., has been elected to the Chair of Chinese at Oxford, and the Rev. W. Hopkyn Rees, D.D. is appointed to that in London University. Both are known as missionaries in China. Prof. Soothill has to his credit a small and very useful dictionary of Chinese characters and a translation of the Confucian Analects. Prof. Rees has a fine knowledge of colloquial Pekinese but we are not aware that he has written anything on Chinese subjects.

* * *

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In our next issue we shall give a further instalment of Prof. E. H. Parker's study of Hwai-nan-tsz.

* * *

Subscribers may be pleased to know that cloth cases for binding this volume of the Review will be obtainable at the end of the year

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CORRECTION

To the Editor of *New China Review*

Sir :

I trust that your readers will have been able to correct an error into which I slipped in the article on Lu in Confucius' Early Days of your August number. Ch'u-fou was on the Ssŭ (泗) to the south of the Wên but flowing in the same direction. The street of the Five Elders, I may add, was outside the city.

I am, Sir,

Yours truly,

A. MORLEY.

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RECENT LITERATURE

The History, Customs and Religion of the Ch'iang: an Aboriginal People of West China. By REV. THOMAS TORRANCE. Shanghai: printed by the Shanghai Mercury, Ltd. pp. 36.

This is a useful little pamphlet, describing, in the three sections mentioned in the title, an aboriginal people living on the borderland between Tibet and China, who have been hitherto nearly unknown to western students. The material in the second and third sections appears to have been gathered by the writer himself; but that in the first must have been taken by him from written sources, and unfortunately the author gives us no clear idea of these sources. There are vague references to Doolittle and Giles and "historical records" (p. 3) and a page reference to MacGowan (note on p. 11) but nothing more. The thirteen pages of history are bare outline.

In the section on customs, we learn of language, construction of houses and shelter-towers, bridges, agriculture, manufactures, dress, marriage and death, accounts, oaths, conviviality, prayer and forestry. Later (p. 36) occurs the statement, "No one previously had systematically studied their history, customs and religion." We can only say that if the result of this study seems to the author systematic, then his notion of chaos would surely make a cubist blush. But

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none the less we are glad to have the facts, both as to customs and religion. In appears, for example, that the Ch'iang are monotheists and have a ritual like in many points to that found in the Old Testament.

The whole is illustrated by a scant dozen pictures in half-tone, either taken with a poor lens, or badly reproduced, or both. Yet in spite of the poor medium, the subjects are for the most part so interesting that we are moved to ask for more. We trust that this brief account may be supplemented in the future by more extensive studies.

Sidelights of Song, by GILBERT COLLINS. London: John Long, Ltd.

The title of this book is as modest as the metaphor is mixed; and the contents are so breezy and wholesome, that criticism is disarmed. Most of the verses appeared in *Pnuch* and other periodicals during the War, giving great pleasure at the time; but with one or two exceptions, these were ephemeral by nature, and once again the question occurs, as to how far such reprinting is necessary or wise. Of such books as this there might be no end.

We have found nothing in it to put beside Julian Grenfell's "Into Battle"; or Rupert Brooke's "If I should die, think only this of me," or John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields"; but Mr. Collins' "Song of Soldier Love" is touching and noble, and may well find a place in that anthology of the war which will be so splendid when it comes. "On Leave" and one or two others seem good to us also, just because they strike deeper notes than the rattling verses in dialect or slangy colloquial can do. It would seem that the writers of light verse must resign themselves to share the lot of the writers of light music, that is, to please many intensely for a short space only. Even the "Ingoldsby Legends" and "H. M. S. Pinafore," in spite of their wonderful cleverness are not classics. It is perhaps the revenge of the muses on such as approach their shrine with something of irreverence!

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Mr. Collins Foreword and "Table of Contents" seem inconsistent: the explanation is that each set of the verses has two names.

Les Grottes de Touen-houang, Peintures et Sculptures bouddhiques des époques des Wei, des T'ang, et des Song. Tome premier. (Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1920. Fr. 60.)

The Mission Pelliot into Central Asia was in 1906–1909, and, as in all such cases, a long time must elapse before the results are given to the public except in popular, or fragmentary form. In the present instance, however, the hateful war has been an additional hindrance; the fascicule before us was almost entirely in print in July 1914, but of course could not be issued; moreover one of the collaborators, M. Gauthiot, was killed in the war in 1916.

The complete results of the Mission will be given to the world by scholars who, while working on a similar system, will work in full liberty each on his particular subject without being bound to produce a certain volume within a given time to occupy a particular place in a series. Thus each work, linguistic, philosophical, or on art, can be issued as soon as it is ready. But each work as it appears will be numbered consecutively in its own series. There will be three series, varying in the sizes of the books. The pictures and plans will be in quarto; some reproductions of manuscripts will appear in large octavo; and other works, the translations in French for example, will be in small octavo.

The volume before us is the first in the quarto series, and is the first of five fascicules containing a superb collection of some 300 pictures of the Ts'ien-fo-tong (千佛洞). They are splendid phototypes of wonderful photographs. Each of the sixty-four plates will give pleasure even to the untrained eye; but when we remember that they represent coloured, unrestored frescoes eight or ten centuries old, we realize what a treasure they must be to the archæologist, to the art student wishing to

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trace the connection between Western and Eastern art. and to the student of Buddhism. Of course we shall await with impatience the explanatory text which M. Pelliot will give us later, and we shall then return to the subject. At present we recommend art students to subscribe for the elegant volumes now being issued, not forgetting that 60 francs to-day is a very low price to give.

We may add that the next volumes to be immediately issued (concurrently with the present work, as we have explained), will be the first of the large octavo series and will contain a fac-simile of the Sogdien and Chinese texts of the *Sutra des Causes et des Effets*, one of the Manuscripts brought by the Mission from the library at Tun-huang. A Sogdien grammar will follow, and numerous texts, Chinese, Sanscrit, Tokharien, Iranian, Tibetan, etc , with translations, and religious, philosophical and geographical studies—surely a rich feast for students to anticipate.

Kiangsi Native Trade and its Taxation, by STANLEY WRIGHT (Chinese Custom Service). Shanghai, 1920.

The readers of a Review devoted to sinology will hardly expect a long notice of a work which deals entirely with commercial matters, but we are glad to call attention to this valuable volume. As the author is in the Customs Service we conclude his statements are accurate, and as he deals with one province only we are not bewildered by the vastness of the subject. Even to readers who have no wish to read of trade and taxes the book has much interest. Everyone knows that Ching-tê chên (景德鎮) is in Kiangsi and cannot but be interested to read that Yuan Shih-k'ai made an effort to restore its early glory. The project failed at his death, but we learn with some surprise that sixty to seventy million taels worth of porcelain is now produced there annually. Then there is a good account of camphor, in producing which Kiangsi is the leading province. With regard to the tea

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industry, how sadly interesting it is to learn that the methods have changed not at all since Fortune's time, except that a Tea Experiment Farm has been established, which is under the management of an expert trained in Ceylon! Tobacco, cotton cloth, paper and all the varied products of the province are treated of, and the work is illustrated with good outline drawings of the primitive machinery, etc., in use. Of course, however, the bulk of the book is taken up with taxation, its methods and its effects on trade. We should be glad to see similar works on other provinces.

Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. II, 1920. Kelly & Walsh.

We are sorry that this Journal reaches us too late for more than a formal acknowledgement in this issue. A glance at the Contents page shows us, however, that there is far more variety than in last year's volume, and it will no doubt therefore be far more readable. We hope to give a further notice of it in our next number.

Vues du Honan. Publiées par le Chemin de Fer Lung-hai. Premier volume. January, 1920. 隴海綫中州風景第一册.

We welcome this book of pictures, both for its own sake and also because it is an indication of progress.

We have never travelled on the Lung-hai line, but no railway journey that we have taken in China was a pleasure, nor could it be made so even by such a fine book of pictures as this. A hundred matters need reform, from rolling-stock to kitchen, on the lines themselves; and then, if one should be so charmed with a picture as to wish to break his journey at some small station, what would be his fate? What about food, hotels, conveyances and a dozen other things? In Japan it could be done but not in China! Alas! that we are obliged so

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often to shake the example of Japan in the face of China—we wish it were not so. But it will be long before the tourist will be able to see all these attractive and picturesque places except in pictures. Still, the volume is an interesting one and will give great pleasure to many who can never hope to see what is depicted. They will learn how much of beauty and interest there is in China still hidden from the world. In this first part there are 52 capitally reproduced photographs and we shall welcome the second volume heartily.

Shanghai: a Handbook for Travellers and Residents, by REV. C. E. DARWENT, M.A. Second edition revised and enlarged. With Map and Illustrations. Kelly & Walsh, 1920.

Except to the business man Shanghai is one of the least interesting of all cities. Of course we shall be met with the response that to the observant and thoughtful there is interest everywhere, just as the artist's eye discerns beauty where others see only commonplace ugliness. We insist, however, that to ordinary folk and in ordinary language Shanghai has no natural beauty, practically nothing of artistic value, and little of historic interest either native or foreign. Of Shanghai names that have more than a local interest that of Paul Hsü is the only native one; while the few foreign ones, such as Hart, Gordon and Parkes, belong to men whose connection with the place was temporary and accidental. The true interest is in the growth of the Settlement, which in eighty years under unique and difficult conditions has attained such a prominent place in the world of commerce. Whether that justifies a guide-book as detailed as one to Florence or Edinburgh is doubtful. By making mountains out of molehills and calling all geese swans a volume may be filled, and we are bound to say that Mr. Darwent, having undertaken such a task, has done it very creditably. Residents, who have some leisure to seek out some of the less known places will find the Handbook of the greatest value.

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It is necessary to point out a few errors, but we shall say nothing about the usual crop of misprints, beyond saying that "Avenue doffie" (p. 78) must look unpleasant to our French neighbours.

The only omission that we have noticed is that of the R. C. establishment at Tungkadoo. The place is earlier than Siccawei and as interesting, and it is strange that the Cathedral with its remarkable bamboo-pipe organ should not be mentioned.

Peking Road is given as the boundary of the original Settlement *to the east* (p. 10). It should be "to the north." The rest of the land to the Soochow Creek was got by Alcock, it is true; but not in 1843 (p. 5.) Alcock did not come till 1846, and he completed, with much difficulty, the negotiations for purchase which Balfour had begun. The Shantung Road Cemetery was not the first (p. 21); an earlier one was in use behind the Custom House. Though Mr. Darwent may have found no later stones than 1863 the Cemetery was in use up to 1868. The Han dynasty ended in A.D. 220, not in 951 (p. 32), which is the date for the insignificant *Posterior* Han. Nanjao, where Admiral Protet was killed, is not near Soochow, but is south of Shanghai (p.74). There is a curious mistake on p. 94, where we are told that ladies unaccompanied by a gentleman are not admitted to visit the Girls' Orphanage at Siccawei!

Tsing ming, we are told, (p. 134) is a moveable feast; but we are also told it is held on the fifteenth day after the vernal equinox, which ought to be regarded as a fixture! It is moveable on the Chinese Calendar, but by the Western it always falls on April 4–5, and not, as it stated, "from the end of March to the middle of April."

The reference to the Rites Controversy (p. 90) implies that it concerned only the worship of Confucius; whereas this was but part of the question.

A Buddhist Hell is noticed on p. 26: the wicked suffer inconceivable tortures; they are sawn asunder, boiled, torn to pieces. After which Mr. Darwent asks us to believe that

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these things are actually being done in the yamens under the Republic. We think that even the testimony of a correspondent to the *North China Daily News* is insufficient.

There are some signs of carelessness, as when we are told of two lawns separately that each is "the finest in the Far East;" and there are indications that the writer does not know China outside of Shanghai. Thus he tells us that in China no offensive sewage flows into the streams, and on p. 45 we learn the astounding fact that 50 per cent. of the whole population of China is engaged in the carrying trade. This should mean the whole male population, and reminds one of the old joke in the logic books—"The inhabitants of the island earned a precarious livelihood by taking in one another's washing."

It is again hardly exact to say a Chinese desires to be buried in his ancestral town," (p. 68.) He wishes to be buried in the family's burial place, which is never in the town. Again, the expression "See Hangchow and die" (p. 111) is Mr. Darwent's own variation of the very Western saying about Naples, but we should say it was an impossible sentiment for a Chinese.

It is surely curious to say that Li Hung-chang was famous through his connection with Gordon (p. 96). As well say Gordon was famous through his connection with Li. Both were famous men, and they happened for a short time to be acting together. On p. 126 we read that no garrison of foreign troops has been stationed here except during the early days of conquest, and after the Boxer troubles. There was no garrison when Shanghai was first occupied, but there certainly was during the T'ai P'ing days, the early sixties.

There is a statement of bewildering irrelevance on p. 26; "On Museum Road, near to the British Post Office a man was hanged in the old days when this was country." We are not told whether the man was foreign or native, or why he was hung, or who did it, or whether he was guilty of its being country. One is reminded of Mr. F.'s aunt—"There's milestones on the Dover Road!" The fact is that the old Consular gaol stood there, and executions took place there.

We think it a pity the author should favour the true

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Guide-book style of exaggerated language. The Bund is "one of the handsomest streets in the world"; the P. W. D. does more awkward jobs "than probably any P. W. D. in the world;" the Nanking Road is "one of the most interesting streets in the world;" the traffic on the Szechuen Road "is as heavy as on any road in the world;" at the Chinese pleasure resorts you "get more value for your money than anywhere else in the world"; during the war the engines of the S.N.R. "had to make a greater mileage per month than any in the world;" and so on.

We had marked a dozen more passages but space forbids reference to them. We conclude by noticing the writer's valiant attempt to prove that Shanghai is a passionately literary centre. He divides the books in the Public Library among the foreign population,—two and a half per head, and he doubts if any other place in the world can beat it. He then proceeds to say that on that reckoning London should have a library of 14,000,000 books. What an extraordinary fallacy! As though the same book would not generally serve for five people as well as for one. A single student may need a library of a thousand volumes; but a second student joining him will not need to buy another thousand; a few hundred more and both are satisfied, while four or five thousand may be ample for a dozen men. Mr. Darwent might as well divide the birds in the Museum among the population and show that the Natural History Museum at Kensington was far below our standard.

Lest Shanghai, misled by Mr. Darwent, should think itself a second Boston, the reviewer may point out that though this Review is found on the library tables in Singapore, Bangkok and Calcutta, he has not seen it in the Public Library here where it is published; which does not show much keenness for serious literature.

Mr. Darwent is an amateur photographer and painter, and every bit suitable for kodak or paint-brush is noted—to such an extent that many will wish such things had been put in an appendix. But all will be grateful for a work which, in spite of the minor faults we have noticed, must be extremely useful. The many pictures in the volume are excellent.

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Messrs. Kelly & Walsh send us a catalogue of books; as it is entitled *The Booklover*, Vol. I, No. 1, we shall look for it periodically. Important works to appear immediately are *The Pageant of Peking*, of which our advertisement pages give particulars, and the Municipal Council's *History of Shanghai* (Vol. I). The latter work has been long looked for, and the Shanghai public especially will receive it with eagerness. We hope it will appear in time to be reviewed in our next issue.

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THE NEW CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II DECEMBER, 1920 No. 6

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The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

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Books for review should be sent to the Editor as early as possible.

Editor: *Samuel Couling*,

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

VOL. II December, 1920 No. 6

THE CALENDAR OF THE MUH T'IEN TSZ CHUEN

BY

LÉOPOLD DE SAUSSURE

In a recent article[1] I proposed to show that the 穆天子傳 (except a few passages evidently interpolated) is not at all "fabulous," but really extracted from the diary of an historiographer of king Muh. This curious document relates the long journeyings of the dilettante monarch who delighted in leading a life of sport away from his capital, spending his time in shooting, fishing, playing chess, climbing mountains, planting trees or writing verses. This story of travels, quite unique of its kind, on account of its antiquity and of its detailed character, has evidently not been studied very

(1) The *Journal Asiatique*, after publishing a first communication in its May, 1920 number, will give the detailed analysis of the text in one of the following numbers.

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closely by Chinese or occidental critics: none of them seems to have noticed the great errors which have been introduced into its calendar when the text was reconstructed.

It is known that the *Muh T'ien Tsz Chuen*, written on flat pieces of wood, was discovered in the third century, at the same time as the 竹書紀年 and other documents, in the tomb of a prince which had been opened by thieves.[1] These men burned some of the tablets in order to light the sepulchral room and left the rest in great disorder. It has therefore been necessary to reconstitute the document from these mixed-up remnants.

The collected text mentions three returns of king Muh to his capital of Nan-tch'eng; but the beginning of each of these three journeys is missing. This blank is much to be deplored: it deprives us of the indication of the reign-year, which must have been shown and which would fix the date.

The greater part of the document (four sections out of the six) has to do with a long sporting trip which lasted two years, during which king Muh paid a visit to Si-wang-mu. Many bits are missing from this part of the account, but these omissions do not throw any doubt on the continuity of the account. It is not the case with the following part, which extends over two different years, of which the consecutiveness is not compatible with the conditions given by the calendar. The scholar who reconstituted the text has not realized these blanks.[2] His method was extremely simple. He contented himself with joining the different fragments of the Travels, solely on the basis of the succession of the sexagesimal cycle, without taking account of indications of months and seasons, assuming that a cyclic date always follows the preceding one, and without realizing that one or several cycles may have

(1) Cf. Ed. Chavannes. *Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, t. V, appendice I.

(2) He has acknowledged certain blanks shown by an interruption in the text, which Eitel in his translation (*China Review*, Vol. XVII) shows by stars. But he has not noticed (any more than Eitel, Forke, Terrien de la Couperie, Giles, Chavannes, Parker, etc.), other missing portions proved by calendaric data.

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passed between them. He has applied this principle not only between fragments of the same journey, but even from one journey to another, in continuing imperturbably the numeration of the days: the return from the first voyage having taken place on the 661st day, 丁酉, he decides that 丁丑, the first day mentioned of the second journey (of which he sees nevertheless that the start is missing), ought to be numbered 701, as if the continuity from one cycle to the next was certain. But there is no reason to suppose that king Muh, just returned from an absence of two years, would start again immediately for another absence of the same length. There is nothing to show either that this pretended second voyage took place after the first; on the contrary it contains incidents, for example the founding of Fu-lao and the hunting party at P'ing, which the Bamboo Book places in the 14th year of the reign, 3 years before the visit to Si-wang-mu, which took place in the 17th year.[1]

A glance at the adjoined table will suffice to show various mistakes. One sees that, in the numbering of the days, the uneven numbers correspond at first to the uneven numbers of the cyclic signs, then to the even numbers of these signs and then again to the uneven numbers.

One notices further that between No. 855 (the 3d month of summer) and No. 862 (the second month of autumn) certainly more than 7 days have elapsed; that between the snow fall of No. 907 and the "Great heat" 大暑 of No. 910, more than 3 days must have passed; that between the 2d month of winter (No. 906) and the second month of autumn (No. 943) there had passed, not 37 days, but either 217 or 277 days.

Next, a more careful study shows that between No. 261 (the first month of autumn) and No. 626 (the first of winter in the following year) more than 365 days must have passed, and that 60 days must be added to the journey.

(1) Eitel considers in his translation that the Bamboo Book makes a very excusable mistake in changing the order of the journeys. This appreciation shows that he had no suspicion of the much less excusable stupidity of the arbitrary numbering of the days.

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MUH T'IEN TSZ CHUEN'S CALENDAR

Traditional numeration of the days	Cyclic rank		Month and season	Events
— — — —	— —	—	— — — — —	Initial blank
No. 1	戊 寅	15		First date of the 1st journey
261	戊 戌	35	1st month of autumn	
288	乙 丑	2		Last date at Si-wang-mu
— — —	— —	—	— — — — —	Lacuna
339	丁 未	44		Arrival at Kivang Yuen
382	己 亥	36		Departure from Kivang Yuen
626	壬 戌	59	1st month of winter	
656	壬 辰	29	2d month of winter	
661	丁 酉	34		End of the 1st journey
— — — —	— —	—	— — — — —	Initial blank
701	丁 丑	14		First date of the 2d journey
754	庚 午	7	... month of summer	
— — —	— —	—	[Intercalary month]	
829	乙 酉	22	2d month of summer	
855	辛 亥	48	3d month of summer	
— — — —	— —	—	— — — —	Lacuna
862	丁 巳	54	2d month of autumn	
887	戊 寅	15	3d month of autumn	
906	丁 酉	34	2d month of winter	
907	戊 戌	35	Snow fall	
— — — —	— —	—	— — — — —	Lacuna
910	辛 丑	38	大暑 Great Heat	
943	甲 戌	11	2d month of autumn	
1003	甲 戌	11	3d month of winter	
1006	丁 丑	14		Incidents related in the 14th year by the Bamboo Book
1025	丙 申	33		
1076	丁 亥	24		End of the 2d journey
— —	— —	—	— — — — —	Initial blank
1118	己 巳	6		First date of the 3d journey
1180	辛 亥	48	1st month of winter	
1281	辛 卯	28		End of the 3d journey

Such are the constatations concerning the length of the journeys. It remains to find out whether the indications of the text allow us to determine the dates of these trips, which the Bamboo Book places in the 14th (hunting party at P'ing) and 17th (visit to Si-wang-mu) years of the reign of Muh wang; that is to say the years 949 and 946 according to the chronology of the 竹書紀年, or the years 988 and 985 according to the chronology of the 通鑑綱目. This investigation shall be the matter of another article.

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OLD-WORLD STORIES OF HANYANG

KE-TOLD BY W. ARTHUR CORNABY*

It was in the Chou dynasty, which began 1122 B.C., that Hanyang first appears on the page of history. The original patriarchal rule had been merged in a decidedly cantankerous feudal system. The founder of the dynasty, the worthy Wu Wang or "Martial Monarch," with more good nature than regal wisdom, had parcelled out the land among a number of newly made lords and lordlings, only retaining for his own absolute rulership a moderate-sized State in the centre of the whole. And it was from the geographical situation of that regal domain of his that the Chinese gained the term Chung Kuo or "Central State"—colloquially, but incorrectly translated "Middle Kingdom"—for the whole of the land of China: the word "State" or "Realm" not necessarily meaning "Kingdom," for it is used of the *Republic* of China to this day.

In all, Wu Wang created 18 large States, and 72 smaller ones. These became very Disunited States, whose chief energy found an outlet in fighting and intriguing one against another; certainly with the formation of short-lived Peace

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* A lecture delivered at the U. C. Literary Guild, Hankow, October 8, 1920.

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Leagues here and there, but only thus combining so as to resist or to attack some State or combination of States which was outside that particular League. And before many generations had passed, the various State-rulers who had grown arrogant through their conquests and annexations learned to defy the central regal authority altogether, and to call themselves "kings." The unruly barons of the Middle Ages of Europe were gentlemen compared with some of these conscienceless marauders. Not that there were no good local rulers of China during that epoch. But men of lurid villainy predominated, especially in those wide regions to the West and the South, known as Ch'in (秦) and Ts'ou (楚) (Pekingese spelling *Ch'u*), which were then wild and uncivilized, and were only tardily recognized as integral parts of China Proper. These two States—the one in Shensi and Kansu with no western boundary; the other in Hupeh and Hunan with no southern frontier—made up for this lack of recognition, which was to them mere snobbery on the part of States in no wise their betters, by forcing themselves on the notice of everybody. Indeed, in the very end, Ch'in swallowed up the whole land, giving us our modern word *China*. And it was only lack of opportunity, not lack of ambition, which prevented Ts'ou from anticipating Ch'in in this enterprise.

This ambition of Ts'ou came to a head as early as 680 B.C., when, with no rhyme or reason beyond a craving for universal monarchy, the unprincipled ruler forcibly annexed the baronies of Sui in North Hupeh, and of Hanyang on the Yangtse.

Now, to be an organized barony in 680 B.C., of sufficient importance to attract the marauding Ts'ou, Hanyang city, as capital city of that barony, must have existed some time before that date. Its rise as a city was possibly soon after the founding of the Chou dynasty in 1122 B.C.; and certainly as far back as the founding of the city of Rome in 753 B.C. Truly, the quiet little city of Hanyang is an ancient city indeed.

There is reason to believe that the powerful ruler of Ts'ou had a palace in the Hanyang region, as the climax

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of the following story indicates: the story is *The Silent Lady of Hsi.*

Near the centre of modern Honan province were two neighbouring marquisates, the larger of them called Ts'ai, and the lesser Hsi. The rulers of both married daughters of the Marquis of Ch'ên (a State stretching from the east of the modern K'ai-fêng in Honan, southward into An-hui province). The Marquis of Ts'ai was older than the Marquis of Hsi, and so first married the elder sister. A month after the marriage of the younger sister, the Lady of Hsi, as she was now called, paid a customary visit to her parents in the State of Ch'ên, and her road lay through the State of Ts'ai. Hearing that she was near at hand with her retinue, the Marquis of Ts'ai said to himself: "This Lady of Hsi is my sister-in-law, and is reported to be of absolutely peerless beauty. I must invite her to my palace, and have a look at her." He accordingly sent messengers to intercept her and make her the guest of his wife. The two sisters were doubtless glad to renew their intercourse, and to talk of old times. But the manners of the marquis toward the Lady of Hsi were utterly wanting in the courtesy due to an honourable guest. She was justly indignant, and on her return journey took care not to pass through the territory of Ts'ai again. Her husband was more angry still, and formed a plan of revenge against Ts'ai.

Now it happened that the ambitious ruler of Ts'ou had by this time annexed all the lesser States in Hupeh, east of the Han river, and had laid the State of Hsi under tribute. This tribute the Marquis of Ts'ai refused to pay, for he was allied with a northern combination of States, having some relationship to the powerful Duke of Ch'i in the north-east.

The Marquis of Hsi accordingly sent a minister of his with the tribute to the King of Ts'ou (as he called himself) with the message that: "Ts'ai trusts to the fact of his being a member of the northern confederacy, and refuses to become tributary to Your Majesty. If you will send troops to invade my territory, I will beseech the aid of Ts'ai on the pretext of driving your troops back. The Marquis of Ts'ai is bold but careless, and is sure to come in person to the fray. Then I

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will combine my troops with yours, and you can capture him alive." A dishonourable plot, certainly, against a neighbour who was so far friendly that "he would be sure to come in person" to the rescue in any supposed great danger!

The King of Ts'ou consented, and the plan succeeded, so that the Marquis of Ts'ai was soon a prisoner in the camp of Ts'ou, and helped to grace his triumph, if triumph it may be called, when he returned to his own land. That heartless ruler determined to slay his captive, boil his flesh, and offer it in sacrifice in the ancestral temple,—as a warning to any others who dared to resist his ambitious projects. But a certain statesman named Yu Ch'uan strenuously opposed this, and when the king persisted, he caught hold of the king's sleeve with one hand, and with the other brandished his own sword before the king, saying: "Your Majesty and I shall both die before you disgrace yourself thus before the other rulers of China, and arouse their antagonism." The king saw he was in earnest, and fearing for his life, cried: "I consent. I consent. I'll forgive the Marquis of Ts'ai." At which the loyal statesman said: "That, Sire, will be a great boon to the realm of Ts'ou. But as I have lifted up my sword against my sovereign I pray that I may be slain instead." Then the king replied: "That was your loyalty. I blame you not a whit." But Yu Ch'uan insisted that incivility to a sovereign must be punished, and slashed with his sword at his own foot, severing it from his leg. At this the king ordered that the severed foot should be embalmed and preserved, as a caution to himself against rejection of faithful admonition; and sent the court physicians to heal his statesman's wound. This they did, but he never walked again. So the king made him keeper-in-chief of the city gates, ennobling him with the title of Earl.

Meanwhile, he treated the Marquis of Ts'ai as an honoured guest, and prepared a great feast before sending him home. He brought forth his girl-musicians to grace the proceedings, and made the fairest of them offer his guest a bumper of wine on bended knee. And after the Marquis of Ts'ai had toasted the king in return, the king said with a

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smile, "Have you ever seen a girl whose beauty equals this one?" "Yes," said the guest, "the Lady of Hsi is said to be absolutely peerless among all ladies below the skies. Her eyes are as autumn wavelets, her complexion is like the peach blossom, her figure is of perfect proportion, and the eye of man has not seen her like."

This speech produced the effect that the speaker designed it should. The King of Ts'ou henceforth could think of nothing else but the Lady of Hsi. He soon planned a tour of inspection through that tributary State, and being feasted royaliy by the marquis of it, said in his cups: "Now, I know that your embassy to me was on your wife's account. I have put myself and my army to considerable trouble in the matter, and the least that the lady can do will be to acknowledge her indebtedness by offering me a cup of wine." The marquis was duly scared at this speech, but dared not refuse. So the Lady of Hsi came at her husband's bidding, in all modesty, and offered the wine-cup on bended knee, blushing the while.

Next day the king of Ts'ou gave a return-feast in his camp, and again required that the Lady of Hsi should come and be his cup-bearer. This was clearly going beyond all bounds, and the marquis begged politely that she should be excused.

"What!" shouted the king, banging the table with his fist, "you dare to resist me." Then, to the soldiery: "Bind him at once, and let the lady be brought immediately."

A swift messenger rushed to the palace and spread the news before the soldiers arrived. "Alas!" said the marchioness, "it has been a case of 'inviting a tiger into one's dwelling' (this revenge upon Is'ai). But I will manage for myself." And she ran into the palace garden, to throw herself down a well. Before she could do so, however, the commander of the soldiery intercepted her, saying: "Do you not want to save your husband's life, Madam? By destroying yourself you will assuredly destroy him." And with such words he persuaded the unwilling lady to accompany him.

Arrived at the camp the tiger smiled. That is to say, the King of Ts'ou spoke to her comfortably, saying that by coming she had saved the marquis and his marquisate. And

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forthwith, in the camp, he celebrated his own marriage with her! But though he carried her in state to Ts'ou and made her his queen (in place of whom, history does not relate) she never spoke to her capturer for the space of three years, and the tear-drops hardly ever left her face.

It is at this stage in her career that a distinguished poet of the T'ang dynasty (Tu Mu. 803–852 A.D.) sings of her in four choice lines which may be thus paraphrased:

Of slender form and dew-decked peach-flower face,
Each spring's return all silent finds her there.
How fell her home-land in such dire disgrace?
Alas, her own fall, with a face so fair!

Then at last, when the king pressed her as to the reason of her silence, she replied: "I, a servitor of two husbands, and not allowed to die, how can I utter any words?"

At this the King of Ts'ou, as a lame excuse for himself, said: "All this trouble of yours has arisen out of the insulting manner of the Marquis of Ts'ai; added to which he has now annexed the marquisate of Hsi as his own domain. I will vindicate your cause and punish him." And he accordingly led his army into the State of Ts'ai. At this the marquis came forth in great fear, stripped of his robes as a sign of penitence, and offered the whole of his revenue and his accumulated treasure by way of expiation. Seizing all these, the King of Ts'ou returned.

What became of her rightful husband, who had plotted against the boorish but friendly Marquis of Ts'ai, to his own undoing, is not known definitely. He was probably released to return to his own little land, to be killed there by the Marquis of Ts'ai. One version of the story is that the ex-Marquis of Hsi was made a doorkeeper of the palace of Ts'ou. And, taking advantage of the absence of the king, the Lady of Hsi sent a message to him, saying: "We can but die once; why then prolong this misery and disgrace? Alive, we are parted; but in death we may be united in one grave." Then she slew herself, and her husband followed her example.

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But there is no hint of this in the very terse genuine history of those times, nor in that skilfully-rendered popular expansion of that history, known as *The Divided*, or Separate, *Realms* (列國志) from which the above narrative has been taken.

During those three silent years she had borne two sons to the King of Ts'ou. Her maternal instinct would be likely to reconcile her with life in the alien Court. Her misfortune with regard to her husbands would cause her Oriental conscience some qualms; but her duty to her two boys would clearly prevent her from suicide at this stage. And so we continue to follow the narrative in *The Divided Realms.*

In the year 675 B.C., the King of Ts'ou neglected all government, and gave himself up to the lusts of the flesh and the lust of conquest. He tried to get the little barony of Pa to assist him in the conquest of another realm called Shên (申); a deed of villainy to which the Baron of Pa would not consent. Then the King of Ts'ou must needs gain the enmity of a certain neighbouring clan, whose chieftain he killed; and that clan consulted with the Baron of Pa as to the feasibility of their invading the Kingdom of Ts'ou, saying that they would assist him from within the territory. For Pa to attack Ts'ou was a case of a dwarf attacking a giant. But the members of the wronged clan, disguised as soldiers of Ts'ou, brought about the defeat of the Ts'ou army. The king had led that army in person, and now had to flee to a city of his where the statesman Yu Ch'uan, he of the severed foot, was keeper of the gate. It was night as the fugitive king knocked and demanded admission.

"Is Your Majesty victorious?" asked Yu Ch'uan from within.

"No, indeed, defeated," was the reply.

"Then," said Yu Ch'uan, jealous of his monarch's honour, "I cannot open the gate. From of old it has never been heard that any ruler of Ts'ou has been defeated. And for the great army of Ts'ou to be routed by a tiny state such as Pa, will make Your Majesty a laughing stock everywhere,—unless you achieve a victory before returning home. Now, the

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Barony of Huang (the present Huang-chou in Hupeh) has neglected to send a deputy to your Court. Conquer that barony and things will be adjusted. I cannot let Your Majesty in till then."

So the king swore in a rage that he would either conquer the State of Huang, or never return to his capital again. He had been wounded in the neck by an arrow, but led his re-assembled army to Huang, and urged them on to a life and death struggle. The Victory was gained, but that night in his camp the King of Ts'ou had a vision of the dead Marquis of Hsi appearing before him, saying: "How sinned I against you that I should be slain, my territory invested, and my wife seized and carried off? I come hither at the mandate of the Most High," and so saying the ghost struck the king on his neck. The king awoke with a shout of terror. The wound had re-opened, and the blood flowed incessantly. He was carried to the nearest of his cities, and there, the next night, he died.

We need not follow the fortunes of the Lady of Hsi any further, except to say that the younger of her sons, a lad of spirit and energy, managed secretly to put his weaker elder brother to death, and thus raised himself to the throne. And when the Lady of Hsi at length died, the people of Ts'ou had been so impressed with the beauty of her complexion, and some of her moral qualities, we hope, that they raised in Hanyang a temple to the memory of the "Peach-blossom Lady," as they called her. It was rebuilt many times in Hanyang, but no trace of it lingers today: only the pathetic memory of the Silent Lady of Hsi.

T'iao Hêng, the Chinese Diogenes.

The Disunited States of the Chou dynasty were swallowed up by the western State of Ch'in in the year 225 B.C., and the short-lived power of the Ch'in sovereigns was merged in the great Han dynasty in the year 206 B.C.

Among the families which have reigned in China none have gained so high a place in the popular esteem as the Liu family which governed the Empire, under the name of Han,

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for 450 years. Never was China so strong as then, or so worthy the name of "The Central Realm," with all the neighbouring lands as tributary vassals. But in the end the virility of the Han sovereigns sadly dwindled. The last nine of them came to the throne respectively at the age of 10 years, 100 days, 14 years, 2 years, 2 years, 8 years, 15 years, 12 years, and only the last (who was no sovereign at all) was 17 years old on his nominal accession.

The real power had been in the hands of dowagers and young girls, and a crowd of eunuchs and palace-intriguers,— until it passed into the grasp of several rival generals of dubious virtue. One of these, named Ts'ao Ts'ao, being possessed of the greatest tactfulness and daring ambition, made the young emperor his prisoner and puppet, while he issued decrees in the imperial name. Such was the condition of things in the year 200 A.D. What wonder, then, that such philosophers as there were in China should have become cynics?

Ts'ao Ts'ao held his Court, in the name of the emperor, at Hsuchou (in modern Honan), with the policy of winning all the lesser military chieftains of China as his subordinates. His plan of action was to talk them over by the aid of some eloquent genius, gifted with arts of suasion.

Now it happened that there was ruling at Chinchou (near to the modern Sha-si on the way to Ichang) a relative of the young emperor. named Liu Piao. Ts'ao Ts'ao was anxious to win him, and wished to set his counsellor K'ung Yung to this task. But K'ung Yung said he had a friend whose genius was ten times greater than his own, adding that if an Imperial edict were issued, this man might be persuaded to come and serve his sovereign (he did not say that his friend would consent to serve Ts'ao Ts'ao, it is to be observed). Accordingly, a recommendation was written and handed into the palace. The emperor (that is, the young man who was nominally such) consented and gave the commission to Ts'ao Ts'ao to call T'iao Hêng, the genius in question. And thus T'iao Hêng came to what was really the Court of Ts'ao Ts'ao.

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Now, cynics make poor sycophants, and T'iao Hêng could no more bring himself to be a flatterer of Ts'ao Ts'ao than Diogenes of Alexander. There is a story of Diogenes to the effect that, after he had been captured by pirates and taken to Corinth, he appeared one sunny day in the streets of that gay city, holding a lighted lantern in his hand; and on being asked the reason, replied that he was looking to see if he could find *a man*. In like manner T'iao Hêng, being summoned into the presence of Ts'ao Ts'ao and his lieutenants, to bestow compliments and to give counsel, lifted up his eyes on high, saying: "Heaven and earth are wide; how is it there are no *men* to be found between them?"

Ts'ao Ts'ao restrained his anger sufficiently to reply that he had some tens of mighty men of valour around him, and he mentioned their names and their offices. Whereupon T'iao Hêng smiled sourly, saying that he knew them all, and mentioning their names one after the other described them in the words: "The first might serve to console folks after a bereavement; the second might manage to guard an unmolested grave; the third might serve as a doorkeeper; the fourth, a ballad-singer; the fifth, a drummer and gong-beater; the sixth, a cow-keeper and stable lad; the seventh, a getter-up of dirty lawsuits; the eighth, a letter-carrier; the ninth, a sharpener of knives and swords; the tenth, a guzzler of wine, lees and all; the eleventh, a mortar-carrier for wall-building; the twelfth, a sticker of pigs, and slaughterer of dogs; the thirteenth, oh yes, a generalissimo (save the mark!); the fourteenth, a money-grabber in a civil post; and the rest are mere clothes-frames, rice-sacks, wine-barrels, and meat-bags."

"Then what abilities have you?" asked Ts'ao Ts'ao angrily.

"Oh," said T'iao Hêng, "there is no knowledge celestial or terrestrial that I have not pondered over. I can instruct monarchs how to rule like Yao and Shun. I can manifest the virtues of Confucius and Yen-hui. But I cannot consort and discourse with a set of low vulgar fellows."

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At this, one of the stalwarts drew his sword to behead the boaster. But Ts'ao Ts'ao checked him, saying: "I am in need of a drummer at our feasts."

Accordingly, next day, a feast was spread, and T'iao Hêng ordered to come forth as drummer. This he did, not in the official robes of palace-attendants, but in the shabbiest possible clothes; and he drummed away in such fashion that all present were struck with melancholy. An attendant cried out: "Why do you appear here in such disreputable garb?" whereupon T'iao Hêng stripped himself naked.

"Don't you know the proprieties?" shouted Ts'ao Ts'ao.

"Certainly I do," said T'iao Hêng. "To deceive and shame your rightful sovereign is a breach of all propriety. As to this body of mine, the gift of worthy parents, see how clean it is!"

"Clean! whose is not?" roared Ts'ao Ts'ao.

The reply came: "You cannot distinguish between able men and duffers, there is defilement in your eyes. You have never digested any noble classics, and thus your mouth is defiled. You know nothing of the teaching of history, ancient or recent, thus your person is defiled. You are ever scheming to complete your usurpation of the Empire, your heart is defiled. I have a name for perspicuity throughout the Empire, and you make me your drummer-slave, thus flouting the sages Confucius and Mencius. In your insensate ambition to become universal monarch you treat worthy men thus!"

At this, one of the generals present, fearing that Ts'ao Ts'ao would kill T'iao Hêng, began to plead for him.

"Look here," said Ts'ao Ts'ao, controlling himself, "Liu Piao of Kingchow refuses to join in with me. I am sending you to him, and if you manage to talk him round, I'll make you my honoured ambassador."

T'iao Hêng at first refused to go; but three four-horse chariots were prepared, and attendants appointed to take him there in all dignity. A feast was also prepared outside the east gate by way of a suitable farewell.

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But one of the generals whom he had insulted ordered the rest not to rise from their seats when T'iao Hêng came to the feast. And no one did. Seeing this breach of ordinary manners, T'iao Hêng lifted up his voice and wept, saying: "I am as one living man in the midst of so many coffins."

"If we are dead men," exclaimed one of them, "you are a headless ghost" (meaning that he would soon be decapitated).

"Not so," said T'iao Hêng, "I am a counsellor of the Han dynasty. It is you servitors of Ts'ao Ts'ào who are without a head."

At these words, several swords flashed, but the chief general averted bloodshed by saying: "Put up your swords, gentlemen. They are not to be defiled with the blood of vermin."

"Vermin! with the soul of a *man*, who fears not to defy an arrogant usurper," retorted the intrepid T'iao Hêng, "while you are a swarm of dirt-daubing wasps." Thus the incongruous feast proceeded, flavoured with pungent invective by way of sauce! And anon T'iao Hêng departed on his way.

Arrived at Kingchow T'iao Hêng bestowed ironical praises on Liu Piao, who took offence, and sent him to an independent chieftain at Kianghsia (the modern Wuchang). On being asked why he did not kill T'iao Hêng, Liu Piao said: "He shamed Ts'ao Ts'ao, whose reputation is bad enough as it is; so *he* would not make it worse by killing a notable genius. He sent the man to me to do that for him; but I have some sense, and so passed him on alive."

Arrived at Kiangshia T'iao Hêng was banquetted by the chieftain there who asked him his opinion of Ts'ao Ts'ao's men. He gave characteristic replies. "Well, and what do you think of me, then?" asked his high-and-mighty host.

"Oh, you!" said T'iao Hêng. "You are like an idol in a temple which receives any amount of incense and offerings, and does nothing in return."

"What!" cried the irate host, whose feelings were inflamed with distilled spirit, "you liken *me* to a wood and mud

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image?" and he drew his sword and beheaded his guest on the spot.

When Liu Piao in Kingchow heard of this, he sighed and ordered that T'iao Hêng be buried with honours in the strip of land known as the "Parrot Islet," to the south-east of Hanyang city, and there his tomb remains to this day.

Lu Su, the straightforward statesman.

The times of Ts'ao Ts'ao were introductory to the famous Three Realms epoch of Chinese history, when the land was definitely divided among three ruling families. Before those three realms definitely crystallized out, the two other men who were making for rulership along the Yangtse Valley were Sun Ch'üan, whose sphere of influence was East China, with Hanyang as a Central China outpost; and Liu Pei a scion of the house of Han, whose rulership was going to be exercised in Szechuen, but who now occupied several cities in the Centre of China.

One or two years have now passed since the death of T'iao Hêng, and our present business is with a certain Lu Su who became an ambassador from East China to the Centre. His tomb is today a conspicuous object, outside the north-west corner of the Hanyang city wall.

Sun Ch'üan, young and intrepid, had succeeded his father as generalissimo of East China, and found an able supporter in a young strategist, named Chou Yü, of the age of 26, whom he wished to make his sole counsellor. But Chou Yü was no meagre-minded man, and he nominated Lu Su as a desirable man for his own lieutenant. "Lu Su," he said, "is a native of the country east of Lin-wei (in modern An-hui province.) He is a skilful swordsman and an expert archer, and a man of abundant resource and wise tactics. His father died when he was young, and he has been filial to his mother ever since. His family estate is of an opulent order, and his generosity to the needy is notable. When I was residing near his home, several hundreds of refugees passed through, who, hearing of Lu Su's stores of grain, went to him beseeching his aid. He immediately gave them three thousand

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bushels (the half of all that he had) and sent them on their way rejoicing; such is his benevolence. His services as counsellor are in request elsewhere just now, but his mind is not quite made up. You will do well to secure him without delay." So Chou Yü was sent to Lu Su with suitable gifts and representations.

Lu Su pleaded that a chieftain elsewhere expected his aid. But Chou Yü urged that, in these times of rivalry and uncertainty, the wise man must himself make choice of the master he will serve, and not throw himself away on the first applicant. Sun Ch'üan of East China, now, was a man of courtesy to all who were worthy; a man whose status and qualities promised an honourable career for all attached to his service.

Like attracts like, and the magnanimous Lu Su saw in Chou Yü a man after his own heart. Nor had he in after years any cause for regret in his choice of a colleague. Chou Yü has left his mark on history's page. For when, in the year 208 A.D. Ts'ao Ts'ao massed an army of 800,000 men, and an enormous fleet of boats manned by thousands more, to crush his rivals of the East and Centre, who at that time had formed a defensive alliance,—Chou Yü, with but 30,000 men at his disposal, managed to put the northern army to rout by first setting fire to Ts'ao Ts'ao's fleet on a windy night, not far from Huangchow city; and thus averted the danger both to his prince Sun Ch'üan, and to Liu Pei's followers also. This Battle of the Red Wall, as it was called, was one of the great events of that period; and was celebrated in a prose meditation 800 years afterwards by the famous Sung dynasty poet Su Tung-po.

But Liu Pei in his Central China cities, and later when he gained his far-western domain, had also his heroes and his inimitable strategist. Chief among those heroes was Kuan Yü, who has been chosen by China as the ghostly champion of all honourable warfare. He was sturdy and absolutely faithful to his liege lord, proud and obstinate, maybe, but a knight whose chastity (in those dissolute days) and whose courage have been the admiration of many generations. And

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in Chu-ko Liang he had the most notable strategist in all Chinese history. It was Chu-ko Liang who managed to bring about the defensive alliance with the eastern rival of Liu Pei; and then contrived to get the eastern army to do most of the work for both parties, under the promise to hand over certain cities of Central China to Sun Ch'üan when the deed should have been done; a promise made with many mental reservations. And it was Lu Su who was selected as ambassador from the East to claim the fulfilment of the promise.

The negotiations would need a lecture in itself adequately to describe them. The first line of defence adopted by Chu-ko Liang was that these cities had been the property of Liu Piao, deceased, and that Liu Pei (a yet nearer relative of the reigning Han monarchs) must for the present hold them in trust for the son and heir of the deceased proprietor. Then, on the death of that son and heir from dissipation, a series of other arguments for delay were brought forward, one after another. Such are the bare bones of the situation with which the straightforward Lu Su was confronted.

These prolonged negotiations are decidedly interesting—on the subjective side. As the Western reader of China's most famous historical novel, the *Three Realms*, in which they are described, turns over page after page, he is conscious of a mental process by which his feelings are divided between the two polite antagonists. As a Westerner, his moral sympathies lie with Lu Su, in whom he recognizes a statesman of a distinctly Western (I might almost say, British) type, with the strong points of an honourable Western ambassador, but with the weak points also, when confronted with an embodiment of Far Eastern diplomacy *in excelsis*. Then, as a citizen of the world at large, Asiatic sympathies come into play, and the reader assumes the position of an onlooker at a great chess-tournament. He consents to the moves made by Lu Su as being those which he himself would have made. And yet he cannot but admire the counter-moves by which Chu-ko Liang checks his opponent with consummate adroitness. Lastly, his admiration for the novelist who reconstructed the whole from his fertile brain, is of an unqualified order.

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Rightly have the Chinese called the *Three Realms* work their "foremost work of genius"; rightly have they regarded the Chu-ko Liang depicted therein as their inimitable strategist; and rightly, also, have they built and rebuilt the tomb of the straightforward ambassador Lu Su. The rise of statesmen of Lu Su's type in every land of the Far East would mean the lasting political salvation of the realms in question. Mere artifice, if of a clever order, may gain an immediate advantage, but in the end a diplomacy firm-based on universal Principle secures the greatest permanent gain for the nation, and the world at large.

Chung Tzŭ-ch'i, the sympathetic listener.

From the scenes of strife and intrigue which have hitherto formed the background of the previous narratives, our "meditations among the tombs," it is a relief to turn to a story of subdued and tender pathos, which has its monument to this day in a tomb on the southern side of the Saddle Hill to the west of Hanyang city; and another in a pavilion on the Moon Lake close to the Hanyang Iron Works.

For this story we must go back again to the Chou dynasty, toward the end of which we are introduced to a statesman named Yu Pe-ya, originally a native of the realm of Ts'ou, but holding high office in the northern State of Chin which was situate in the north-east of Honan and the southern half of Shensi. Chin and Ts'ou were then in a condition of mutual harmony, and to cement their harmonious relations Pe-ya was selected as ambassador to visit the king of his native realm. He was well received at the capital of Ts'ou (the modern city of Kingchow, which Liu Piao held in our second story, and whose fate Lu Su and Chu-ko Liang debated in our third). After being feasted royally there, and loaded with gifts, Pe-ya paid a hurried visit to his ancestral graves, and to what relatives and friends yet remained to him there. He elected to return by boat, a few miles down the Yangtse, and then up the Han river, whose course then took a more southward bend than it does now.

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During his first day on the Han, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, a fierce wind sprang up, accompanied by torrents of rain; and Pe-ya's boat took shelter by a wooded hill and anchored for the night. But autumn storms in this region are seldom long-lasting, and soon after sundown the wind dropped, the clouds parted, and the full moon shone forth. Now Pe-ya was a musician, with the seven-stringed harpsichord as his favourite instrument. (The harpsichord is the one sweet instrument in China, rarely heard nowadays, but well worth hearing when a skilful player touches its silken strings.) So he ordered his lad to light the incense-brazier and bring it out on deck, with his harpsichord. The incense was lit, and Pe-ya's robes adjusted, for of old in China music was regarded as an altogether sacred and celestial thing.

In that clear moonlight many an old recollection came to the mind of the traveller, and having adjusted the strings, his fingers drew forth from them a pathetic strain. When, all at once one of the strings snapped. Now it was a saying of those times that any unsympathetic listener to one's extemporizations will cause a string to snap,—a saying to be taken metaphorically. But Pe Ya took it literally for the moment, while he went in to fetch a new string.

"Go and search the bank," he said to his attendants, "and see who is there."

"Your Highness need not trouble," said a voice from the hilly bank. "It is not an unsympathetic listener that has been enjoying your music."

The attendants went on shore, and called out: "A mere wood-cutter! Get you gone!" But the young wood-cutter protested against being driven away.

"Is it likely," said Pe-ya, "that on a wild hillside there should be anyone capable of appreciating music?"

"As possible," said the voice on shore, "as that at the foot of the wild hillside there should be a skilled musician playing noble music."

Struck with this clever reply, Pe-ya said, half in sarcasm: "Then perhaps the gentleman on shore will tell me what sort of a melody I was playing."

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The voice replied: "The poem which you were rendering in musical notes, Sir, was that in which Confucius was bewailing the early death of his favourite disciple Yen Hui:

'Alas, Yen Hui, so soon to die!
My hair with grief is turned to grey.
Thy frugal joys, thy humble home—'

at this point your string snapped, but the fourth line is:

'Shall charm the ages yet to come.'"

Pe-ya was duly startled. Here in this rural spot was evidently a genius in seclusion, and he invited the young man on board.

Tzŭ-ch'i came across the plank, clad in straw cape and rain hat, with a hatchet stuck in his girdle and straw sandals on his feet. He took off his rain hat to display a blue cloth wrapped round his head; then his grass cape, under which was a cotton jacket bound by a white girdle. And thus he presented himself to the astonished gaze of the high statesman. With a mere rustic, as the lad seemed, it was hard to resume conversation. But at length, putting his dignity aside, Pe-ya questioned his guest, and found that when in his own mind he was thinking of hills as he played, Tzŭ-ch'i could see them rise before his eyes; and when he played water, Tzŭ-ch'i could see the torrent rushing headlong down. And as their conversation proceeded, Pe-ya discovered in Tzŭ-ch'i not only a studious scholar but one who could interpret his very heart, from the kinship of sympathetic affinity.

At length Pe-ya threw aside all reserve, told his attendants to prepare a wine-feast, and enquired all about the wood-cutter's life and prospects, adding: "Why should you vegetate and wither in this out-of-the-way place, when you might flourish as a scholar and a statesman?" Tzŭ-ch'i explained that his parents were both stricken in years, with no one but himself to provide for them. Indeed they could not do without him a single day. Thus he cut wood and sold it for them, and only at night had he time to study.

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Pe-ya's heart opened to this young man of twenty-seven, unmarried as well as hard-working because of his parents. A filial son of that description would make a noble brother, which, as Pe-ya realized it, led him to say:

"One's acquaintances may fill the earth, but a soul-comrade, a true heart-interpreter, is hard to find. And if I," he added tenderly, "may be linked with you in the firm bonds of sworn brotherhood, it will be an unspeakable boon." Then, seeing the young man's astonishment, he said almost pleadingly: "And if you imagine I regard such things as riches and poverty as barriers, what manner of man do you take me to be?"

So in spite of the young man's modesty, incense was added to the brazier and they twain went through the solemn ceremony which made them brothers for evermore. After this, they called each other by name, and conversed heart to heart until the moon declined in the west. Then, as Tzŭ-ch'i could not leave his parents to accompany Pe-ya, the latter promised to be on that spot again the evening of the next mid-autumn festival, the fifteenth of the eighth moon. Tzŭ-ch'i also promised to be there to meet him, without fail; and after Pe-ya had given Tzŭ-ch'i two ingots of silver wherewith to aid his parents and continue his studies, the two friends bade each other a lingering farewell.

A year passed, and Pe-ya was on the spot again, in fulfilment of his promise. He went out and stood on the deck. It was a calm and lovely evening. But there was no sign of Tzŭ-ch'i. Could he have broken his word? No, it was surely that the boat was a different one, and not alone in that anchorage. So Pe-ya had his harpsichord brought on deck and began to play. That would surely bring his friend. But still he came not. And Pe-ya passed a restless night. Rising at dawn he put on plain garments, and with his serving lad bearing his instrument behind him, went ashore to find Tzu-ch'i's native village, called Chi-hsien-ts'un, "Gathering-place of the Virtuous." The path divided to the east and the west, but no trace of a hamlet could be seen. An old man advanced, leaning on a staff, and of him Pe-ya made

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enquiries. There were two villages of that name, the old man explained, an upper and a lower one (which villages though called by modern names now, bear the ancient names over their entrances). Which of these did the gentleman mean? And then, at last, it transpired that the old man was none other than Tzŭ-ch'i's aged father. A further enquiry filled the old man's eyes with tears, as he sobbed out: "Last year, at this time, he was some distance away cutting wood, and after a heavy shower he met a statesman named Yu Pe-ya, who became attached to him and gave him two ingots of silver at parting. My son studied hard so as to be worthier of his great friend. Returning home with his heavy faggots, he would read far into the night, until he fell ill, and,—after some—months,—he—died."

At this, Pe-ya's feelings overcame him completely, but at length he recovered and heard that his brother's last wish was to be buried on the side of the hill where they twain had met, so that in death he might keep his promise. And so Pe-ya supported the old man thither.

A crowd of countryfolk collected around, and when Pe-ya commenced to tune his harpsichord to sing a dirge, they went off clapping their hands in merriment. Thus the two were left alone. And this was the dirge that Pe-ya sang:

"I recall the fond hopes of last year,
When my friend on the bank I met here;
I came back to seek him again,
I came back to seek him, in vain!
But a heap of cold earth do I find,
And sore is my sorrow-filled mind;
I came here with joy, with what grief do I go!
The hills and the waters are clouded with woe.
Tzŭ-ch'i! my lost Tzŭ-ch'i!
True as tried gold to me;
Beyond the heavenly shore
Thy voice I hear no more.
I sing thee my last song, my last,
The harpsichord's music is past."

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Then, taking a small knife from his girdle, he cut the silken strings, and lifting the instrument with both hands he put forth all his strength, and dashed it in pieces upon the grave.

Ever after that he ministered to Tzŭ-ch'i's aged parents as though they were his own.

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THE EARLY FRANCISCAN MISSION IN CHINA

BY

A. C. MOULE

In *The East and the West* for April, 1904 (pp. 121–142), there appeared an article by Bishop Collins on "The Early Franciscan Missions in China," of which the principal feature was the version of two letters from John of Monte Corvino and one from Andrew of Perugia, all of the early 14th century. This, like the earlier version by Sir H. Yule in *Cathay and the Way Thither* (new ed., vol. 3), was made from the Latin text printed by Luke Wadding in his *Annales Minorum* (2nd ed., vols. 6 and 7), a text which Wadding says he copied from the ancient MS chronicle which he had received from a friend (accepi ab amico M. S.). In July, 1914, the Royal Asiatic Society printed a better Latin text of the letters from a 14th century MS Chronicle in the National Library at Paris. Though this differs in many places from Wadding's text, the opinion was then expressed that the Paris MS might perhaps be the very book that Wadding or his friend had rather carelessly copied in the 17th century.

Early this year Professor Paul Pelliot kindly told me that Jerome Golubovich, O.S.F., had studied the Paris MS and

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published a collation of it with Wadding's text in 1913. I took the first opportunity of looking at Golubovich's article,[1] and found there more and better things than I had expected. For besides the Paris MS (the only one mentioned by any authority hitherto known to me) he describes two other copies of a similar Chronicle, one in the Chigi and the other in the Corsini library at Rome, and both (apparently)[2] containing the letters. The Chigi MS, Golubovich says, is the work of Alfonso Ceccarelli, a notorious forger of the 16th century, who seems to have drawn his material largely from the Paris MS.

To Golubovich must be given the credit of being the first to put on record the fact that this Chigi MS contains not only the three well-known letters, but also a previously undescribed letter from Peregrine, Andrew's predecessor as Bishop of Zaitun, dated 1318; but it would hardly be fair to students not to add that his reading of the Paris MS is sometimes mistaken, and that his account of the Chigi text (which he had not seen) is extraordinarily misleading. He states with great confidence that this text is identical with Wadding's (tutto questo passo è letteralmente identica nel Waddingo: identica è nel Wadd.) and as confidently infers that Wadding used this MS and not the Paris one. Through the wonderful kindness of Mr. J. A. Twemlow and the courtesy of the Librarian, photographs of all the letters from the Chigi MS have reached me, and the result of comparing them with Wadding is quite curiously different from what Golubovich was led to believe. This is not the place to go into critical details, but it may be said that Wadding differs from the Chigi text a great deal more than he does from the Paris, or in other words that the differences between the Chigi and the Paris text are three times as many as those between Wadding and the Paris text. At the same time Chigi changes the

(1) *Bio-bibliografica della Terra santa*, vol. II, 1913, pp. 116–142.

(2) Golubovich's summary of the contents of the Corsini MS does not mention the letters, though he says it is a copy of the Chigi MS made in 1586. Cf. Pertz, *Archiv*, tom. XII, 1872, p. 394.

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sense of the Paris text very little, but Wadding changes it seriously in several places, as for example when he makes John buy 150 boys instead of 40. The obvious and quite certain conclusion is that the copy which Wadding used was not that which is now in the Chigi Library.

I do not know exactly what the reasons for saying the Chigi MS is a forgery may be; but they appear to depend on certain points not easily verified at a distance, and may include, oddly enough, an emphatic statement by Wadding himself.[1] And while they are generally regarded as satisfactory, we must feel some doubt as to the genuineness of anything, like the letter of Bishop Peregrine, which is quite unsupported by other documents. This letter, in any case, seems to be worth translating. It is as follows:

"A Letter

"To the Fathers reverend in Christ, Brother N., vicar of the Minister General, and the rest of the Brothers of the Vicariate of the East, brother Peregrine appointed a bishop of poverty in another world, respect and greeting together with a longing for news from the world of believers. And if I and my companions had done like the Prodigal Son when we fled to a distant land like the rest, our fond mother Order ought at least to have remembered the sons whom she sent into unheard-of exile. For a mother's heart does not admit strict justice against a son. *and below:* I am a bishop though unworthy. *and below:* And the Father, Bishop Brother Andrew of Perugia and I reached Khanbalig (Peking). So I speak first of the Archbishop Brother John. His outward life is good, and hard, and rough. With regard indeed to that King George, it is certain that he converted him completely and laudably to the true faith, though formerly he mixed with the Nestorians. And the king himself converted on one day several thousands of his people; and if he had lived, truly we should have subjected his whole people and kingdom to Christ. And the conversion too of the Khan

(1) Wadding, *Script. Ord. Min.*, ed. 1806, pp. 134, 135.

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would have done great things. In fact before Brother John, the said Archbishop, came to the empire of the great Khan no Christian, of whatever sort or nation he might be, managed to be able to build, however small an oratory or to set up the sign of Christ, because of the power of the Nestorians who forbade it; and so they were obliged either to follow them in their schismatic and erroneous worship, or to take as it were the way of the unbelievers. But after Brother John came he built, God helping him, several Churches in spite of the Nestorians. And other Christian nations who hate the schismatic Nestorians have followed Brother John, and especially the Armenians, who are now building themselves a remarkable church which they mean to give to him. And so he too is continually with them and has left the Latin Church to other Brothers. Moreover, certain good Christians who are called Alani, receiving pay from the most great king for twenty thousand persons, themselves and their families have joined Brother John. And he supports them and preaches. Nor do we see [him ?]. And we are able to preach to these people and to minister the sacraments of the Church. In the quarters (*circa*) of the infidels indeed we can preach freely, and we have preached several times in the Saracens' mosque for their conversion. To the idolaters indeed in their great cities [we preach] in like fashion through the medium of two interpreters. Many come together and are greatly astonished and ask carefully about these things. And as a beginning has now been made we have good hope when we see the people intent on hearing and running to where we are preaching. We truly believe that if we had their tongues the wonderful works of God would appear. The harvest truly is great, but the labourers are few, and with no sickle. For we are but a few brothers, and very old, and unable to learn languages. May God forgive those who hinder brothers from coming. Truly I believe that the enemy is doing this that we may not invade his empire which he holds unmolested. In Khanbalig there are the Archbishops (*sic*) and the Bishops, Brother Andrew of Perugia and Brother Peter of Florence. And in temporal things they have no lack; but in spiritual

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things I believe that they have never had so much, for the Holy Spirit entered with a rush into those two Bishops and they are occupied to so great an extent in prayer and holy meditation. And the Spirit of God who visits and comforts and encourages them so greatly that they seem to have forgotten all things[1] waiting on the Lord day and night in holy wakefulness. I, however, having been made Bishop of Zaitun (cayfensis), am able to be at leisure for God there with three devout Brothers in peace and quietness. And these servants of God, Brother John Grimaldi, Brother Emmanuel of Monticulo, and Brother Ventura of Sargana who was made a Brother in this country, who [are] well fortified in all goodness, God is honoured through them. Would that we had a hundred such with us! In the city of Zaitun (Cayton) we have a good church with a site, which a certain lady of Armenia left us, and assigned the necessaries of life for us and for others if they come. And outside the city we have a beautiful site where we wish to build cells and an oratory. We lack nothing else so much as the Brothers whom we long for. Brother Gerard the Bishop is dead, and we the other Brothers cannot live long; and others have not come. The Church will be left without baptism and without inhabitants. The news and circumstances of this great empire would not be believed if I wrote them, how great its power is, how large its armies, the breadth of the land, how great the income and expenses, how many charitable grants they make. Our Latin friends have compared it (eam!) to all the other kings of the earth. But I do not exaggerate. The vast city of Zaitun where we are is on the sea, and is almost three months journey distant from the great Khanbalig. Dated in Zaitun, 30 December, 1317."[2]

The question of the genuineness of this letter is of course independent of that of the book as a whole. The letter at

(1) Et spiritus dei qui eos visitat, et consolatur, et fouent in tantum quod omnium uidentur esse obliti.

(2) MS in the Chigi Library, Rome, I. VII. 262., fol. 102n°, 103°. The date is iii kal ian anno domini, 1318. Zaitun is Chiian-chou.

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least might be genuine though the book were a forgery. The date is a perfectly natural one, and the fact that a few lines lower down on the same page the same date (1318) is given by Andrew of Perugia, by a slip of the pen, as that of their first arrival at Khanbalig tends to disarm suspicion. And the contents of the letter are not altogether copied from the letters of John and Andrew, nor are the added facts impossible or improbable. On the other hand the dubious Latin style seems to be very much like that which is ascribed to Ceccarelli, and the fact that the letter has apparently escaped the notice of all the laborious historians of the Franciscan Order until the twentieth century is one which it is hard to explain. Nor, I think, can any trace of Peregrine's three devout companions at Zaitun be found in Wadding's voluminous *Annals*. So for the present the matter must rest. For about 350 years at least the letter has lain unheeded in a book which, whether forged or genuine, has preserved some genuine matter in an interesting form, and it will not perhaps be thought a waste of time or paper to have brought it at last to light.

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A CHINESE LEGEND

THE KAY HONG PASS

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. T. GAUNT

This is from a collection called Hsi Hu Chia Hwa Ku Chin I Chi (西湖佳話古今遺蹟), or Interesting Stories Ancient and Modern of the West Lake, published in six small volumes. As the title indicates, the stories all circle around the famous West Lake which lies outside the west wall of Hangchow, the capital of the province of Chekiang, and is known far and wide for its beauty.

Kay Hong (葛洪) is said to have died in the reign of Ch'eng Ti (A.D. 326–343), an emperor of the Eastern Tsin Dynasty.

What follows is not a translation, but is a free version in which the main outlines of the story have been adhered to, and some details filled in from what the writer read between the lines.

A storied lake lies glistening 'neath the slopes
That girdle ancient Wu-lin's[1] western bound :
And here of old a youth nursed modest hopes,
But lastly fame hath found.

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These circling hills have known his wandering feet,
    These far-famed scenes have held his ardent gaze;
And where th' immortal[2] fixed his pensive seat
    His name persists and stays.

* * *

Within a low-pitched cottage, cold and bare,
    Though sprung his house from noble ancestry,
Was born a bright-eyed child, surpassing fair,
    And cheerily lived the three.

But all too soon, alas! the humble joy
    Of that small circle turned to bitter moan;
Death paid a double visit, and the boy
    Was left behind alone.

Cared, or uncared for, by a kinsman old,
    The child lived on, nor lost his shining face;
And though but tattered rags his form enfold,
    'Tis full of strength and grace.

To fit this grace of form, he was endowed
    With winsomeness of soul, attuned to gauge
With comprehending eye the things that crowd
    On Nature's pictured page.

And early came upon him with full force
    The thirst divine for knowledge, which to slake
His penury allowed him no resource
    But what his toil could make.

So, ofttimes armed with bill-hook forth he fares
    To gather brushwood on the circling hills;
Thence laden to the city he repairs
    To test what Fortune wills.

His firing sold, the few poor coins he took
    And bought him writing tools—too few and poor
Were they, forsooth, to get him any book—
    Then hies him home once more:

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And there laboriously transcribed and conned
A borrowed book, and gleaning here and there
His letters slowly from the neighbours found,
No scholars though they were.

And oft while on the hills his knife he plies
He rests his busy hand and busy brain
(Revolving what he'd writ) and lets his eyes
Rove over hill and plain.

Below, he marked the silver mere which aye
Was touched with beauty, or in shine or cloud:
Like gems the islets on its bosom lay,
With verdure rich endowed.

If to the South High Peak[3] he chanced to fare
When Earth adorns herself to meet Spring Hours,
Mid bright azaleas he wandered there,
Or pale wisteria flowers.

In summer heat, each like a verdant targe,
The lotus leaves upon the Lake float light,
On each a liquid pearl, lustrous and large,
Mid crimson buds and white.

Ruddy the tallow trees and maples show
What time the northern geese these haunts first seek:
And ruddy red the sunset's afterglow
Over the North High Peak.[3]

When winter clouds let fall their downy load,
And yield place to th' irradiating sphere,
The steel-blue wave its mountain rampart showed
In double, pure and clear.

Thus the fair pageant of the Seasons rolled
In ceaseless round before his eager gaze;
And earth and air their rhythmic numbers told,
Changing with changing days.

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And thus through ten long years he laboured on,
With varied lore of ancient tomes his powers
Maturing, and with gentle benison
Drawn from the hills and flowers;

And moulded by the subtle influence
Of lake and sky, when clouds of glory form,
Or pierced by glittering stars, or 'neath the dense
Impenetrable storm:

Till now a finished scholar is revealed,
A' cultured princely man,[4] and modest too,
Who deemed himself unfit to take the field
And carry off his due.

And then it chanced upon a day in spring
The Prefect of Nan-hai respite did take
From cares official, and a few friends bring
To view the gleaming Lake.

Up the Dark Hill[3] they clomb, and on the slope
Drank wine, and old-time courtesies exchanged:
Then broken into twos and threes the group
Over the hill-tops ranged.

Followed by one companion, from the rest
The Prefect roamed dispart, and came to where
A few lone pines thrust forth a shaggy crest
Fretting the sunlit air.

Beneath their sombre shade a white rock gleamed,
On which he saw the Scholar crouching low,
Who lost in steadfast contemplation seemed,
So large his eye and slow.

"To judge," quoth he, "from air of cultured ease
Yonder's a scion of an honoured line."
The two drew near, and stood beneath the trees:
The Scholar gave no sign.

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The Prefect spoke: then to perception brought
Of others' presence, hastily he stood,
Before his elder bowed, and pardon sought
For this his absent mood.

"Truly I was neglectful," spoke the youth,
"Absorbed in marking how the shimmering green
That clothes these hills, appears to float in sooth
The earth and air between."

Charmed was the Prefect with his words, not less
Than with his aspect, and to all he said
Disclaiming scholar's privilege or place,
He gravely shook his head;

And craved his name and dwelling place to learn:
Whilst courteous converse passed betwixt the pair
His shrewd old eyes could genuine worth discern
Beneath a modest air.

And thus they parted, soon to meet again;
For he full many a day had sought to find
A youth of parts like this, of fertile brain
And open, generous mind,

To wed his child, the dark-haired Hidden Light:
And soon he sent his messengers to treat
Of this alliance, nor the Scholar might
Decline the honour meet.

And now 'twere long to tell the story how,
Taught by this Prefect sage, he stored his mind
With arts beneficent, from which might flow
Relief to human kind.

He learnt the healing virtues stored in herbs,
To make a salve, or potion to infuse,
Wherewith the leech depressing ailments curbs,
And blithesome health renews.

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He travelled far: sagaciously he ruled
Wide districts over which they gave him charge;
His justice tempering, by mercy schooled,
With sympathy full large.

A name had he as healer, ruler, friend;
And verging now to lowest ebb life's tide,
His residue he sought retired to spend,
All office laid aside.

He craves a resting place congenial,
Where contour of the hills, and water's flow
Are blent in influences reciprocal,
And gentle breezes blow,

Where he may stablish his last earthly seat,
And still his kindly benefactions urge;
Still on his lofty themes may meditate,
Unto the river's verge.

And so he searched in cities old and fair,
Urging his quest through many a province wide,
But found not that contentment anywhere
For which his spirit sighed,

Until his foot once more his native soil
Pressed near to ancient Wu-lin's western bound;
And where his earliest days encountered toil
Repose his latest found.

Above the blue eye of the tranquil mere,
On this low hill, he made his latest home,
And spent his days in contemplation here
Until his hour should come—

In contemplation only broken through
To rescue the distressed, or aid poor men;
And then such marvels was he wont to do
As passed all human ken.

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One day when now his four-score years he 'd passed
By other four, hour after hour he sate,
In semblance held by contemplation fast
Until the day grew late :

But when they sought to break his reverie
Behold! they only found beneath their hands
The empty casket of a soul set free
From all its earthly bands.

Then the last marvel of this Wondrous One—
They raised his frame, and found it light as air ;
Sure proof that an Immortal just had run
His course among them there.

And now the Kay Hong[5] pass that looks upon
The gleaming water bears th' Immortal's name,
And while the ringing centuries roll on
Echoes his lasting fame.

NOTES :

(1) Wu-lin is an ancient name for Hangchow.

(2) The Chinese have an idea that some men by ability and training can become members of a race of genji or immortals, possessed of wonderful powers.

(3) South High Peak, North High Peak, Dark Hill, are the names of hills in the semicircle about the Lake on the south and west.

(4) There is much in the Chinese Classics about the qualities and training of the superior or princely man.

(5) 萬嶺. The Chinese title of the story is 萬嶺仙蹤.

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SOME MORE OF HWAI-NAN-TSZ'S IDEAS

BY

PROFESSOR E. H. PARKER

Mr. E. T. C. Werner's learned friend Hu Shih, whose views on Mourning Rites Reform are detailed in the June number of the *New China Review*, finds himself supported in places by Hwai-nan-tsz 2,000 years ago. In his 13th chapter that royal philosopher remarks that "Sacrifices are only ideal, and no one believes that the spirits actually eat the offerings." Again in his 14th chapter he remarks that "the Emperor's soul is superior to his body; his bones are buried, but we sacrifice to his *manes* in the Hall of the Immortals" (祀其鬼神於明堂之上). He has a great deal more in the way of criticism to say from a practical and political point of view about the earlier philosophers than he has about what may be called their religious philosophy. He says, for instance, that formalities and clothes form no part of nature, and even the savage-born children become what you teach them to be; and by way of illustration he contrasts two rival "classical" ways of regarding parents, whether as friends or as majesties, in attending to their natural wants; in any case peace time only, with its plenty, is consonant with the luxury of ceremony; during the anxious times of war we must unceremoniously shift as best we can; for instance, the founder of

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the late imperial dynasty (1122–255 B.C.) was born to a father fifteen years old, that is, long before the proper ceremonial time of marriage: our bodies may be compared to the compasses of events,[1] which must be true if the circle of life they purport to describe is to be correct; but laws are of little avail without good manners, and it will not do as a general thing to save time and trouble at the cost of what is right. That, however, was the bone of contention that finally separated the philosopher Meccius (Mêh-tsz) from the ideals of Confucius, whose meticulosity led in Meccius' opinion to the waste of time and the impoverishment of the masses. It is quite plain from his scattered remarks that in our philosopher Hwai-nan-tsz's time (2,040 years ago) Confucius and Meccius were still on terms of equality in the world of letters or *literae humaniores;* for instance, he observes that, while some of the greatest of our generals and of our diplomats[2] may have been inferior in general insight to Confucius and Meccius, still, they alone could put up a bold front in imposing their views upon crowned heads and their armies. On the other hand it must not be forgotten that the greatest country must suffer if there is no justice and perish altogether if there is no sense of right, just as the bravest captain must fail if not honestly inspired.[3] Good should be done from the secrecy of the heart rather than from inelastic principle, and four historical instances are given of rulers who ultimately lost their thrones through over stickling for "principles"; there was no such fuss made when Shun and Yü[4] died, and as a matter of fact life would be very tolerable even now without any forms or ceremonies at all. As matters stand we find Meccius adversely criticizing Confucius, Yang-tsz [the

(1) *Cf.* Milton, "He took the golden compasses . . . to circumscribe this universe."

(2) Wu K'i, B.C. 400, a Chinese Hannibal and Cæsar combined. Chang I, a century later, a sort of Chinese Machiavelli and Talleyrand combined.

(3) *Cf.* Thrice blessed is he that hath his quarrel just.

(4) The last two Emperors of the elective or pre-dynastic periods, who reigned 2255–2197 B.C.

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Epicurean] criticizing Meccius, and Meccius criticizing Yang-tsz. Who is right?

For the present we shall leave the subject of Hwai-nan-tsz's comparatively recent models to examine how far he and they owed his and their inspirations to the earliest practical philosopher of all, namely Kwan-tsz, whose concrete views upon the fluid or ultra-ancient *tao* undoubtedly "set the pace" for all future contests with a view to solidification. His 7th and 8th chapters may be roughly compared with what Kwan-tsz had to say five or six centuries earlier upon the subject of chaos, the seasons, "unfledged" nature, and so on; those of us Christians who in genuine good faith think they do really derive scientific information from the first two chapters of Genesis may succeed in doing the same vicariously on behalf of the Chinese from what Kwan-tsz says and Hwai-nan-tsz repeats: we prefer to "pass on to the order of the day." But in chapter 9 it seems plain that all the talk about the "impersonality" of rule, punishing without anger, rewarding without bias, the sufferer not harbouring resentment at having to bear the responsibility for his prince's faults, the favoured one not evincing abject gratitude for what he has fairly earned, the possibility of ruling effectively without ever leaving the house or seeing a single object, the existence of a ruler's *tao* as contrasted with the *tao* of the ruled,—all this proves on the one hand how Hwai-nan-tsz had Kwan-tsz[1] in mind, and on the other hand how Kwan-tsz must have inspired Lao-tsz also; in fact Kwan-tsz and Yen-tsz (his ministerial successor a century later) are twice mentioned by name together in this chapter, shewing that the historian Sz-ma Ts'ien's well-known combination "Kwan-Yen" as a qualifier of high statesmanship was probably derived from a diligent perusal of Hwai-nan-tsz. The 9th chapter contains many other traces of Kwan-tsz's wide influence; for instance (taken in order of sequence for convenience of reference), the insistence

(1) See the article on Kwan-tsz in the June issue of this year (p. 248).

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on a benevolent rule,[2] the cruel contrast between the lavishness of the rich and the grinding poverty of the masses; the differing ways of a stupid ruler and a clever ruler; the necessity of there being no distinction of persons in administering the law, the *art* of ruling (執術而御之); failing which last the prince may be compared to the big fish that got stranded in the shallows while trying "on his own" to swallow the boat, and was thus himself a victim to swarms of ants: no! a ruler must *use* his subjects to achieve common ends; on the other hand a faithful servant may occasionally err on the side of sycophancy, as when the cook of Kwan-tsz's duke served up his own eldest son in order to gratify his master's yearning for a dinner of young veal or lamb; this of course was carrying the divinity that doth hedge a king principle too far. Then we have Kwan-tsz's injunction to put by three years' store of grain out of every nine; his comparison with the heart and the nine orifices; the insistence that true sport always spares the suckling and the fledgeling, even in the case of very young sucking-pigs; the People are the State's harvest, and the State is the Prince's harvest (本), just as food is the people's harvest; in other words season, production, labour, *i.e.*, heaven, earth and man; all in turn and combination.

In the 10th chapter Kwan-tsz and Peh-li-hi (Mayers' *Manual*, 547) are mentioned together; the latter was originally, like Kwan-tsz, an inter-state trafficker in cattle—apparently a State occupation as in Sumer and Akkad, except that in China it was an overland trade and not one carried on by canal and river. Just as Kwan-tsz's wisdom led his master of Ts'i (modern Shantung) to be First Grand Protector (霸 or 伯) of the Emperor, *i.e.*, of the Emperor's domain, China, so did Peh-li-hi's wisdom lead to his master of Ts'in (modern Shen Si) becoming Second Grand Protector on the First's

(1) The Italians still freely use in novels and in colloquial speech the term *vuol bene* or "wish well" in the senses of "charitable," "lovers' love," and "kind at heart"; vuol-bene is simply bene-volent or "well-wishing"; there is nothing namby-pamby about it.

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death in 643 B.C.; and then, after a struggle of 400 years for predominance with Tsin (modern Shan Si) and with Ts'u (China south of the Yang-tsz) at last to the total abolition of the old feudalism by Ts'in. There were really no other effective Great Powers beyond these four.

In Chapter 11 Hwai-nan-tsz quotes Kwan-tsz's identical words about the necessity of every man and every woman doing work for the State, labour being at the same time productive and honest, the gentry being upright, the officials reasonable and the laws unirritating; there would be no need for a Confucius or [his expositor] a Tsêng-tsz in these circumstances, whilst on the other hand ten Kwan Chungs [*i.e.*, Kwan-tsz] would be of no avail to cure general corruption. At the same time in a statesman's practical phiiosophy the ostentatious self-denying virtue of some of our ancient models would be downright silly when taken from a Kwan-tsz and Yen-tsz point of view, whilst the same ancient models would consider those two philosophers to be time-servers and opportunists.[1] Various incidents of Kwan-tsz's career and several of his sayings lead Hwai-nan-tsz up in the 12th and 13th chapters to the general summary "moral courage is the thing, and, in a way, *toutes les vices sont respectables.*" In the 15th chapter Kwan-tsz's *divide et impera* and general disciplinary notions are or seem to be carefully developed, but he is never once quoted; we are simply left to infer: in one place (16th chapter) there is an allusion to two rival beauties of the 5th century B.C. which also appears in the 11th chapter of Kwan-tsz; this is one of the glaring instances which prove that parts of Kwan-tsz's "book" at least were not only reconstructed centuries after his death (7th century), but are modern gloss pure and simple. Hwai-nan-tsz's definitions of spiritual Emperor (*Ti*), the king (*wang*), and the Protector (*pa*) in the 20th chapter savour of Kwan-tsz, as also his dictum "Where *tao* reigns successfully there need be few

(1) Kwan-tsz agreed for glory to serve a forgiving prince whom he had wounded in battle (以小辱成大榮), whilst Yen-tsz, a sarcastic cripple, was a "good fellow" (善與人交) according to Confucius, but "Admiral Fisher-like" in dress and deportment according to Yang-tsz.

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laws" and *vice versa*: perfect statesmen and princes are rare enough even taken *apart*, but they are not likely to be found *together* more than once in a thousand years; for instance Wên Wang, the founder of the dynasty (in the 13th century B.C.) was lucky in having the assistance of his relatives and friends T'ai-kung and Shao-kung, whilst Duke Hwan (the first Protector) was equally lucky in having the coöperation of Kwan-tsz and Sih-p'êng.[1] Kwan-tsz was sad at the abasement of the imperial house and the prospect of Tartars and other barbarians overpowering China; it was for this reason that he suffered the humiliation of being caged as a prisoner and handed over to the uncertain mercies of the reigning prince he had wounded in battle,—solely in order that he might live to advise that prince as a friend and save China. It is remarkable that Kwan-tsz's *book* is spoken of by Hwai-nan-tsz as the *result* of China's anxieties (故管子之書生焉), from which we must accept the view that some sort of book (*i.e.*, probably bamboo slats strung together and inscribed in the clumsy ancient script) had been known some centuries before the Ts'in dynasty, say in B.C. 200, simplified the style of writing, and still longer before the Han dynasty, say in B.C. 100, took to rapid scribbling with brush and ink upon silk.

On the whole Hwai-nan-tsz does not seem to have been much impressed by Confucius and Mencius, "who were no self-denying hermits to go groping about in a jungle"; one may know all about nature (萬物), but the proper study of mankind is man (不知人道不可謂智). One of Confucius' sayings quoted might have come from Goethe (其人正不令而行其人不正雖令不從), *Ein guter Mensch, in seinem dunkeln Drange, ist sich des rechten Weges wohl bewusst.* Opportunity is everything: if Confucius (孔丘) and Meccius (墨翟) had been in the position of Emperors (天子), they would have influenced the minds of millions of scholars instead of a few disciples.

鮑叔, for some reason not much mentioned in later history, and not at all in Mayers' *Manual;* as a matter of fact, the dying Kwan-tsz recommended him in preference to his own faithul patron Pao-shuh (鮑叔).

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Hwai-nan-tsz points out that for some years after the destruction of the feudal system, the First Emperor's attempt to annihilate history and philosophy, and the establishment of the Han dynasty, "rich clothes, smart sashes, and arguments upon the rival merits of Confucius and Meccius were looked upon as degenerate (不貴), until peace was firmly restored." Although Hwai-nan-tsz's grandfather, the founder of the Han dynasty, out of policy visited Confucius' tomb in 195 B.C., he had in his heart the greatest contempt for "writing fellows," and was in the habit of showing his contempt for the modern specimens of them by using their formal hats for "necessary" purposes; of course Hwai-nan-tsz does not mention this unpleasant little circumstance—in fact he is remarkably chary of making any personal remarks about his own relatives, in fact (聖主在上位), our gracious Emperor upon the Throne appears to be the solitary instance where he mentions them at all. He tells a curious story about Confucius' horse straying into a cornfield and being held for compensation; the abject apology offered by one of the disciples sent to rescue the horse only infuriated the rustic more; Confucius said:—"There's no use talking like that. I, not he, am to blame:" so he sent his groom with the following message:—"Your fields, Sir, seem to extend from far east to far west, in such wise that my poor horse lost his bearings and began to devour your corn." The rustic was delighted at this polite and dignified speech and at once let the horse go. Hwai-nan-tsz indicates, however, a few errors in taste both in Confucius' revised History and in his revised Rites and Ceremonies. It was not until A.D. 1 (120 years after Hwai-nan-tsz's death) that Confucius was officially recognized as a national saint.

As to Confucius' great rival, the courageous soldier philanthropist Meccius, Hwai-nan-tsz gives some interesting details of his life not usually found in general literature; for instance (學儒者之業愛孔子之術) he studied polite literature and liked Confucius' way of looking at it,—which illustrates how *ju* did not originally mean "Confucianism," but *literae humaniores*. This soldier-diplomat's experiences

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and travels convinced him that rites and funeral prodigality impoverished the poor and did positive harm (害事); hence he abandoned the general tone of the effete ruling dynasty and harked him back to the principles of the first (hereditary) dynasty (背周道用夏政); this statement is particularly interesting in view of Mr. Arthur Morley's discussion in the June *New China Review* upon the chronology of the Bamboo Annals. Mr. Liang K'i-ch'ao, who kindly presented the writer with four volumes of his miscellaneous studies, goes very deeply into the question of Meccius' life and philosophy.

Several stories from the philosopher Han Fei-tsz's works are given, but he does not appear to be much criticized or mentioned by name, if at all. The same remark may apply to the philosopher Sün-tsz. A good many eccentric and pungent anecdotes are taken from the Taoist philosopher Chwang-tsz, who is frequently mentioned by name; that he was considered a Taoist of the then still modern or Lao-tsz brand is evident from the expression "views of Lao-tsz and Chwang-tsz" (老莊之術): the last character 2,000 years ago was often used in the sense of "school," "art" or "religion"; it is the Japanese attempt at *djut*, as in the well-known *jujitsu* or *dju-djutsu*, "the gentle art (of self-defence)." There was a certain Chinese Dr. Johnson, whose wit and repartee were more famous even than his notorious five cartloads of books (say 20 or 30 of our paper volumes, not more); his name was Hwei Shi or Hwei-tsz, 惠施 or 子, and he was a great friend of Chwang-tsz, who on Hwei-tsz's death "would speak no more." A good many things in Hwei-nan-tsz are manifestly taken from Lieh-tsz, but only in the last chapter or summary do the actual words "Lieh-tsz says" (列子曰) seem to occur. The ancient classics are only sparingly quoted in our author; chiefly the Odes; then the Changes; next the Springs and Autumns; the Rites scarcely at all (as a book). The interesting statement is made that the first character in the sentence 閔其無人 (from the Changes) is generally misunderstood (*i.e.*, 2,000 years ago), and really means "there is no one there *to manage* things."

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Some of Hwai-nan-tsz's ethical sayings (possibly not all original) are interesting: for instance, "Truth is not a matter of rank" (*cf.* Burns' "The rank is but the guinea-stamp, The man's the gowd for a' that"). Again, "Don't bore a hole in your throat so long as you breathe at all." "Bother small virtues, seek great ends;" this would have pleased Admiral Fisher. "Prevention best, anyhow nip evil in the bud." "Small beginnings often have big endings." "Modern shams cause us to cover up ugliness as beauty, and to try getting out of wrong by pretending it is right." "Those who can secure men's approval can also secure their own; conquer yourself first; be true to yourself." "Order is based on peace, peace on plenty, plenty in acquiring at the proper time." "Not forcing matters is based on 'letting things be' for a while, which again is based upon economy of use, which once more is based upon calmness and moderation: it is not out of love for the timber and metal that one should refrain from showy expense: indulgence should not be too free." "There are many cases recorded in history where bluff is justifiable." "Do good secretly." "Benevolence," he goes on to say, "must not be confused with justice: Shun executed his younger brother Siang (象) and Chou Kung executed two of his elder brothers; yet both were kind-hearted rulers; on the other hand there are instances in history where rulers have ruined themselves by their over-adherence to reiterated 'principles'" (仁義儒墨). "Punishments disappear if you are humane (愛人), and anarchy disappears if you show tact." "The greatest state must perish if there is no justice, and the bravest man must suffer if not kind; as for instance in the case of Chī-peh (智伯) (453 B.C.), whose tail was too big for his loins, who coveted territorial acquisitions without any kind or just considerations so that the great state of Tsin, after centuries of Protectorship and predominance, was ultimately divided into three separate states." Spying upon each other may be justifiable when it is a case of catching thieves, but query the morality of it in friendship (和睦之心)." Two well-known historical incidents are here related of the first Protector, Ch'ung-êrh (重耳), better

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known as Duke Wên (文公) of Tsin, who to everyone's surprise, when he ultimately came to the throne of Tsin, gave a higher place in his counsels to a man who had consistently but unsuccessfully held out for right than to a more politically successful man who was merely clever. On the other hand Confucius' praise of a ruler who carried his gallantry so far as to refrain from attacking an enemy whilst crossing a troublesome river, and thus lost a great battle, is condemned as carrying things to a foolish extreme; and even Wu Wang, founder of the imperial dynasty 1122 B.C., cannot be fairly characterized as a loyal subject (忠臣), though he may well have been a considerate ruler (惠君). In a word whilst making wise statesmanship (智術) your ideal aim (法), do not let your action (行) degenerate into taking a mean advantage (儉利). These discussions of outstanding historical incidents by Hwai-nan-tsz might be multiplied indefinitely, but for the foreign student thoroughly to appreciate them a fairly sound knowledge of history (since 841 B.C. when it really begins) is desirable. The lessons range from vague t aditions to suppressed truths like our own King Alfred and the cakes and King George the Fourth's Catholic marriage, and it must be remembered that these definite practical lessons have done as much to form the Chinese political and ethical character as the too often inane vacuities of rival philosophers.

Turning now to the more corporeal subject of natural history, we find many droll quips, chiefly to be found (in the order here given) in the final chapters. "An eagle's splendid eyes don't sleep so well as a rat's, nor can a millipede progress so rapidly as a snake." "A tortoise is said to live 3,000 years, and that is probably why he is used in oracles." "Playfulness and anger are feelings as common to all animals as to ourselves." "Animals may lack speech, but wild beasts, etc., know when to conceal or show their claws, etc." Charles Lamb's story of the Chinaman's roast porker is paralleled by Hwai-nan-tsz's anecdotes about destroying a house to catch a wild-cat or digging up a room cellar to find a rat. It is interesting to see the *têh* (德), which we usually translate "virtue," also used in the sense of a drug's virtue,

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or an animal's "natural qualities"; it is even more interesting to notice that the little-known philosopher Shi Kien (史 鞬) (commonly known as Wên-tsz (文 子), from whom our author here loosely borrows, really uses the word *tĕh* (得) in the sense of the natural "qualities"; and the still more remarkable thing is that in modern colloquial the mutual infiltration of these two rival *tĕh* can be traced, as, for instance, in 計 之 得 or 策 之 得. The peculiarity known to us as hare-lip is said to be originally caused and thus propagated by an enceinte woman's having been suddenly startled by a hare jumping from its form. "A puppy dog may stand on its hind legs, but he cannot walk" reminds us of Dr. Johnson's dog, "the wonder, Sir, is not that he can do it well, but that he can do it at all." "Exceptions in nature do not alter nature, we may have frost in summer and lightning in the depth of winter." There is an interesting discussion upon lice and fleas, chinche-bugs, etc., and the various forms of metempsychosis; about cures for snake-poison and so on. The magpie fears the wind and moves the nest to a lower branch: this observation has already appeared under the head of *tao*, and as a lesson is somewhat like the story of the valetudinarian who by his abstemious habits and love of fresh air successfully maintained a youth's complexion till past the age of seventy, but unfortunately he at last stumbled across a hungry tiger in the woods and was devoured: this anecdote is taken from Chwang-tsz, who perhaps also tells Hwai-nan-tsz's tale of his name-sake Duke Chwang (8th century B.C.) who was so impressed by the bravery of a praying-mantis in resenting the approach of his threatening chariot-wheel, that he respectfully turned his mount aside with the remark: "If this creature had been a man, he would have made for me a gallant general in the field." Another saying: "If you are unsuccessful with your rod, it is not because there are no fish in the river, it is probably because you do not *please* the fish by employing the suitable bait." Animals and men, he repeats, have exactly the same passions, and the only reason why the former are subordinate to the latter is that the former have not discovered the art of speech. Imagination or "suggestion" may

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have strange effects upon the human machine. For instance a man of Ts'u (*i.e.*, South China) once served up what they supposed was the usual dog's-flesh soup to his guests (dogs were generally fancied and eaten in those days), but when they had partaken with relish he informed them that it was monkey, on which the guests all began to vomit; in the same way a song purporting to have been a favourite of a celebrated actor became exceedingly popular with young bloods until the discovery was made that the popular hero never sang it at all, on which everyone discarded it as worthless. "Trees show signs of coming wind and both birds and fish harbinger the weather: cows and horses breed lice and fleas but lice and fleas do not breed horses and cows, for metamorphic life must have a living basis and cannot be created from the outside,"—a hint for Dr. Bastian and Sir E. Ray Lankaster, who may perhaps be able to explain what is meant by the ant-dragon (蛟) crouching in the deep whilst its eggs 割於陵, which seems to mean "split mountains": even distinguished naturalists may get an occasional wrinkle from the empiricism of 2,000–3,000 years ago. "Each creature does his natural work in his own way; follow nature; meet all desires; a cock crows for us, beasts of burden carry for us; eggs need hatching,[1] and silk finds human aid indispensable; so, then, do men need education. One kind of cocoon is only *allowed* to be bred once in a year, otherwise it would spoil the mulberry. Darnel is weeded out though it ripens before rice"; that is, no small gains should count against great interests.

(1) Anyone who has been familiar with Canton life has seen the "hatching houses" which produce millions of chickens, and the duck-breeding boats whence thousands of ducks walk the plank at fixed hours to feed on tons of maggots (I won't say how or from what the maggots are produced).

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

(*Concluded*)

BOOK VII—PLAUSIBLE PRETENTIONS

(扯謊場) THE LIARS' MART (天話街), *T'ien hua chieh*

The above name is applied to the Yamen or temple courtyards or any place where there is concourse of people, and where the fortuneteller, geomancer, physiognomist, sorcerer and witch doctors have their stands. To try and follow these men into all the intricacies of their dark and crooked ways is impossible. It will be our plan to find out what they pretend to accomplish, under what pretences they obtain a living and how the people are fleeced by them. They are divided into classes; the first to mention is the business of the Startler, *Ching shêng i* (驚生意), under which the following take their places :—

The *ts'ê tzŭ* (測字) tells fortunes by dissecting characters and putting them together again.

Suan ming (算命), the fortuneteller. This class differs from the former in that it may pretend to define a whole life,

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while those who dissect characters generally confine themselves to one particular matter. The fortunetellers are divided into two schools, one called the *chang chang tzŭ* (張張子), who tells a person's fortune and gives it to his client in writing; the other is known as the *t'ieh pan suan* (鐵板算), who are mostly blind, who after hearing the client tell the fortune *viva voce*.

P'u kua (卜卦) is to forecast future events by means of the eight diagrams, to divine.

K'an hsiang (看相). The physiognomist makes the book *Liu chuang shên hsiang* (柳莊神相) by Shui Ching of the Han dynasty, or the *ma i* (麻衣) *hsiang* by Ch'ên Tuan of the Sung dynasty the basis of his art.

The following are some of the things they pretend to be able to do:—

They guarantee that their clients will get by raffle the funds of the joint stock company. Several people join in a company when they want to get a larger sum together than they could otherwise do at one time, but by paying in monthly instalments they can manage it. The fund is raffled for each month at the home of one of their number. Some families who want the money quickly appeal to this class for assistance to get the lucky number.

They undertake the protection of a family from demons and snakes. They also fix the site of a dwelling house, the choice of a lucky day to begin building, and the lucky day for hoisting the top beam of the house.

They fix a lucky day for funerals, marriages and almost everything, by an appeal to the stars. Each day has a governing star and they decide whether the day star agrees with the birth star of the individual. This is one of the most common of the methods of fixing a lucky day, and it is done by what is known as the *fa chia*, one of the schools of geomancy.

They fix a lucky day by what is known as an appeal to the three things which harmonize; that is, heaven, earth, and man. This method is known as the *hsing chia* (形家), or

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k'an yii (堪 輿) *chia*, and is another of the schools of geomancy.

Wu ho (合) and *liu ho*. They tell fortunes by an appeal to the five elements, gold, wood, water, fire and earth, or by an appeal to the four points of the compass with the zenith and nadir. These methods are used by fortunetellers and geomancers.

They contract for the bringing of a lunatic to his right mind.

They arrange for the removal of a ghost from a house. If houses have uncanny sounds or have the reputation of being haunted or are troubled with snakes, insects or other vermin, the geomancer fixes a lucky day and invites a sorcerer to assist him drive out the pests or ghosts.

Divining by copper cash is called *Wên Wang kua*. On the side of the cash are Chinese characters, that side is known as *ma tzŭ* (麻 子). The side with Manchu characters is known as the *mo êrh* (末 兒). Three cash are used and the count kept as to how many *ma tzŭ* or *mo êrh* show in six throws of the coins.

Mei hua shu (梅花數), to divine by whatever the divining person may carry in the hand or on the person is known as *sui chi ying pien* (隨 機 應 變), to answer as occasion demands.

They also divine by the use of the six *jên* (壬) or combinations in the sexagenary cycle; by this method it is said that they can find out the name, dwelling place and likeness of a thief and where he has hidden the stolen goods, and other necessary details.

There is a method of divining invented by Shao K'ang-chieh of the Han dynasty. It was largely prophetic and dealt with the future of the country. Though this method is still used, few if any are able to understand it fully.

Ch'i mên tun chia (奇 門 遁 甲), to divine by an appeal to the stars. This method is generally used in connection with prophetic prognostications.

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Divining by the use of dominos is a method used to fix the dates for marriages, to find lost articles or a lost relative, or when wealth may be obtained.

The Itinerant Vendor

Pedlars sell spirit charms from such idols as the Ling kwan and the T'ien shih ; both are to prevent or to heal diseases.

They sell the spirit cat which is the figure of a cat painted on paper with the charm 勅令, *chih ling*, written on it. Also the pictures of Chung K'uei 鍾馗, which ward off demons. He was a scholar of the T'ang dynasty. Scholars take his pictures to the examination boxes to keep away demons during the examinations.

They also sell pictures of the hills and valleys, of flowers and bamboos (generally as scrolls), of various birds and animals, also a well-known set of four Chinese pictures of fisherman, woodman, farmer and student.

Imitations of ancient styles of writing are also hawked about.

Mai hsin wên is the news vendor. Sometimes the news is purely of an idolatrous and superstitious nature, at others it is political and agitating.

Chu-ko Liang is believed to have written a number of prophetical sayings, which he had engraved on stone slabs and buried ; every now and then one of these is reported to have been dug up and the inscription printed in cheap book form and sold as reliable news. There is an unlimited supply of words and examples from the lives of eminent men printed and sold, as well as stories of the efficacious and healing power of the idols, or how these idols meted out retributions to the wicked, or prescribed a medicine to stop a plague.

Another work sold is the prophetical utterances of the celestials as contained in the *Kuen Yin ching* or the *T'ai Yang ching*.

Others sell *ch'uan su ko* (勸俗歌), ballads which exhort the people against gambling, wine and fornication, or illustrated booklets which describe the evils of opium.

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ITINERANT BUDDHIST AND TAOIST PRIESTS, *Hsing chueh sêng* (行脚僧), and *Yu fang tao* (游方道)

It is commonly said that this class of persons will surely find some way of taking revenge if offended. It is also said that all the physiognomists belong to the palliative business and the palliatives come under the priests' rule. Their method of going round the country preying on the feelings and superstitions of the people is called by themselves "repairing the viscera temple" (修五臟廟). While doing this the priest goes from door to door and distributes his cards and a little later he comes back to collect the money from each house.

Mendicant priests go round the streets with a note-book and take the names of those who give subscriptions. Or they may sell pills at a high price, the profits going to the priesthood. A band of mendicant priests, seven or eight in number, will go through the streets, one carrying the idol, another the burning incense, singing, while another attends to the music, leaving the remainder to look after the collecting of money; some people give large sums to this class as a good speculation.

One class of priest often carries a kneeling-mat and a whip for driving away demons and wears a high crowned hat made of human hair and a yellow robe, which, when spread out, does for a sleeping coverlet. The sandals on his feet denote that he is a pilgrim, the staff in his hand is to beat the unruly; at one end of it is fixed a little spade with which he buries any unclean thing.

THE NINE STARTLERS (九驚), *chiu ching*

The first is *Mang Tzŭ* (蟒子) *ching*, the blind man who plays the guitar and tells fortunes. Next, *Liu* (流) *liu ching*, the rambling fortuneteller who bears a bamboo clapper and goes through the streets seeking for work. *Tsui* (嘴) *tzŭ ching*, uses a bird of some kind to pick out a character from a box with which character he divines for his clients. *To* (朵) *to ching* divines from a character picked out by the client

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himself. The *Tai* (帶) *tsŭ ching* is a fortune teller who carries the characters and explanation already written on his person. The *P'ing* (平) *ching* is a fortuneteller who sets up his stand and speaks about his trade and attracts customers. The *Lo* (擸) *ching* sings, and the *Hai* (海) *tsŭ ching* plays the harp as they practise their arts. The *Hua* (花) *hua ching* is a female fortuneteller.

PHYSIOGNOMISTS (相師), *hsiang shih*

Ma i (麻衣) *hsiang fa*, *Liu chuang* (柳莊) *hsiang fa* and *Ta ch'ing* (大清) *hsiang fa* are well-known books on this science.

Internal physiognomy is called *nei hsiang*, which includes a study of the fæces, voice, etc., and the external physiognomy, *w'ai hsiang*, includes a study of the bones; hair growing in ears, nose and eyebrows; colour of the face, etc.

Face physiognomy, *mien hsiang*, includes the study of the *San t'ing* (亭) *wu kuan*, the three divisions of the face and the five organs. The *san t'ing* are the *t'ien t'ing* or brow, the *chung t'ing* or nose, the *hsia t'ing* or chin.

Shou hsiang or palmistry deals with the *chiu kung* (九宮) or nine places where there is fulness round the palm of the hand, upon which much stress is laid.

The science is based on the following ten characters, which are supposed to represent ten types of Chinese face:—

Yu (由), weak brow; *chia* (甲), chin weak; *shên* (申) chin and brow weak; *t'ien* (田), lacking brow and chin; *t'ung* (同), mouth prominent, chin lacking; *wang* (王), equally balanced, jaw lacking; *yüan* (元), jaw strong, nose weak; *mu* (木), brow weak, jaw strong; *yung* (用), strong, but chin lacking; *fêng* (風), a strong face.

GEOMANCY (陰陽), *yin yang*

It is the geomancer's work to select the site for a house; the direction in which it faces must not disagree with the life star of the owner. He decides how and where the doors and windows are to be placed; and which way it should be approached;

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hardly ever by a straight road. He also selects lucky days for beginning the foundations, for beginning the carpentry work, for putting up the frame-work; and above all, the lucky day and hour for hoisting the top beam on the roof. On this occasion the workmen have extra money, a feast, and the rest of the day free from work. He fixes the position for a burying place, and the way a grave will face. Traffic in the vicinity of the grave is stopped lest the spirit be disturbed. It is reckoned very unlucky to tread on or through a family graveyard.

To decide how a protecting wall round a grave should be built and when it may be built is the geomancer's duty, and when earth can be put on the graves. The proverb runs, *chêng, san, wu, ch'i, chiu, mu shên tso ti shou;* In the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons, the spirit of the grave sits on the ground and guards; during these months no funerals of any importance are carried out and old graves are left severely alone.

He decides when the tombstone may be erected without disturbing the spirit of the grave, and fixes all the lucky times connected with a funeral. (See *Funerals.*)

Hsiu shêng chi (修生寄) is to prepare with the help of an astrologer the foundation for a grave before death, so as to be perfectly sure that it is all right; the coffin is often ready many years before.

Hsing chia is the astrologer who will look at the forma tion of a mountain before he will fix upon a grave. He makes much of the dragon, he uses the triad compass in his work. The triad is the *san ho* (三合) or heaven, earth and man.

Fa chia is the astrologer who simply decides the position of the grave, for prosperity to the progeny. He uses the eight diagram compass. The *ts'ê* (擇) *chia* is an astrologer who simply decides lucky days, and is like the fortuneteller.

The following represents the transmigration or rotation of souls as far as the geomancer is concerned; hence his control over both the dwellings of the living and the dead. These stages are written on the above compass and used by both classes.

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Born, 長生; washed, 沐浴; clothed, 冠帶; rank, 臨官; prosperity, 帝旺; aged, 衰; sick, 病; death, 死; buried, 墓; ended, 絕; conceived, 胎; nourished, 養.

To build a pagoda to make up a deficiency in the formation of the hills, or to break the monotony of a plain, in order that luck may attend the scholars of the district is called *p'ei fêng shui* (配風水) and *p'u wên fêng* (培文峯). These pagodas are all built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and almost always have an odd number of storeys, which is reckoned more lucky.

To dig a little on the wrong side is to transgress the geomantic influences, *fan fêng shui*. This is reckoned very serious, and must be counteracted, sometimes by buildings being pulled down or pieces added, doors and windows being closed up and fresh ones being opened.

A building erected hundreds of *li* distant may spoil the geomantic influences of a district or town.

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BOOK VIII—SUPERSTITIOUS DREAD

THINGS TO BE AVOIDED (忌 諱), *chi wei*

The first question of importance in Ssŭch'uan is how to gain a livelihood; the people say that every thing else is false, hunger only is real. But next to satisfying hunger, comes the great art of appeasing and hoodwinking demons. There can be little doubt that superstitious dread haunts most people from youth to old age. A young woman well known to us happened to overlay her child in the night, and next day she showed no signs of grief or trouble; on being pressed for a reason, she replied, "Oh, we must cheat the demon;" the idea being that if she had shown any sorrow, the demon would have come and taken the other child also. Much of the callous exterior of this people is not real, but put on for fear of demons.

Lucky days are chosen for almost every event of importance in life; beginning an education, starting on a journey, opening shop at New Year time, marriages, funerals, changing houses, repairing or building houses, will not only be begun on a lucky day, but in a lucky year. It has seemed to me that the day of a person's birth and the day of his death are the only events which they make no pretence at controlling.

Odd numbers are more lucky than even ones; for example, an odd number of days must elapse between a death

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and a funeral, and every seventh day is observed by the women as a time for weeping till seven times is reached, and the mourning in many cases ended.

The first and fifteenth are the recognized days for worship in the temple and in the home. The seventh moon of each year is the most idolatrous of the twelve, when the spirits of the family ancestors are supposed to return and share the feast of meat and wine. The pagoda of each city, which is said to be built in the shape of a Chinese pencil and intended to govern the literary welfare of the city, has, as far as I have seen, always got an odd number of storeys. The Chinese are not without their superstitious dread of the foreigner. I have been asked many times if I could see three feet into the ground; and the call, *Yang jên tao pao* (洋人盜寶), indicates that they believe that our eyes have wondrous powers of finding treasure which they believe lies hidden in the earth. It is quite a common thing to meet a man on the road who will put his nose in his sleeve while passing lest he should smell the foreigner. The smell of the ink of a foreign book is unlucky in the house. The small print of foreign books will injure their eyes, foreigners' tea will bewitch them, etc. We shall now look at a few of the things to be avoided in classified order.

Superstitions connected with the first day of the year. On that day no one in the family may mention the words demon, tiger, cat, snake, monkey, suicide, blood, wounds, short-lived, death, sickness, son died, daughters departed, speechless, lost money; also the following with a play on the double meaning of the words: *tuan lu*, short road, suicide; *tuan t'su*, to sever head from body; *pu tsai*, lost, also meaning dead; *pu hao*, not good, also meaning to be sick, etc.

On this first day the brooms of the house are carefully hidden for fear they may be used and sweep away the family inheritance. The scales for weighing vegetables are also hidden as the marks and figures make it resemble a snake. For any member of the household to have dishevelled hair on that day is very unlucky, as that is said to be how demons look, and is a bad omen for the New Year. The breaking of

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a rice basin or the spilling of water in the kitchen is a very unlucky thing and is taken to mean that the family affairs will be troubled. To have a house set on fire, or for any one to mention fire on the first day is a very unlucky thing.

Those who are in mourning will cast away their mourning weeds for the day; but will not pay calls on that day, for fear of disturbing the weeping god. No weeping is allowed in the family on that day lest it should last throughout the year. It is very unpropitious to quarrel, sing, lose or lend an article, to catch the clothing on anything and tear it, to give a ladleful of water, or even a light to light a neighbour's fire or lamp. No one will ask for the payment of an outstanding account on New Year's day for fear they may becóme beggars. Neither will they sell or allow anything to go out of the house for the same reason. Money is given to beggars on New Year's day, having been previously given out for the express purpose. The practice of sitting on another person's door-step is deeply resented by some families at all times; others do not forbid men, but they would be deeply insulted if women should sit there; but on New Year's day no one is allowed to sit there as it stops the flow of wealth and hinders the passage of the spirits to and from the house. On this day the bell on the idol's shrine must not be touched by strange hands; if an outsider should dare to disturb the family gods he will be severely dealt with for his trouble. To tell any person on New Year's day that he has *pei shih*, or turned his back on the times, is a very serious insult, as it means the family affairs will be unlucky throughout the year.

Continual fears of all classes. The proverb says, *chu lai ch'iung, kou lai fu:* the coming of a pig into the house betokens poverty, and the advent of a dog betokens riches; the reason given for this is that the pig only sleeps and eats, whereas the dog protects the family. But if a dog goes in and out of the house barking for no apparent cause this is reckoned to be very unlucky. It is said that a dog is an ancestor in another form and the name can be read on its belly; for this reason hardly anyone will kill a dog. This idea seems to have had its origin in the following. A dying man

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owed another family five hundred cash, which he promised to return and pay. Soon after his death a litter of puppies came into the house, and on the belly of one was written the name of the man to whom the money was owing; the puppy was given to him and his family became rich.

In connection with the pig there are some curious ideas, which seem to have been imported by Buddhism, such as the following: 曾見孫孫娶祖母爺皮彈鼓打諸親鍋內煮—Already I have seen the grandson marry the grandmother, and the grandfather's skin acting as a drum at the ceremony; while the whole of the friends (become pork) were boiling in the pot to be eaten at the feast. This is transmigration of souls in earnest! If a pig becomes unsettled and snorts in and out of the sty or gets out of the sty and away this is a very unlucky sign; as it may be that it is threatened with an attack of the pig's epidemic. For the last forty years the pigs have been smitten with a disease spoken of as the *huo yin tzŭ wên* (火印子瘟), or the fire-stamp epidemic; this disease is peculiar and is easily known by the large red marks all over the body of the pig just like the stamp from an official seal. The Chinese say that this is done by demons, and it is attributed to a movement among the soldiers of Hades, and for some years it has been feared that human beings would be afflicted by the epidemic. Is it possible that this is an attempt of the disembodied spirits to gain an entrance to the body of the pig? It is often said of a pig if it thrives well, that it is a *huan chang ti* (還帳的), that is, someone who owed them or their forefathers some money, come back in the form of a hog to repay the debt.

If a cat comes to the house it is a sign that the mourning clothes will soon be needed. If a cow comes it is also a bad omen; the fear is that some murder or accident involving life may happen, and therefore the animal is seized and kept till a fine is paid which is used to pacify the family gods and restore the peace of the house. The owner of the cow will also have to hang up a red cloth over the door of the dwelling and fire off crackers at the door as he departs with the animal.

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A horse is also very unlucky and will not be allowed to leave a house which it may have entered before the owner pays a fine.

If a cow trespasses on the ancestral graves it will also be liable to be seized and held till the spirits of the ancestors have been appeased. If a chicken comes to the house the chief fear is that people should know; thus honest people return it at once, but others either hasten to kill and eat it, or take steps to have it sold for fear of detection. When a chicken is lost the loser not infrequently suspects the right person, and will deliberately sit down and curse what is called the speckled cock, *ma hua chi chung*, or curse the spotted turtle, curse the pheasant red and curse the neighbours all round.

Chickens are often stolen by the street arabs, who kill them and make the feathers into feather dusters. The low class of inn where these rascals put up is called *chi mao tien*, chicken feather inn, so named because chickens are killed and feathers stored and manufactured there.

There is a saying which means Rather lend the chief room of a house to deposit a coffin, than lend it to anyone to hold a marriage in. A marriage and a funeral are both to be avoided unless the person belongs to the family, but a marriage held in the house is more unlucky than a funeral, and no one will allow it at any cost.

No woman from an outside family may sit on the door step of the chief room of the house. No woman who has been confined will be tolerated in another person's house till her forty days of purification have been accomplished; a woman during that time must certainly *tso yüeh* (坐月), sit one moon. No woman would dare to go near the chief room of her own house for the same length of time for fear of offending the idols.

No one may go to another person's home and weep, for fear of troubling the weeping spirit. Nor may anyone go with a fresh wound into another's house, as it is very unlucky.

When the white-necked crow makes a lot of cawing it is very unlucky; this bird is called the *kuei lao ya*, demon crow.

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When the cock goes crowing to bed or a hen crows in the yard both are reckoned unlucky. A crowing hen is a sign of misfortune, or the female taking the place of the male as head of the family. Many date the beginning of China's troubles to the time when the late Empress Dowager usurped the authority of the empire.

The repeated changing of houses is very much deprecated, as it disturbs the ancestral altar and poverty comes to those who do this. Towards the end of the year in the cold weather no one will change house for fear he will not have a suitable place to worship his ancestors at New Year time.

If the kitchen pot rings or the kitchen fire puffs and blows it is very unlucky; it is generally believed to betoken the death or sickness of some of the young women of the family.

The farmer is very particular not to enter his fields on the spring equinox lest birds should make havoc among the growing grain; neither will he thatch his house on that date lest the birds destroy his thatch. Many of the farmer class will not eat beef; they say that the ox who has borne the yoke ought not to be killed; others say the cow is an unclean animal; others that she is unlucky, and still others are afraid of another ox coming to gore them. Farm labourers and coolies are very much afraid of rain falling on their hair, the fear being that each drop becomes transformed into a louse.

The following things are avoided according to the rotation of the sexagenary cycle. The ten stems are taken first and are as follows :—

甲 Do not open granaries; fear of poverty.
乙 Do not sow or plant; seed rots.
丙 Do not build; fear of fire or workmen ceasing work.
丁 Do not use the barber; fear of boils.
戊 Do not manage the sale of property.
己 Do not touch the graves of ancestors.
庚 Do not weave cloth or make ropes.
辛 Do not manufacture condiments.
壬 Do not change irrigating sluices.
癸 Refrain from litigation.

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The twelve branches are as follows :—

子 Do not enquire by divination.
丑 Do not buy hats and garters.
寅 Do not sacrifice to gods.
卯 Do not dig wells.
辰 Do not weep, for weeping may be protracted.
巳 Do not travel to a distance for fear of not coming back.
午 Do not thatch or make raincoats.
未 Do not eat medicine.
申 Do not sleep during the day.
酉 Do not receive guests.
戌 Do not eat dog flesh.
亥 Do not arrange marriage affairs.

The following are some of the things to be avoided by business men :—

In the early morning it is very unlucky to use the abacus, or to turn up the account books; but each morning the abacus is washed to clean away the assistants' malpractices; when the shop is opened and closed, the abacus is shaken violently to drive away demons. No one entering the shop may touch the abacus, such an act would be deeply resented by many. The abacus is not generally used for business purposes before breakfast. Anyone trying to force a reckoning before breakfast will be suspected of an evil intention.

Such common things as ears ringing, sneezing, hot ears, hot face, clothing caught and torn, heart quivering, all betoken family quarrels and general bad luck throughout the day or even the year. The upsetting of a basin of rice on the table or elsewhere is very unlucky, and to take any person's rice-steamer and empty it on the ground is one of the greatest insults that can be given to a family. The twitching of the eye-lashes has deep significance.

Brick and tile-makers have a superstitious dread of *hung* (紅) or red, as red bricks and tiles are not half the value of the black or grey coloured ones. The lime-kiln owner has a dread of the words *tao tsang* (倒 贓), as this means that the lime-stone won't be burned through and will be returned to him.

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The iron foundry owner is afraid of the word *ma* (麻) as this indicates that his iron will not weld together properly. Barbers fear the words *ya pa* (芽 杷), that is, cutting their customers, who will then not come back. The butcher fears the two words *ko ch'i* (擱 起), which means that his meat may be left unsold. Carpenters and masons have a superstitious dread of the two characters *tao fan*, empty out rice; lost the job. The rice shops dread the two characters *t'ing shih*, a stoppage of food, or indigestion. Tea and wine shop masters are afraid of the three characters *mai pu t'o* (賣不脫), can't sell it, and *shih pên* (十本), ten copies, which is the same sound as *shih pén* (失本), to become bankrupt. Boatmen are afraid of such words as *fan tao*, turn over; *tao*, to empty out, also *k'o ch'i*, to stick on mud; and *tang tao*, stopped. Hewers of wood have a dread of such words as the following: *ta tao*, struck, also *ch'ang shên*, to stretch out, and *pu tung*, inanimate. The pig dealer dreads the words *pu tui ts'ao* (槽), that is, the pig will not settle to eat; or the words *pu tui t'ou*, unsuitable. This is shown by the pig's tendency to whine and dig up the pig-sty.

The traveller dreads the words *pu hui lai*, not to return, just as he is about to start on a journey from home. The servant dreads the words *pu yao* or we don't want you.

If a family has been robbed the people of the house, when filling up the hole made by the thieves in the wall, will bury some *fan*, rice, and some *fa*, hair, at the bottom of the hole in the wall, believing that the thief will *fan fa*, or break the law, the play being on the sound of the characters.

Woodmen are afraid of the following: *ho ch'a*, drink tea, as tea is the first thing offered to a swooning man; *he t'ang*, drink soup, also *tao*, to upset, and *fên k'ai*, to separate, *ta p'o*, to split up, also *ch'ai p'o*, to tread to pieces, for fear one of their number should be killed.

In the paper factory the owner is in constant dread of the water being let off from the vats before the paper is ready to come out. He also fears the water getting sour, this is called *ma* (麻) *shui*, spoiled water. He also dreads *tuan pu ch'i lai*, or it cannot be lifted up, also *lan kao*, rotten in the

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vats, also *yin ch'i*, spoiled for lack of sun to dry it. If a woman during her forty days after confinement should venture near a paper factory, she will need to stand surety for the peace and prosperity of the factory for 120 days.

Fishermen dread the words *fan wang*, the net upset, also *chiao jao*, to implicate, by fishing up a human head or something else bad. The distiller dreads the words *kuai kang*, that is, the butt is broken, as the wine will then lose its savour. He also fears *tuan tso*, which means that wine will be short weight.

On the fifth of the fifth moon every person reckons to lay aside work for a time; the fear is that sickness may overtake them if they don't. On the fifteenth of the seventh moon no guests are kept in the house, as the spirits of the ancestors are expected back to partake of the family feast. No debts are collected at this feast as it is purely an ancestral worship feast, and the ancestors must have their dues paid to them. This is called *t'ao ya pa chang* (討啞吧帳), the dumb asking for accounts to be paid. Perhaps readers may have noticed that in the first, third, fifth, seventh and ninth moons funerals and marriages are very rare, and no official likes to go to a new position during these months unless he is absolutely forced to by circumstances.

The first-born son of the family is never allowed to talk to or play with a pregnant woman, for fear the child's spirit should be called to be the other woman's son. Some sick persons will not see people, *chi jên* (忌人). Women avoid visitors on even days and men on odd days; there is some superstitious dread that visitors might call away their spirits. At such times a bamboo with a flag on it is stuck outside the door, and people seeing it know not to enter the house.

When a new animal has been bought and taken home, a dirty person is not allowed to lead it into the stable, nor is a lazy person allowed to feed it, for fear the animal should get degraded through contact with them.

In arranging the position of a bed in a bed-room, it is never put facing the door as that is how a coffin is placed.

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On entering a tea-shop it is very unlucky to upset your own tea or to see a tea-cup upset by another.

Boatmen, when starting on a journey, always choose a lucky day for the crew to come on board, the sacrifice to be made and the boat started. The sacrificial chicken is intoxicated before it is killed, wine being poured down its gullet ; when slain, the blood is sprinkled on the prow of the boat and the feathers stuck to it as a witness of the transaction. On the journey demons are seen in the head winds and adverse currents, and when it is difficult to pull the boat over a rapid ; rice is then thrown overboard to feed the hungry ghosts. The boatmen will rarely tell you how far they are from a certain place, lest the demons should know of their whereabouts, while the distance is generally given as so many stages. They will never tell you where they intend to stay for the night or how far away is an anchorage, lest the demons should waylay them. The custom of boatmen whistling and howling for the wind is a curious one and probably has to do with the idea that the spirits are in the wind and are helping them. In the bottom of each boat there is one division lower than the others called the *t'ai p'ing ts'ang*, into which all the leakage water in the bottom of the boat is expected to flow, to be ladled out into the river ; no one may shout or swear while in this division lest the boat should be wrecked. The words *kuai* (拐), and *ch'iung* (傾), are used to take the places of *huai* (壞), wreck, and *tao* (倒), to empty out. The exact number of trackers should never be counted for fear it should bring disaster. Boatmen never tread on the front of the boat, and care should be taken to avoid this as much as possible by any one. Boatmen always sleep across the boat and never dress standing on their bedding.

Woodmen employed in the forest never call any of their comrades by name before breakfast. Nor are they called to breakfast lest one of them should be called upon to die before the evening. Anyone daring to dress standing on his bed, or knocking his chopsticks together may be fined to the extent of food and tea for a meal, as these things indicate that the axe-head may slip off and kill someone. The water in which

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the vegetables were cooked must not be poured out until after the breakfast has been eaten, lest someone's blood should be spilt that day. Any of the unlucky words, such as have already been given, are not tolerated till after breakfast at least. Chair coolies do not like any one to step over the front bar of the sedan chair lest they should get sore shoulders; for women to do this is very unlucky; it is also very unlucky to step across a coolie's carrying pole, for the same reason. Coolies often throw their worn-out sandals on to the roof of the houses lest people should gather and burn them; when their feet would become blistered. Women are never allowed to sleep upstairs at a Chinese inn. If a man has no intention of selling his cow, he objects to anyone looking at it lest the animal should become unsettled and bellow or take sick and die. A horse may be looked at by a would-be purchaser, but the animal may not be ridden unless the owner is prepared to part with him. It is also reckoned unlucky to look at fat pigs with a view to purchase until the owner is prepared to part with them. A three-hoofed pig, a cow with three teats, or one with spots on its head, or with black marks under the tail or in the mouth is reckoned very unlucky. The advent of a flock of sparrows is a sign of poverty.

The advent of crows foreshadows luck and prosperity to the family; crows are reckoned filial birds because they cherish their aged. If they leave the family grove it betokens poverty and fire. Owls are reckoned to be unlucky because it is said that they devour their aged. It is said that the owl flies with his head exalted and his wickedness fills the heavens. Their call heralds death and fine weather. Magpies are reckoned to be lucky and filial birds. If the swallow's brood is five in number, it is reckoned that the floods will come in the fifth moon.

If a dog sneezes it is believed that fine weather is about to come. If you laugh at a dog it will rain. If a person is bitten by a dog he asks for a hair of the dog; this is singed and applied to the wound. To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is as bad if not worse than being actually bitten by one.

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If a person sneezes, the first thing he will say is "Who is speaking about me?" If a person's ears ring, some evil is being spoken of him. If ears burn a law suit is impending. A burning face indicates the loss of property. The god of the bed is worshipped on the moving from one house to another, and when a new bed is brought, in order that peaceful slumbers may come to the family. Soldiers sharpen their swords once yearly on the thirteenth of the fifth moon. Kites are flown by men on the ninth of the ninth moon as a medium for carrying off evil influences from the home. If a kite should fall on any person's house it is reckoned to be very unlucky and no one would dare to go and claim it. Children often wear a small mirror on the front of their hats in order that the demons may see their ugly faces and depart.

If a man should dream that he has swallowed the sun and moon or pearls, he will eventually have a rich son. To dream of much water is to get great riches. To dream of fire is to get honours by learning. People who are troubled by evil dreams go and tie a knot on a shrub known as the *mêng hua*, dream flower. If an old man has a red nose it is the sign of the greatest happiness. If the house is infested with rats, many people keep what is called a *shên mao ĕrh* or spirit cat pasted up in the kitchen. This is also called a Kien chou (簡 州) *mao ĕrh* because they are made at that place. This is simply the picture of a cat painted on a piece of yellow paper. It is reckoned very unlucky to howl or shout on a hill-top as a gale of wind and rain may follow.

The terror of the nine-headed monster (蟲) is great in some places. This would appear to be a flock of wild geese flying in the shape of the character nine. If these pass over a city at night many people rush out of doors to drive them off as it is believed that if it drops pus, the family will become poor; if it drops blood, the whole family will die.

The Chinese believe that there is such a monster and the contention of the heads for the ascendancy makes it drop blood.

Houses whose doors open on some public path sometimes have wooden screens set up in front of the doors to keep

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out demons. These screens are called *ch'a p'ing* (插屏), stuck-in screen. When a house is troubled with sickness the neighbours often ask whose dirty demon has come hither to give trouble.

When a person has a hatred for another and is bent upon secret revenge, a straw effigy of the enemy is made and pricked in the eyes and nose with a needle, cursed and burned; it is believed that this will inflict sickness or even death upon the enemy and is spoken of as *shê yin chien* (射陰箭), shooting a secret arrow. Another way is to go to the temple of the city god, and accuse the person at the idol shrine; the indictment is written out and presented with candles and incense, after which it is burned to ashes. This is called *kao yin chuang* (告陰狀), making an indictment to Hades. When a dead child has been carried out of the house, the door-step is sawn or hacked to indicate that the debt of some ancestor has now been paid in full.

Sometimes over the door of the house will be found written the two characters *i shan*, one good deed; being an abbreviation of the saying, "one good deed will cover a thousand bad ones." This is to deceive the demons and keep them out of the house.

Some haunted houses have a mirror hung up over the door, so that when the demon comes and sees his own face he will take fright and depart. Some parents use for their children what are known as tigers' pillows so as to frighten the demons.

On the eighth of the fourth moon there is a custom known as *chia mao ch'ung*, or marrying out the caterpillar. The idea is that caterpillars are females and in marrying them out they will leave this part of the country alone. A small red rosette is put up in the chief room of the house as an evidence. 佛生四月八, 毛蟲今日嫁, 嫁在深山去, 永遠不歸家. On the eighth of the fourth moon was Buddha's birth. On that day caterpillars are married out. Married far into the mountain recesses never more to return.

At the spring equinox there is a custom known as *ching chüeh wang*, to reverence the king of birds. Rice loaves are

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made into which a pair of scissors is stuck, and the whole thing is displayed outside the house; this it is believed will keep the family in peace. In some places a huge paper bird is paraded round the streets with a crowd following, probably an imitation Phoenix Bird.

On the seventh of the seventh moon there is the custom known as *hsien kua*, to offer the melon. This is also the time when girls pray for ability, or *ch'i ch'iao* (乞巧). In some places women and girls take what is known as *ch'iao ya tzŭ*, or ability sprouts, which are really sprouted beans. The sprouts with a basin of water are taken before the shrine of the tutelary god, where incense and candles have been lit. Each girl takes one of the long sprouts, breaks it into small pieces and throws them into the basin of water, then waits to see if these form into the shape of a flower; if they do she will be clever at needlework.

On the first of the tenth moon there is a custom known as *hsien niu wang*, offering to the ox spirit. Rice cakes, *ch'i pa* (糍粑), are made and given to the ox, which is not supposed to do any work on that day. Anyone daring to work his animal will be cursed and told that he ought to become an ox in the next life. In many country homes the oxen are dressed and petted on this their birthday.

Hydrophobia (瘋狗傷人), *fêng kou shang jên.* It is said that the snake when about to hibernate eats of a herb called *ling chih ts'ao*, "boletus." At the time of moving insects (驚蟄), it comes forth from hibernation, and vomits a great amount of phlegm, *shê hsüan tu* (蛇漩毒), which smells very strongly. If a dog eats this or if individuals smell it, they are from a Chinese point of view doomed to an attack of hydrophobia. This herb if eaten by human beings makes them comatose, but after the effects have been slept off, it is believed that the individual will live to a great age. This disease of hydrophobia is to be found all the year round, but is most common in spring time when the oil plant is in flower, so much so that the saying runs The rape is in flower; mad dogs will make their appearance. But it is said that the disease among dogs has nothing to do with the rape

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plant, but with the snakes that come out about that particular season.

There is a small bamboo which grows on the hill-tops, whose root is black; when powdered this root is believed to cure persons bitten by a mad dog. The bamboos are also used as walking-sticks as it is believed that rabid dogs are afraid of this particular kind of bamboo.

When a dog has got rabies, it stops eating, drops its tail and pushes out its tongue, barks wildly, stiffens its neck and runs furiously; bites its own people and then runs outside to bite others. If it should bite at a person's shadow or sweep suddenly past anyone, they are in danger, and so is even the person who kills it, and must go through the treatment given for rabid dog bites. Nothing is said of these animals fearing water.

The poison from these bites is a terrible thing in the Chinese opinion; for they think the person bitten becomes impregnated with puppies and if these cannot be driven out with the fæces or urine, death is certain. The trouble may begin any time from seven to forty-nine days after the bite. But one is not reckoned safe till one hundred and twenty days have passed. When a person has been bitten the specialist is invited at once, who generally heals by contract. He expects nothing if the patient dies. The calf of the leg and flesh of the forearm are pounded by people in turn till the person is almost unconscious. This is done to bring the poison to a head. The mad dog is hunted and killed by some; the flesh taken and eaten, the skin made into a sleeping mat; the hair burned to ashes and applied to the wound, while medicine is taken every seven days for forty-nine days.

To dream of being bitten by a mad dog is believed by many to be as bad as the actual bite, and medicine is needed to counteract it. In fact, even to fear or see a dog of this kind is reckoned very dangerous and causes great superstitious dread.

When a person who has been bitten is getting sick, he becomes silent and the eyes become fixed, soon he barks like a dog, throws off his clothing and tears it to shreds, pulls out his hair, eats off his finger nails, runs off like a wild animal

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and bites people. At this period the strength is great and no one can bind him. I have heard of them putting medicine down the throat of a rabid person by means of a bamboo tube and his getting well again.

To curse the mad dog is a special line of sorcery and when a person has been bitten he may use this method.

If a person has been bitten it is said to be very unlucky for anyone who speaks of it to him. During the 120 days onions, kidney beans, bean curd, chicken, eggs, fish and flour are avoided. The clanging of gongs or drums makes the patient worse.

This kind of trouble is looked upon by the Chinese as a retribution for the wickedness of three past generations and is classed with being killed by lightning or consumed by fire, bitten by a snake or devoured by a tiger.

ECLIPSES AND COMETS (日月食及彗星), *jih yüeh shih, sao hsing*

The heavenly dog is said to be a star known as *t'ien kou hsing:* it eats the moon, causing eclipse.

Lo hou hsing (羅睺星) is a very unlucky star, which it is believed tries to devour the sun at eclipse times. The evil spirit from this star is said to have retarded the birth of Sakyamuni for six years.

In an eclipse of the sun or moon, it is believed that the Emperor or Empress, respectively, has lost virtue.

During an eclipse of the sun, a tub of water is placed in the full glare of the sun and the progress of the eclipse is watched in the water.

The official calendar carefully gives the dates of all eclipses and particulars as to when they begin and finish. Previous to the eclipse a proclamation is issued calling upon the people to save the sun or moon. The official sets up an altar, and candles and incense are burned thereon while he prostrates himself and begs the restoration of the luminary to its normal size; the *chiao kyan* or head of the religious sects goes round the altar beating a gong till the eclipse is over. In each house an instrument for making a noise is used to

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frighten away the evil dog. All the temple drums and gongs are lustily beaten till the eclipse is ended.

The year that the Emperor Kuang Hsü died, the people declared that the sun had become red like blood, which indicated that the dynasty had come to an end, or that some great change was about to take place.

A comet is a very unlucky omen; and the appearance of Halley's comet in 1910–11 brought with it a great deal of unrest and fear. The people believe that it indicates calamity such as war, fire, pestilence, and a change of dynasty. In some places on certain days the doors were unopened for half a day, no water was carried and many did not even drink water as it was rumoured that pestilential vapour was being poured down upon the earth from the comet.

Along with eclipses and comets comes a third herald of change, namely, the bird called the white-tailed swallow. It is said that when the Manchus took China this bird came and killed the canaries and took possession of their cages. In 1911 it is reported to have made its appearance in Ssŭch'uan, and when possible it was caught, beheaded, dismembered and thrown to the four winds, as it indicated another foreign invasion of the country.

Snakes and Dragons (蛇 龍), *shê lung*

The snake is an object both of loathing and reverence among the Chinese. In Ssŭch'uan there are many kinds, of different colours and sizes. It is said that the small are snakes (蛇), the medium serpents (蟒), and the large are dragons (龍). A few of the different kinds of snakes as known by the Chinese are herewith given :—

Sang kên tzŭ (桑 根 蛰), or *ch'êng kan shê*, the steelyard snake, is red with spots and is very deadly.

Ts'ai hua, the rape-flower snake, a yellowish coloured snake from four to eight feet long and very poisonous.

Ch'ing chu piao, the green snake, just the colour of a green bamboo stem. It is from four to eight feet long and less poisonous than the former ones.

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The speckled snake, *ma pan* (麻斑), believed to be poisonous.

Wu shao (烏稍), a grey snake, reckoned to be poisonous.

Wu pang (蟒), a grey tailless snake or one whose tail does not taper like the other species. It boldly faces men and when attacked shows no inclination to flee.

Chüeh shê and *shou kung* (守宮), the lizard. The Chinese fear these entering the tea-cups and leaving poison.

The snake's body is very cold, its teeth of the finest, its bite the most venomous. On seeing it every Chinese gets a fright, and generally speaking the belief is that they should be killed, with exceptions which will be given. The saying runs that if you see a snake and do not kill it, in the next life you will be dumb. Snakes in private homes and temples must not be killed. Those in private houses are believed to be the spirits of the ancestors come back in this form to present themselves to the family, and incense is often offered inviting them to go.

Those in temples are called *shén shê*, spirit snakes; it is said that the god of literature and the city god are snakes and come to receive the incense at the altar. It is said if one goes very early to the bedroom of the city god in his temple one will find two snakes asleep on the bed.

Besides this 眞武足踏龜蛇, the *chên wu* idol or *Liu Ch'ang shêng* has his foot on tortoise and snake, that is, he is able to subdue them.

Country people declare that by suddenly entering a bamboo grove a snakes' gathering, *shê hui*, may be seen; but on being disturbed they flee in all directions.

Snakes have a propensity for stealing living creatures, such as chickens, rabbits, etc., and in so doing it is believed that the ancestor is only taking his due. Such are some of the ideas which run in the minds of the people regarding snakes, and we now turn to the king of the scaly tribe. The dragon bore nine sons something as follows:—

Hsieh chai (獬豸), a fabulous monster like a deer, which it is said can discriminate between right and wrong.

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Said to be the *shên yang* or spirit sheep, which takes away seditious and disloyal intentions from the minds of the people.

T'ao t'ieh (饕餮). This is a monstrous tiger-like animal with horns. It ornaments every yamen entrance exactly facing the magistrate's office and is called *t'an* (貪) by the people. Opposite the animal is a picture of the sun, which the monster appears to be intent upon devouring. The sun is representative of the ruling emperor, and the picture is supposed to be a continual warning to the officials to avoid covetousness and rebellion. This monster also appears on old rice basins, etc., in the form of a head without the body or a headless trunk to warn people against the vice of gluttony. In the yamen entrance there is another picture of a crane and a deer; these face outward toward the people; the idea is that if the official is not avaricious there will be long life and spring on all sides, *lu ho t'ung ch'un* (鹿鶴同春). The people eat hartshorn in great quantities and at great expense, hoping for long life, as both the crane and the deer are believed to live to a great age.

Pi hsi (贔屭). A male and female tortoise borne down by affliction. This emblem is now largely used as a pedestal for tombstones, one head looking each way. The allusion is to the tortoise bearing its great burden of grief from which it cannot be relieved.

Lang pei (狼狽), a fabulous animal said to be a native of water regions, but it can be at home on land; it is popularly believed to have short hind legs, unsuitable for locomotion, so when it desires to move from one place to another it is necessary for two animals to be together, when one rides the other making use of the two pairs of fore legs. This combination is used as a symbol of two persons joined together for wickedness.

Kan (犴) is a monstrous scaly beast with one horn, the image of which is painted on the wall above the doors of jails, as a warning to people to repent of their evil deeds and not enter therein.

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The influence of the dragon is very far reaching; the saying runs (飛龍在天), *fei lung tsai t'ien*, the flying dragon is in heaven.

Ti mei lung shên is the dragon's pulse of the earth; the geomantic influence.

Hai lung wang, the dragon of the deep, who has his dwelling in the depths of the sea.

The wicked dragon: 惡龍難絆地頭蛇. The wicked dragon has difficulty in tripping up local snakes. A wicked emperor cannot overcome public opinion.

Another saying is, When the dragon moves a step even the grass renews its spring appearance.

Clouds follow the dragon and wind the tiger.

When a sage appears all nature stares.

If a snake bites a man there is a medicine to heal it, but if man bites man there is none. This latter half of the proverb refers to being wrongly involved in the law courts, a thing difficult indeed to heal; but a real human bite is also very difficult to cure, and they are not uncommon among the many quarrels of the people.

[The end]

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NOTES ON THE "LUTE-GIRL'S SONG"[1]

By A. Waley

This well-known poem by Po Chü-i (白居易) has been translated by Professor Giles (*Chinese Literature*, p. 165). He has omitted the Preface which explains the circumstances under which the poem was written. In the following pages I shall translate this Preface and shall also venture to criticize a few points in Professor Giles's translation of the poem. He has lately submitted several of my translations to the most searching criticism and will not, I am sure, resent my very tentative emendations.

Preface.

In the tenth year of Yüan Ho (815 A.D.), I was banished to the city of Kiukiang with the rank of sub-Prefect. In the autumn of the following year I was seeing off a visitor at the mouth of the P'ên River [溢浦口. The 溢水, *P'ên Shui*, ran into the Yangtze west of Kiukiang, which city is often referred to as 溢城]. We heard some one playing the lute

(1) I retain the title by which the poem is best known to English readers. The "Song" was *made for* not *sung by* the girl.

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on board a boat at night. I listened and recognized by a certain bell-like quality in the melody that it was a Ch'ang-an tune [*lit.*, "that it had a sound of the Capital"].

I enquired who the player was and learnt that she had been a dancing-girl at Ch'ang-an and had taken lessons in lute-playing from the masters Mou and Ts'ao. But when she grew old and her beauty faded, she let a merchant take her as his wife.

Hearing this, I ordered wine and persuaded her to play several tunes. When she had done playing she fell to telling us regretfully of the joys of her youth, and how she was now cruising about homeless and distressed, among the rivers and lakes.

During the two years which had passed since I fell from office I had always been happy enough. But that night, moved by the girl's story, I suddenly began to feel the sorrows of exile. So I made for her a long-line ballad of 620 words, calling it "The Lute Song" (琵琶行). [620 is a "round number." Each line consists of 7 characters, making 616 in all.]

THE POEM

Professor Giles says that "the 'guest' is the poet himself, setting out a second time for his place of banishment, as mentioned above, from a point about half-way thither, where he had been struck down by illness."

I submit that this account is inconsistent both with the Preface and with the facts of the poet's life as known to us through his poems and through his biographies in the two T'ang Histories.

The poet was banished to Kiukiang at the end of the year 814 A.D. He did not reach the place till 815 and in 818 was further removed to Chung-chou, high up the river. He never "set out a second time for his place of banishment." Nor is the site of this episode "half-way thither," but quite close to Kiukiang. Finally it is the "host" not the "guest" who is the poet himself.

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l. 2. 楓葉荻花秋瑟瑟.

Professor Giles: "beneath the maple's flower-like leaves, blooming amid autumnal decay."

Surely "upon maple-leaves and reed-flowers autumn had wrought her decay." Professor Giles omits 荻, but perhaps has another text.

l. 12. 回燈.

Professor Giles: "lamps trimmed again."

Literally it must mean "lamps turned round." Can this imply trimmed? Some texts read 攜 "carried," "brought," which is much easier.

l. 15. 轉軸撥絃三兩聲

Professor Giles: "twice or thrice sweeping the strings!"

It should be "she turned the 'pegs' (to tune the instrument) and struck the strings (with her plectrum), playing two or three notes."

l. 17. 絃絃掩抑

Professor Giles: "Every note she struck."

This should be "with every string muted"... (*lit.*, "covered and pressed down with the hand"); so at least the Japanese commentaries, and the explanation seems reasonable.

l. 21. 輕攏慢撚抹復挑

Professor Giles: "Now softly, now slowly, her plectrum sped to and fro."

Here the use of the hand and the use of the plectrum are both involved: "Lightly holding (or "checking" the string with the hand), slowly twisting (the string between finger and thumb); now stroking (the string with the plectrum), now scooping under it." I am not confident that this suggestion is correct, but it at least represents an attempt to translate the text, which Professor Giles's version, so it seems to me, does not.

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ll. 35, 36. 曲終收撥當心畫
四絃一聲如裂帛

Professor Giles: "So fell the plectrum once more upon the strings with a slash like the rent of silk."
This again is not even an attempt to translate the text. Surely the sense is: "When the tune was ended, she withdrew her plectrum, sweeping it (as a painter sweeps his brush) across her breast, and the four strings (played in *arpeggio*) sounded with a slash like the rent of silk."

l. 42. 家在蝦蟆陵下住

Professor Giles: "My childhood was spent at the Capital, in my home near the hills."
This "generalization" of special references is perhaps intentional on the translator's part. The Hsia-ma Ling was near the Capital, six *li* south of Wan-nien Hsien. It was originally called 下馬陵 and was the tomb-mound of Tung Chung-shu (*Biog. Dictionary*, 2092).

l. 53. 阿姨

Professor Giles translates "mother." But surely "aunt" is the only rendering that can be justified.

l. 71. 住近湓江

Professor Giles: "I live by the marshy river-bank" should be: "I live near P'ên River."

ll. 75, 76. Are omitted by Professor Giles. They run:

春江花朝秋月夜
往往取酒還獨傾

"By the spring river on flowery mornings, at night under the autumn moon,
Many times and again I brought wine and drank it all alone."

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l. 81. 更坐彈一曲

Professor Giles: "Sit down awhile and sing to us yet again."

But the girl has been playing on the lute, not singing. 彈一曲 can only mean "play one tune."

l. 82. 爲君翻作琵琶行

Professor Giles: "While I commit thy story to writing."

This does not bring out the force of 翻 which is surely in the sense of 繙 and means "translate": "While I translate your tune into a lute-poem."

ll. 84, 85. 却坐促絃絃轉急
凄凄不似向前聲

l. 84. Professor Giles: "sat down and quickly broke forth into another *song* (*sic*), sad and soft, unlike the *song* of just now." This is hardly translation. It should surely be "... sat down again, set the strings in motion, and the strings [under her plectrum] moved even more swiftly than before."

Professor Giles does not bring out the adversative force of 轉 (corresponding to the Japanese *utata* which is written with this character). For "*song* of just now" substitute "*tune* of just now."

In conclusion, I will add a few remarks concerning Professor Giles's criticism of my translation of the 大招 or "Great Summons."[1]

(1) He objects to my calling it a "translation." Surely the only other term possible, namely "paraphrase," has always been used of adaptations which have made much wider departures from the original than I have done. Professor Giles will agree with me that no literal translation of the poem can preserve its character as a *poem*. My object was to do this, and in the introduction to "More Translations" I called attention to the fact that this book aimed at fuller literary form, which necessarily implies a less literal method. It is

1. V. sup., p. 319.

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unfair to say that I am "a translator who claims to be strictly literal" simply because *in another book*, I had said that in *it* I had "aimed at literal translation not paraphrase."

(2) Professor Giles's translation differs from mine chiefly (a) because he has followed other commentators, (b) because I was trying to turn a Chinese poem into an English one, a process that cannot be achieved merely by tagging rhymes on to the ends of the lines.

To effect this purpose I have (as every translator of poetry must) often translated rather the implied meaning than the actual words. For example, in the first line of the poem (青春受謝) the metaphor is that of interchange, of one sentry relieving another,—or the like. This is better brought out by my translation "Green spring receiveth the vacant earth," than by Professor Giles's "The green spring comes and goes." It seems to me irrelevant to point out that the words "vacant earth" do not occur in the original.

(3) I have not sought scientific equivalents to the names of birds, animals, etc. In a translation made as a "crib" for specialists one can talk of the *jang-ho*, *kao*, *lou*, *kun*, and the like. But in a literary translation one must find equivalents consistent with the elevation of style which poetry demands. If these do not correspond exactly to the Chinese, *tant pis!* I was translating a poem, not a work on natural history.[1]

(4) The verses which I omitted were cut out intentionally. I felt that in so long a poem they could easily be spared. I ought perhaps to have notified the reader of this, but we have seen above that Professor Giles himself omits a couplet without comment or explanation.

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(1) Similarly, the word "harp" which Professor Giles will not admit as an equivalent to 瑟 and 琴 may in a non-technical work be used in a much wider sense than he will allow. The *kinnŏr* of the Hebrews was certainly not a harp in the strict sense of the word, yet both A. V. and R. V. translate *kinnŏr* by "harp." Moreover the Japanese word *koto* has constantly been translated "harp" (which sense is given in Brinkley's dictionary), though no one imagines that it resembles the harp of European concert rooms.

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(5) Finally, I think that my critic is guilty of some confusion of thought as to his motives in re-translating the poem. He claims that the work was undertaken "in justice to the poet and to readers who cannot verify from the original text." But his paper appears to be addressed throughout to the specialist, who is indeed alone capable of forming a judgment in such matters. The general reader will accept whatever makes good sense and good poetry. That Professor Giles's version makes better sense and better poetry than mine I will allow in two passages only. In stanza thirteen "skill" for 德 is better than "virtue"; in stanza fifteen I gladly welcome "necks like the gazelle" as the true rendering of 頸若鮮卑.

My own motive in penning the above notes on Po Chü-i's poem was to show that it is from a very glassy house indeed that my critic has hurled his courteous and learned stones. If further proof be needed, I would ask the reader to compare with the original Professor Giles's translation (*Chinese Literature*, p. 179) of Ssŭ-k'ung T'u's (司空圖) *Shih P'in* (詩品).

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NOTES AND QUERIES

A longer instalment than usual has been given of Mr. Hutson's paper, so as to conclude the series in the present volume. It is hoped to issue it shortly in book form.

* * *

Cloth cases for binding Vol. II are on their way from England; particulars will be found among the advertisements.

* * *

A correspondent kindly sent an offer of some volumes of *The China Review* but the post-card with his name and address has been unfortunately lost. He would greatly oblige the Editor by writing again.

* * *

Erratum.—On p. 422 it is said that two portions of the picture "A Winter Landscape" appeared in No. 2. They appeared in No. 6 of our first volume, pp. 547, 621.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Finance and Commerce. A weekly review, devoted to the economic development of China, etc.

We are glad to see that this important paper flourishes. The special articles in it are of permanent value and those on Chinese products should be issued separately, as one often wishes for the information they contain yet cannot conveniently refer to the files. As for the mass of current information on markets, finance and shipping, we should suppose business men can hardly do their business without it. The firm which also produces Dingle's *New Atlas and Commercial Gazetteer* and Dingle's *New Map of China* has laid the commercial world under deep obligation to it.

Israel's Messenger. Official organ of the Shanghai Zionist Association.

Several numbers of this interesting local publication have reached us, the last being No. 8 of Vol. VII, dated October 29; but circumstances have prevented our noticing them earlier. They are, of course, chiefly taken up with the prospects of the Jewish race in Palestine and then with local Jewish matters. But over and above all which specially appeals to Jewish

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readers there is a good deal which may be read with interest by anyone; *Palestine the World's Great Health Resort; The Historic Relations between the Jews aud the Arabs; The Hebrew University in Jerusalem*, and other subjects. We congratulate our fellow-townsmen on this flourishing journal, issued formerly "at irregular intervals," but now announced as a bi-monthly. As each number is very full there should certainly be a table of Contents.

Fragments of Confucian Lore. A Selection of short quotations with the original Text. By Thos. T. H. Ferguson. Shanghai; North-China Daily News and Herald, Ltd.

The Chinese consider Confucian lore as the acme of wisdom, and the Western world, partly out of politeness but chiefly through excusable ignorance of his works, has generally taken the Sage at the Chinese estimate and supposed him the peer of Socrates and Plato. The solid fact confronted the world that he was the nominally revered Teacher through many centuries of a people numbered by hundreds of millions. It was therefore very naturally accepted that he must have been great and wise.

This opinion has been somewhat modified by closer acquaintance with him, and we think that the more he is known the more surprise will be felt at the position he has held. For example, the little volume before us cannot but disappoint those who look for the inspired wisdom of a great thinker and teacher. We think any Western "birthday text-book," Shakespearean, Biblical or what not, contains more inspiration by far. The Book of Proverbs in the Bible may be regarded as dry reading, without the splendour of poetry found in the Psalms or in Isaiah; but in every chapter there are sentences which strike the truth out in a few right words—*rem acu tetigere*—and stay in the memory. We need not give examples. But the Confucian lore here given us seldom rises to that level and is more worthy of comparison with

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Martin Tupper. It is not enough to say the value is lost in translation, for most of us read the Bible or Plato's Dialogues only in translations; yet we are uplifted by the reading as we never are by anything in the Four Books. The sentences here given are largely barren platitudes and truisms. "The extension of knowledge lies in the Investigation of Things." "Confucius said 'The Cautious seldom err.'" "Be he talented or not, a son remains a son." Such sentences hardly show profound wisdom, and we may question whether they are worth reprinting. There are other sentences which must surely offend the democratic New China, such as "The people may be made to comply but cannot be made to understand." "Those not in office should not meddle with Government." "It behoves only the Emperor to arrange ceremonies, to establish measures, to verify literature."

The little book reminds us how small has been the real influence of Confucian teaching—beyond lip-homage and knee-worship. It has been well said that Confucius would own as disciples very few of those who quote him and offer him the regulation worship.

Of course there are *some* of these quotations which deserve a place with Solomon's proverbs, such as "A span of four horses cannot overtake the tongue;" "Rotten wood cannot be carved;" and others. But we are tired of hearing that the Sage ate ginger, did not shoot sitting birds and was too fidgetty to sit on a mat that was not straight.

We are obliged to the compiler for the selection he has made, which is interesting to many though perhaps it will be valuable to few; and we appreciate the headings he gives to each aphorism. The translation we say nothing about, since it is a free adaptation of Legge, whose Classics are not at hand as we write.

There are a few printers' errors which deserve correction such as *brethern*, *deccipt*, etc.

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THE EDITOR TO HIS READERS

At the end of the second volume the Editor permits himself a few words of thanks, congratulation and explanation.

A glance at the two volumes issued shows there were writers ready to write in such a Journal, on subjects of varied interest, appealing to all who are students of Chinese affairs other than trade and politics; and there have been enough subscribers to pay for the production. It may therefore be said with confidence that the Review was needed, that it has justified its existence and that it has a future. The Editor is aware of its shortcomings—for instance, he has not so far been able to supply articles on Art and Archaeology—but he has done his best and is thankful for the appreciation that has been shown.

Contributors of world-wide reputation, Giles, Laufer, Parker and others have written freely for the Review, and thereby laid both Editor and readers under a great obligation to them; while a score of writers less widely known at present have favoured us with papers of permanent value—we cannot here give all their names but we heartily thank them all.

With regard to the future: ill health and the pressure of other work made the Editor doubtful about beginning a third volume; but it was impossible to simply drop so useful a thing, and there was no one else to take it up; so he remains at his post, and earnestly asks for help from all who can give it. The Editor has a thousand difficulties, for which he gets nothing but the consciousness of a good work accomplished; and they are unthought of by the subscriber, whose only difficulty is to find the subscription money, for which, however, he gets the Review.

The printing will be done next year by another firm. This will result, it is to be hoped, in greater regularity of issue and promptitude of despatch. But the cost of production will be much higher than before, and the new volume will probably be issued at a loss. This can only be prevented by an increase in the list of subscribers and more advertisements. Subscribers are asked to get other subscribers; and

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as to advertisers it may be supposed that local firms should be glad to encourage a local production circulating among such a special class of readers.

It is found that copies of the Review sent abroad are sent at a loss after paying postage *and agents' commission*, exchange being as it is. So subscribers in Great Britain and the States are asked to send their orders direct. A good many persist, however, in going to agents, and as an example of thoughtlessness it may here be narrated that an agent pointed out the rule—printed in every issue—and asked a would-be subscriber to order direct. His reply was that he couldn't be bothered. And so the Editor, after editing for nothing, was to pack a copy six times a year and send it at an actual loss of money to save the gentleman the trouble of getting a postal note! Of course the natural reply was that the Editor also "couldn't be bothered."

It was hoped to reduce the annual subscription, but the change of printers has made this impossible at present, and the uniform rate will have to be Mex. $7.50 post free, for all alike, in China or abroad.

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